

JONATHAN TO GIDE

BY NOEL I. GARDE

JONATHAN

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GIDE

THE HOMOSEXUAL IN HISTORY



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THE
300
SUBJECTS

(In the order of the decade in which each first attained eminence)

B.C.

1010s	JONATHAN, Israelite crown prince	7
620s	PERIANDER, Greek statesman	7
590s	SOLON, Greek statesman, lawgiver and poet	8
	ALCAEUS, Greek poet	9
560s	PISISTRATUS, Greek statesman	10
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530s	IBYCUS, Greek poet	11
	POLYCRATES, Greek statesman	12
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	AESCHYLUS, Greek dramatist	24
	PINDAR, Greek poet	25
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450s	EMPEDOCLES, Sicilian Greek statesman and philosopher	27
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420s	SOCRATES, Greek philosopher	30
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B.C.

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INTRODUCTION

Amongst the proliferating literature on male homosexuality, there are many books which include, in the interests of perspective, references to notables of political and cultural history who have been homosexual. Such references inevitably vary from book to book, and there exist in addition many references to homosexual notables in works not specifically concerned with any homosexual problem. The time seems long overdue for all these names to be brought together between the covers of a single book. Such a book would appear to be of greater value by including not just the bare names, dates and cross-references, but also short biographies of the subjects sufficiently detailed to provide all the information of likely interest to most readers and researchers, and also such as to give each subject some meaningful identity. Such is the purpose of *Jonathan To Gide*.

A book's title must necessarily reflect practical considerations of length, and in a book such as this is bound to be inadequate. A more appropriate, if unrealistic, title, dealing immediately with the question of definition, would perhaps be "Short Biographies of 300 Men, of Sufficient Importance in Politics and Culture in the Last 3000 Years to Merit Articles in the Best of Encyclopedias, Who Have Been Referred to in Responsible Printed Works as Being Homosexual, or of Homoerotic Temperament, or of Having Had Homosexual Relations on Occasion."

The question arises immediately: Is the present writer certifying that all of the 300 were active homosexuals beyond all doubt? The answer is emphatically no to both of the implied parts of the question. Firstly, the present writer could not possibly, any more than any other, certify any such thing. Rather, in this connection the author's responsibility has been to include no subject without a specific reference (generally with page or pages) containing the explicit or implicit allegation. Secondly, it must be noted that the basis for citation by a prior writer frequently embraces the widest possible definition of "homosexual," including in addition to Kinsey's six mechanistic categories (most of which involve bisexuals of one kind or another) those "of homoerotic tempera-

ment," often latent, repressed or sublimated, whereby are included some historical figures noted for their chastity.

Were any effort to be made by the present writer to apply a category of homosexuality to each of the subjects, on the whole an impossible task, there would have to be in addition to Kinsey's six the following:

- 7) Repressed, latent, or sublimated homosexual, married or otherwise free for heterosexual relations but probably totally chaste: e.g., George Washington, Michaelangelo.
- 8) Repressed, latent or sublimated homosexual committed to chastity by formal or self-imposed vows: e.g., Jesus.
- 9) Alleged homosexual whose citation is considered probably unjustified by the present writer: e.g., Goethe, Napoleon, Hickok, George III,

As is probably the case in the lives of most non-notable homosexuals, there are very few of our subjects with no heterosexual experience at all. Most were married, many with children.

Despite these reservations and qualifications, many readers will be shocked and perhaps offended by the names of some of the notables included. This is doubtless inevitable, since there has been deliberate exclusion of only one group otherwise within the scope outlined: i.e., those living or dead less than a generation (with the exceptions of Nijinsky, d. 1950, and Gide, d. 1951, the latter being too completely self-confessed for an exclusion to be warranted).

Accordingly, amongst the violently anti-homosexual, American super-patriots may be offended by the inclusion of Washington, British super-patriots by the inclusion of Richard the Lion-hearted, and the Church's devout by the inclusion of Jesus, Augustine and so many popes. On the other hand, homosexual chauvinists may perhaps be annoyed by the inclusion of such criminals, maniacs and traitors as Gilles De Raiz, Titus Oates, the Marquis de Sade and Alfred Redl.

From the foregoing, it might appear that if there have been no exclusions to avoid offense (with the exception of the too-contemporary), there has then been included every possible notable, however obscure and however uncertain the allegation, that the author has come across in this connection. Such is far from being the case. Considerably over a hundred names found in one

or another of the works consulted have been left out, most of them falling into one of the following groups:

- 1) The subject of an allegation obviously intended as partisan defamation, *without reasonable evidence*, no matter how distinguished the alleged: e.g., John Milton's allegation about Charles I in the same pamphlet, written as Commonwealth propaganda, in which he accused Charles of murdering his father.
- 2) The object of another's homoerotic affections, without any substantial reference to similar dispositions on his own part, however much he may have sought to profit by them—assuming of course that there were no actual sexual relations: e.g., Jonathan's David, James I's Buckingham, Washington's Hamilton and Robespierre's Saint-Just. (The problem only arises when the beloved became a notable in his own right.)
- 3) The subject is on the borderline with respect to adequacy of biographical data (as in the case of some Greek poets) or with respect to the substance of the allegation (as with Voltaire) or with respect to intrinsic significance or interest when in a period or nationality already well represented. Thus, with an excess of modern English writers, we have left out such borderline literary notables as Douglas, Hopkins, Rolfe, Strachey, Firbank and Welch. One of our principal sources, Hirschfeld, lists dozens of authors of homosexual literature, from the Greek to the German, as well as assorted princelings and victims of the law who have no other real claim to fame. Another principal source, Burton, lists dozens of obscure generals, admirals, diplomats and aristocrats of one sort or another.

In most cases the test for the subject's being sufficiently a notable has been that of "encyclopedic immortality," especially in so excellent and comprehensive an edition as the 11th *Britannica* (which proved adequate for all but the final five percent of our subjects). However, a handful of subjects bypassed by the major encyclopedias we have nevertheless included as being of especial interest: e.g., Cornbury, Hirschfeld and Redl.

The references cited at the conclusion of each biography apply to the prior work containing the homosexual allegation. Except as otherwise noted, or in the case of a reference that is actually

a biography of the subject, the conventional biographical and historical information is derived from the three works noted at the commencement of the Bibliography section. The present writer assumes responsibility for any opinions and judgments reflected in the biographies, which are not necessarily to be found in the sources noted.

The number of different references cited at the conclusion of each biography is rather arbitrary. In many cases, more could be given. In a few cases, for example, Oscar Wilde, it may seem absurd to give any reference. It can be argued, undoubtedly with much justification, that in many cases one reference is in fact the source of all the others. However, it is obviously impossible to ascertain the true facts about such common derivation in most instances, so the matter can only be left as uncertain. Generally speaking, priority has been given to the most easily available works citing a particular subject—for example, Burton and Ellis. In many cases, the citation is found only in the rarer works.

The reader will note that an overwhelming majority of the lines and paragraphs of this work are concerned with conventional biography and history (political or cultural), and not with homosexual orgies. In most cases, the subject's homosexual connections are covered in but a few sentences, usually in a final paragraph. In many cases, there is nothing but a formal bibliographical reference. But this after all reflects realistically the ratio between sexual activities and other activities in most lives, heterosexual or homosexual, especially in lives sufficiently notable for "encyclopedic immortality." As a convenient rule of thumb, it may be not unreasonably concluded that the more specific the homosexual details, especially with the names of male beloveds, the more likely it is that the subject's inclusion is justified. But like all convenient rules of thumb, this is assuredly far from infallible.

The statistically minded will perhaps take especial pleasure in consulting the listings of our subjects (in the back of the book) broken down by professions or occupations and by nationalities. In the latter group, it will be noted that the English have passed the proverbial Greeks, or are about to pass them (since there will be no further additions to the Greek list), even with the omissions previously noted.

In order that contemporaries might be brought together, the subjects are introduced more or less in the order of their appearance on the stage of political or cultural history, specifically by the decade in which they first achieved outstanding distinction. (The alphabetical index may be consulted as needed). In the process of being arranged in roughly chronological order, the biographies of our 300 subjects in effect constitute a history of three thousand years of political and cultural history. Like Upton Sinclair's Lanny Budd in merely the second quarter of this century, one or more of our subjects has always been on the spot, often in a leading role, for every period politically or culturally important over the last three thousand years.

JONATHAN (c. 1046-1013 B.C.)

Israelite crown prince.

He was the oldest surviving son of Saul, a young giant of the tribe of Benjamin who was chosen Israel's first king in 1028 B.C. in order to provide leadership against the encroaching Philistines. The election is variously recorded as being by lot, or by the manipulations of the "prophet" Samuel.

From his youth Jonathan served his father with great devotion, assisting him in his deliverance of Jabesh in Gilead from the Ammonites and later in his victory over the Philistines at Michmash.

When the ambitious shepherd-boy David became attached to Saul's court, Jonathan was from the first immensely attracted to him and did everything in his power to further his advance. After David rose to a high military command, and married Saul's daughter Michal, Saul became convinced that David was plotting to seize his throne and made plans to have him killed.

Caught in a peculiar position when his beloved friend became the object of his father's hatred, Jonathan was forced to make a choice between the conflicting loyalties. He chose David, saved his life and hid him from his father until David's escape was effected.

Jonathan was killed during the disastrous defeat of the Israelite army by the Philistines at the Battle of Mt. Gilboa (1013 B.C.), in the course of which Saul killed himself. Jonathan's beloved David, as is well known, subsequently reunited the kingdom and, in his days of glory, retained the fondest memories of Jonathan's love for him, especially in the famous sentence, "My brother Jonathan, thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." (2 Sam. 1:26).

Reference: Masters, 149; Mayne 188-9; Nash, 17-18; Schmitt.



PERIANDER (c. 652-585 B.C.)

Tyrant of Corinth (627-585 B.C.)

He succeeded his father in 627 as tyrant, the name given in that period of Greek history to the dictators who broke the power of the land-owning aristocrats and reformed society to

the benefit of the commercial and artisan classes. Periander's cruelty and ruthlessness in retaining power became legendary, quite possibly being exaggerated by his enemies. Most famous of the legends was that he demonstrated his technique for retaining power by walking through a cornfield, striking off the tallest and best-grown ears.

Cruel or not, Periander brought Corinth to the height of its prosperity, sufficient for the elimination of direct taxation. He fostered wealth by the steady encouragement of industry along with drastic legislation against idleness, luxury and vice (though in later centuries Corinth was to become the vice center of Greece). A massive public works program eliminated unemployment and led to the beautification of the city under the direction of skillful architects, sculptors and painters. In his foreign relations, Periander made Corinth a great power, establishing colonies and close diplomatic relations with the rulers of Egypt and the states of Asia Minor. His fleets of triremes made Corinth a center of international commerce.

A great patron of culture, he brought the poet Arion to Corinth. His personal intelligence was so highly esteemed that he was included on most of the rival lists of the "Seven Sages of Greece," and had attributed to him a collection of maxims in 2,000 verses.

His personal life was always troubled. All his sons were killed or estranged from him. A bodyguard was required around him at all times. Nevertheless, he was said to have met his death violently in 585 at the hands of a youth who found his attentions obnoxious.

Reference: Bulliet, 59.



SOLON (c. 639-559 B.C.)

Athenian statesman, lawgiver and poet.

In 594 B.C., when Athens was torn by the political, social and economic strife that followed the abolition of the monarchy, Solon was elected *Archon* or Chief Magistrate of Athens. By agreement of all parties, he was authorized to institute reforms.

Solon's initial major acts were to annul all mortgages on farms and to limit the size of land holdings; to free all those imprisoned for debt; to outlaw the securing of debts by the

person; to institute a humane code of laws and to make all free citizens the ultimate legislative and judicial authority, a somewhat premature attempt at radical democracy. Other reforms of Solon, more limited in scope, regulated trade and immigration, standardized the coinage, and laid down rules governing various types of employment, including prostitution. A law of Solon's regulating male prostitution specifically outlawed its practice by freeborn youths of Athens, the penalty being loss of citizenship.

Solon's reforms inevitably met with great opposition. At the expiration of his term, he abandoned Athens in disgust at the lack of adequate support for his reforms and passed ten years in travels, which included Egypt and Cyprus. When he returned to Athens he found it once again torn by civil strife, most of his reforms ignored. Shortly before his death, he saw power seized by Pisistratus (q.v.), who as a boy had been Solon's beloved.

It is interesting to note that the humane ethical and social reforms of this practical Athenian homosexual politician preceded by a half century the earliest of the preachings of the religious and semireligious Great Teachers: Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Buddha, and Confucius, all of them curiously nearly contemporaries in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. Also interesting to note in this connection is that the earliest of these four Great Teachers was not one of the Eastern ones but rather Pythagoras, from the Greek colonial world of Sicily and southern Italy, the materialistic, affluent America of the day. From this source it travelled to the Orient and not, as is frequently thought, the other way around.

Reference: Licht, 452; Plutarch, 97; Schrenck, 134.



ALCAEUS (c. 630-580 B.C.)

Greek lyric poet.

He was born at Mytilene on Lesbos and was thus an older contemporary of the famous poetess Sappho. A member of one of the old noble families, Alcaeus was involved in the disputes and feuds resulting from the efforts of a tyrant here, as elsewhere in the Greek world of the time, to break the political power monopoly of the landed aristocrats. Being on the losing

side, Alcaeus was obliged to go into exile for many years. He is said to have been reconciled with the democratic leader Pittacus shortly before his death and to have returned to his native land to die.

Although none of his works survive complete, the fragments are considerable and deal with love, mostly homosexual, or with ideological passions including love of liberty and hatred of tyranny. There was a tradition that Alcaeus had proposed marriage to Sappho but was rejected.

The youth to whom Alcaeus was specially attached was "black-eyed Lycus." Others referred to in his erotic verses include Menon, Cleobulus and Megisteus.

Reference: Bulliet, 62; Licht, 433, 469-70; Schrenck, 133.



PISISTRATUS (c. 605-527 B.C.)

Tyrant of Athens (561-527 B.C.)

He was said to have been in his youth the beloved of his cousin Solon (q.v.), their friendship being lifelong and surviving political disagreements. After a military career befitting his noble aristocratic lineage, Pisistratus became the prototype of the "traitor-to-his-class" aristocrat who becomes the champion of the common man against the rich and powerful.

By 561 B.C. the reforms of Solon had been largely undone, with the rich and powerful once more running affairs to their own interest. The poor peasants and the artisans found themselves unable to take the time to exercise the rights given them by Solon, and for the most part in consequence lost these rights.

Presenting himself as the leader of the discontented, a man of the people, Pisistratus seized power in 561 B.C. by a well-planned coup along surprisingly modern lines. As tyrant or dictator, he gave Athens many years of energetic and capable service that brought stability, prosperity and general contentment. He built roads and public edifices, subsidized farmers and forced many of the reforms of Solon to take root. As a great contribution to culture, he was responsible for the first written text of Homer.

Like Julius Caesar (q.v.) five centuries later, Pisistratus was generous and forbearing to his enemies (who forced him into exile for a few short periods) and preserved the constitutional

fictions. He also did much to enlarge the power and influence of Athens abroad.

Pisistratus' principal homoerotic interest, as recorded by Plutarch, was the youth Charmus.

Reference: Burton, 213; Plutarch, 97; Schrenck, 134.



THEOGNIS (c. 600- c. 540 B.C.)

Greek elegaic poet.

He was born at Megara, the neighboring city-state of Athens, and its frequent rival, during the period of social and economic turmoil. In Megara, as elsewhere, the aristocracy and oligarchy were being forced to yield to popular tyrants and democracies. As a scion of the aristocrats, Theognis was a strong partisan in the struggles, holding the evil democrats in contempt.

Many of the 1400 lines ascribed to Theognis reflect his partisan political attitudes. Most of them, however, are elegies addressed to his beloved boy Cyrnus, offering him moral advice on many topics. Although Theognis' poetry is not considered profound in thought or sublime in diction, it was tremendously admired by later generations for its sound practicality and common sense, somewhat as Solomon's and Benjamin Franklin's writings were to be held by their peoples. One of the first exponents of the famous Greek dictum about "all things in moderation," Theognis was widely quoted by the philosophers.

Aside from the references to the cold and unresponsive nature of his beloved Cyrnus found among the preachments of the elegies, Theognis was also widely considered the author of the *Musa Paedica*, dealing entirely with the love of boys, but modern scholars tend to doubt his authorship.

Reference: Burton, 213; Licht, 468-69.



IBYCUS (c. 570- c. 525. B.C.)

Greek lyric poet.

He was born at Rhegium, a Greek colony in southern Italy (modern Reggio di Calabria). Despite the affluent position of his family, he took to a wandering life, mostly in the "old country" of Greece, Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. Several years were passed at the court of Polycrates of Samos (q.v.) Only

fragments of his poetry survive, including the oldest specimen of the triadic choral lyric.

According to the Byzantine writer Suidas, Ibycus wrote seven books of lyrics, some of them concerning mythological heroes and gods, but most of them erotic, celebrating the charms of beautiful youths and maidens. Probably they were intended for singing by a chorus of boys at the Lesbos "beauty contests." Called by Suidas "the most frenzied of boy-lovers," Ibycus was especially devoted to youths named Euryalus and Gorgias. One of them was referred to thus:

O lad that lookest in maiden wise
I seek thee and thou hearkenest not
Little knowing that the rein of my soul is in thy hands.

The death of Ibycus formed the basis of a famous classical story and proverb. Mortally wounded by robbers near Corinth, the dying Ibycus called on a flock of cranes flying overhead to avenge his death. Subsequently, when the murderers were sitting in a theater of Corinth, one of them noted some hovering cranes and blabbed out, either in alarm or jest, "Behold the avengers of Ibycus." Overheard by someone aware of Ibycus' murder, this led to the arrest of the murderers. "The cranes of Ibycus" passed into a proverb for the discovery of a crime through divine intervention. They are also the subject of a ballad by the German poet Schiller.

Reference: Licht, 470.



POLYCRATES (c. 570-522 B.C.)

Tyrant of Samos (c. 535-522 B.C.).

Having won popularity with the common people by donations to the poorer citizens, Polycrates led a conspiracy in about 535 B.C. against the oligarchs of Samos and established himself as tyrant or dictator.

Appreciating the great value of sea-power, Polycrates equipped a fleet of 100 ships and made his island master of the Aegean Sea. Many of his naval activities were considered sheer piracy, but when he was confronted by a coalition of the two other great naval powers of the area, Miletus and Lesbos, Polycrates

defeated them. With his loot, Polycrates adorned Samos with many works of beauty and established a lavish court where patronage was offered artists and poets, including Ibycus (q.v.) and Anacreon (q.v.). However, Polycrates forced into exile the great philosopher Pythagoras, the ethical-religious teacher whose preachings were probably to inspire Buddha and Zoroaster, and perhaps Confucius.

At the peak of his power, Polycrates allied himself with Amasis II, the Greek-loving Pharaoh of Egypt. However, in 525 B.C. when Amasis was threatened by the conquering Cambyses of Persia, Polycrates deserted him and offered Cambyses a naval contingent.

The proverbial good fortune of Polycrates now ran out. The naval contingent, made up of his political enemies who suspected that the Persians would kill them on Polycrates' instructions, revolted. They returned to Samos and won a victory over Polycrates. Subsequently, Polycrates found the rebels aided by the Spartans and Corinthians, and had to stand a siege of many months by the coalition of his enemies. The Persian satrap of Lydia, Oroetes, now Polycrates' overlord, angered at his incompetent failure to subdue the rebels, lured Polycrates to Sardis, arrested him and had him crucified.

Polycrates' principal homoerotic attachment was the beautiful youth Bathyllus, to whom he defiantly erected a statue in the temple of Hera (Juno), goddess of women and of marriage. Bathyllus was also to be the subject of lyrics by Anacreon, and was presumably courted by both the dictator and the poet.

Reference: Bulliet, 61; Licht, 434; Mehta, 51; Schrenck, 133.



ANACREON (c. 560-475 B.C.)

Greek lyric poet.

He was born at Teos, an Ionian city on the coast of Asia Minor, near modern Izmir. In 545 B.C. he joined a group of his fellow townsmen, fleeing before the advancing Persians of Cyrus the Great, to found the colony of Abderos in Thrace. Subsequently, he went to Samos and became an intimate friend of its famous tyrant, Polycrates (q.v.), in whose honor he composed many sycophantic odes.

After the capture and crucifixion of Polycrates by the Persians,

Anacreon moved from the brilliant court of Samos' tyrant to that of Athens'. Hipparchus (q.v.), heir to his father Pisistratus, along with his brother, as tyrant of Athens, sent a special embassy to bring Anacreon to Athens in a fifty-oared galley. In Athens Anacreon adorned Hipparchus' court as he had Polycrates', and became a prominent figure in Athenian society, numbering among his friends Xanthippus, father of Pericles. After Hipparchus' assassination (514 B.C.), Anacreon returned to Teos and was said to have lived on until his eighty-fifth year (475 B.C.) in one account, although according to another he died a few years later.

Anacreon's lyrical pieces were mostly about wine and love, the love ones generally concerned with boys. Five books of his poetry were still extant in the tenth century, but only fragments survive today, taken from illustrations of points of Greek grammar. For instance, one such grammatical device is illustrated by the following lines of Anacreon:

I love Cleobulus
I dote on Cleobulus
I gaze at Cleobulus.

Other youths celebrated by Anacreon include Smerdis, Leukaspis, Simalus, Euryalus and Bathyllus. The last-named has already been mentioned as the subject of the attentions of Samos' dictator.

Many spurious imitations of Anacreon became mixed in with various published collections called *Anacreonta* or *Anacreontics*. In the eighteenth century there was a great craze for English imitations of Anacreon, and one such led to a popular song, "Anacreon in Heaven," which in due course furnished the tune for the American national anthem.

Reference: Bulliet, 61; Burton, 213; Licht, 433-34, 470; Moll, 28.



HIPPIAS (c. 565- c. 489 B.C.)

Co-Tyrant of Athens (527-510 B.C.).

Following the death in 527 B.C. of Pisistratus (q.v.), his sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded jointly as tyrants. Although

their brilliant court attracted such poets as Anacreon (q.v.), their political rule was more arbitrary and inept than that of their father and made them hated, leading finally to the epic events of 514 B.C. (see below).

After his brother Hipparchus (q.v.) and Harmodius (q.v.) were slain, almost simultaneously, Hippias effected the capture of Aristogeiton (q.v.), tortured him to death and temporarily suppressed the revolution. However, in 510 B.C. his enemies finally succeeded in expelling Hippias from Athens.

Hippias became lost to history until 490 B.C. when, as a traitor to his country, he guided the Persians during the Marathon campaign.

Hippias' principal homoerotic connection is recorded as being, curiously enough, his father's onetime beloved boy, Charmus. From his position as Charmus' beloved he rose, or fell, to that of Charmus' son-in-law.

Reference: Athenaeus, 285; Burton, 213; Moll, 22;
Schrenck, 134.



HIPPARCHUS (c. 563-514 B.C.)

Co-Tyrant of Athens (527-514 B.C.).

He succeeded jointly with his brother in 527 B.C. as heir to his father Pisistratus (q.v.), Tyrant of Athens. While Hippias (q.v.) devoted himself mainly to political matters, and by his ineptness brought down the hatred of the Athenians on both of them, Hipparchus devoted himself more to the finer things of life, becoming a patron of artists and poets, and bringing to his court such celebrities as Anacreon (q.v.).

Taking a great fancy to the handsome youth Harmodius and courting him assiduously, Hipparchus was infuriated when Harmodius persisted in spurning his advances and remaining faithful to his lover Aristogeiton.

As an odd form of vengeance, Hipparchus offered a public insult to Harmodius' sister, thereby triggering off the democratic conspiracy of 514 B.C., led by the lovers.

Hipparchus was slain in the opening act of the tragic drama (see below) that was to become a national epic.

Reference: Burton, 213; Schrenck 134.

HARMODIUS (c. 532-514 B.C.) and
ARISTOGEITON (c. 537-514 B.C.)

Martyred Athenian freedom fighters.

When the co-Tyrant Hipparchus (q.v.) attempted to take Harmodius away from his lover Aristogeiton and was only spurned, he offered a public insult to Harmodius' sister. This provided the trigger to the long simmering conspiracy, and concrete plans were made to slay both tyrants at a forthcoming public festival when arms were permitted.

As a result of panic on the part of one of the other conspirators, the plans were put into operation prematurely and miscarried. Although Hipparchus was successfully slain by the lovers, Hippias (q.v.) escaped and had his guards kill Harmodius on the spot. Shortly after, Hippias captured Aristogeiton and tortured him to death.

Although the conspiracy of 514 B.C. was ruthlessly suppressed by Hippias, his hostile opposition developed into a democratic movement. In the ensuing grim struggle against the tyrant's forces, the democrats developed the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton into a patriotic and democratic epic serving to rally their forces. After the democratic triumph in 510 B.C., and the expulsion of Hippias, the lovers were proclaimed the liberators of Athens and were celebrated in song and sculpture.

A century later, the famous historian Thucydides expressed himself as resenting the exaggeration of the connection between the tragic homosexual triangle and the winning of democratic freedom for Athens, but conceded the popular cult was beyond his power to diminish. Doubtless the elevated status enjoyed by homosexuality at Athens was largely attributable to the popular democratic cult of the lovers.

Reference: Athenaeus, 245; Burton 213; Schrenck, 134.



ARISTIDES (c. 530-468 B.C.)

Athenian general and statesman.

Born of a middle-class family, Aristides entered Athenian politics on the side of the aristocratic party, winning little distinction. However, when the Persian invasion of Greece led to the epic battle of Marathon (490 B.C.), Aristides became a war hero and was elected chief *archon* of Athens the following year.

He remained the dominant figure in Athenian politics year after year, basking in his nickname, "*the Just*," until his great rival Themistocles (q.v.), leader of the democratic party, secured his downfall by an ostracism vote, which forced him into exile. According to a popular legend, many of the votes for ostracism were cast by voters who had merely become tired of hearing him called "the Just."

The official public issue had been Aristides' opposition to the program of Themistocles to build a huge navy as the best defense against the still-looming Persian menace. Aristides wanted to maintain Athens' new reputation as a great military power resulting from the failure of the Spartans to participate in the Marathon victory.

With the new invasion by Xerxes of Persia in 480 B.C., Aristides was amongst the exiles recalled. Again elected a general, he loyally supported Themistocles, participated in the great naval victory at Salamis and mopped up Persian garrisons afterwards. In 479 B.C., Aristides led the Athenian contingent at Plataea, where under the leadership of the Spartan Pausanias (q.v.), the Greek patriots won another great victory over the Persians and their Greek satellites. Aristides was apparently the only Greek to play a major role in all three of the epic victories over the Persians: Marathon, Salamis and Plataea.

Aristides now became a naval commander and assisted the Greek colonies of the Aegean and Asia Minor in revolting against the Persians. When the Greeks became disgusted with the arrogance of Pausanias, Aristides secured for Athens leadership of the allied fleet and in his assessments of contributions to the joint struggle once again secured universal acceptance of his justness. These contributions, which could be in money instead of ships, later served to provide misappropriated capital for the public works program that became the glory of Athens.

Around 477 B.C., Aristides, feeling his advancing years more and more, turned over the command of the fleet to Cimon (q.v.) and passed his remaining ten years back in Athenian politics, again as the leader of the conservative party in opposition to Themistocles, whom he saw ostracised and outlawed by his ungrateful fellow citizens.

The lifelong rivalry between Aristides and Themistocles was

said to have had an original personal element deriving from their common passion for the beautiful youth, Stesilaus of Ceos.

Reference: Burton, 213; Hirschfeld, 651; Plutarch, 392; Schrenck, 134.



THEMISTOCLES (c. 525-460 B.C.)

Athenian statesman and admiral.

He was born of a humble Athenian father and a non-Athenian mother (which under a later law would have disqualified him from citizenship), his mother reputedly being a prostitute. From his earliest years Themistocles was imbued with a passion for power and glory. He entered politics as a demagogue attacking the policies and the privileges of the dominant aristocratic party, and soon became a leader of the democratic party.

United with his political enemies in opposition to the Persian invaders, he participated without distinction in the Marathon victory (490 B.C.) over the Persians. Consumed with envy over the achievements of the aristocratic generals Miltiades and Aristides (q.v.), Themistocles secured the impeachment of Miltiades, who died of a long-festering wound while fighting the charges (489 B.C.) and left behind his son Cimon (q.v.), vowing vengeance on Themistocles.

Themistocles now focused all his attacks on Aristides and found an issue in Aristides' opposition to the naval building program. Proposing that the revenue from Athens' new silver mines should be used for this purpose, rather than for distribution to the citizens, Themistocles urged that ships would provide a much more certain defense against the inevitable further Persian attacks than the land defense favored by Aristides. In 483 B.C. Themistocles secured Aristides' ostracism (exile for ten years) and emerged as the dominant figure in Athenian politics, as he had always dreamed of being.

When the Persian attack was renewed in 480 B.C. by Xerxes, Themistocles at last had the opportunity for supreme glory that only success in war could bring. He proved his own high opinion of himself justified. Exercising energetic and far-sighted leadership, Themistocles called for a united Greek stand, recalled all Athenian exiles and deferred nominal leadership to the vain Spartans and their vain leader Pausanias (q.v.) after the gallant

death at Thermopylae of King Leonidas and his three hundred. Meanwhile, Themistocles directed what proved to be the winning strategy.

With the victorious Persians masters of northern Greece and advancing on Athens, Themistocles persuaded a priest to attribute to a divine oracle the command that the Athenians should rely on their wooden walls. In accordance with Themistocles' interpretation, all women and children and cattle were evacuated to the island of Salamis, while all Athenian men took to the fleet recently completed by Themistocles' driving will. Uniting with other Greek naval contingents to form a fleet of over 300 ships, Themistocles had first to trick the unwilling Spartan commander to stand off Salamis and then to trick the Persians into sending their fleet to attack at the desired point (by sending a "treacherous" message to Xerxes as though from a secret ally), then to intrigue to get the still unwilling Spartan commander to cut off the Persian fleet and fight in the narrow inlet. All these intrigues proved fully justified when the Greeks, with the loss of but forty ships, destroyed over 200 Persian vessels. Along with the land victory won the following year at Plataea by Pausanias, this ended the current Persian threat.

Having proved himself the great leader he always felt himself to be, Themistocles' head was completely turned. While other leaders were winning glory for Athens in distant places, Themistocles began to obtain a reputation for both arrogance and corrupt extortion of bribes. As a result, despite his proven statesmanship in making Athens a leading center of trade, where foreign merchants were welcomed and encouraged to settle, Themistocles lost his popularity even with the poorer classes whose champion he had been. In 471 B.C. he was ostracized, the architect of his ruin being Cimon, whose father Themistocles had hounded to his death.

During his exile, Themistocles established close contact with the like-minded Spartan Pausanias, his old comrade, and his name was found in the incriminating documents that produced Pausanias' conviction for treason. When the Spartans passed the information to the Athenians, Themistocles' enemies secured his being outlawed, with all his property confiscated (not applied to the merely ostracized).

The hated enemy now of both the Spartans and the Athenian aristocratic party, Themistocles ended up in Asia Minor, where he was welcomed by his former archfoe, Emperor Xerxes, who had formerly offered a price for his capture. Xerxes magnanimously gave him that very price, treated him as a favored courtier, and ultimately made him a virtual satrap of several coastal cities of Asia Minor, with all their revenues at his personal disposal.

Themistocles prospered again, growing so rich at Magnesia, his new residence, and living so luxuriously, that after his death the citizens of Magnesia built a splendid memorial to him, worshipping him as a god. His death traditionally came when he committed suicide, by drinking bull's blood, to escape a pending royal command to accept leadership in a new Persian war against the Athenians.

Themistocles' lifelong rivalry with Aristides was said to have had a personal as well as a political basis, in that during their earlier years each of them loved and courted the beautiful youth, Stesilaus of Ceos.

References: Burton, 213; Hirschfield, 656; Plutarch, 135; Schrenck, 134.



PAUSANIAS (c. 525-c. 470 B.C.)

Spartan general and statesman.

After the heroic death at Thermopylae (480 B.C.) of King Leonidas, his brother Cleombrotus became regent for Leonidas' infant son, but he died himself the following year. Cleombrotus' son Pausanias succeeded as regent, and in consequence he was also elected, at the urging of the Athenian leader Themistocles (q.v.), supreme commander of the allied Greek forces against the advancing Persian hordes. Pausanias' victory at Plataea, following the recent Athenian naval victory at Salamis, put an end to the Persian invasion of Greece.

The Greeks now switched to a counter-offensive, aiming at the liberation of the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. Pausanias became admiral of the allied fleet and captured from the Persians Cyprus and Byzantium. At Byzantium, however, Pausanias started to behave strangely. He began negotiating

with the Persians, adopted Persian garb and manners, and was soon treating his fellow Greeks with arrogance. He was called home to Sparta to answer charges of treason.

Pausanias cleared himself at Sparta, but upon returning to Byzantium, he seized this crucial base, apparently aiming to found his own kingdom. Driven out of Byzantium by the Athenians, to whom the naval command was given by the Greek allies, he set himself up in the environs of ancient Troy and again began negotiating with the Persians. Again he was recalled to Sparta. This time he attempted to seize power in Sparta itself, with plans to incite a revolt of the helots, or hereditary serfs.

Pausanias' treasonable plans were revealed to the Spartan senate by Agilus, his former beloved slave-boy who had become his confidential secretary. He fled to a sanctuary and was starved to death in it.

The name of the great Athenian leader Themistocles being found in Pausanias' incriminating papers, the information was passed along to the Athenians, who immediately changed Themistocles' ostracism to the status of outlawry.

Reference: Bulliet, 56.



CIMON (c. 507-449 B.C.)

Athenian statesman and general.

The son of Miltiades, hero of Marathon, by a Thracian princess, Cimon was eighteen when his father died while under impeachment. Miltiades, in command of an Athenian fleet, had made an unauthorized attack with it, for which his enemy, the jealous demagogue Themistocles (q.v.), had charges brought against him. A heavy fine was also assessed, and on reaching manhood, Cimon, vowing vengeance on Themistocles, devoted all his energies to getting the funds to pay the fine and to restoring the family honor.

When the second Persian invasion came in 480 B.C., Cimon won himself at an early age a high command by his outstanding valor at Salamis, where he loyally supported Themistocles. After the disgrace of Pausanias (q.v.) and the retirement of Pausanias' Athenian successor as allied naval commander, Aristides (q.v.),

Cimon received the naval command, and he successfully completed the expulsion of the Persian garrisons from their European coastal bases.

At the island of Scyros, Cimon defeated some pirates and then recovered the supposed bones of Theseus, Athens' legendary hero, and brought them home for burial, after which a temple called the Theseum was erected over the site. Now a national hero, Cimon augmented his reputation further by liberating a number of Greek cities of Asia Minor and inflicting further defeats on the Persians by land and sea.

Using his new popularity with all the Athenian people, Cimon took his vengeance at last on Themistocles, securing his ostracism in 471 and later his being outlawed. In 468, with the death of Aristides, Cimon became the head of the aristocratic party. Once again the fatal *hubris* began to become manifest. Driving the dazzled Athenians along with him, Cimon proceeded ruthlessly against Athens' former allies. The Delian League, organized under Athenian leadership as a federation of allies to fight the Persians, was converted by Cimon into an Athenian empire. Some states were forced to join, others who tried to withdraw were attacked like enemies. The assessments, once scrupulously fixed by Aristides the Just, became tribute.

In 464 B.C. Cimon carried his antidemocratic crusade further than the Athenians would tolerate. He forced through a motion for the Athenians to send aid to the Spartans to suppress a revolt of their helots, or hereditary serfs. Cimon's democratic enemies proclaimed his action an everlasting disgrace to Athens and under their new leader, Ephialtes, used it as an issue by means of which Cimon's ostracism was secured in 461 B.C.

A few years later the Athenians became involved in a series of wars on several fronts, against Sparta and other Peloponnesian states at home, and against the Persians in Egypt. Growing wearied of the war and the heavy losses, the Athenians recalled Cimon in 451 B.C. so that he might end the fighting on at least one front.

As a traditional friend of Sparta, he negotiated a five-year truce with the Spartans, then led an Athenian expedition to Cyprus against the Persians. Cimon's sudden death, from plague, caused the fleet to set back to Athens, but on the way a great

victory was won over the Persians, leading to a truce on this front also, for which the departed Cimon procured some posthumous reflected glory.

Reference: Caufeynon, 15.



HIERON I (c. 520-467 B.C.)

Tyrant of Syracuse (478-467 B.C.).

He succeeded his older brother Gelon as tyrant of the leading city of Greek Sicily in 478 B.C., and was hard put to prove worthy of him. A cavalry leader who had served the tyrant of Gela, Gelon had succeeded the tyrant on his death, but soon after had a much better opportunity. The landed nobles of Syracuse, expelled by a democratic revolution, hired Gelon to recapture Syracuse for them. This he successfully accomplished, thereafter winning over the populace. He had also repelled a Carthaginian invasion, forced Carthage to pay him tribute, and dominated all Sicily. When the Greeks asked for his aid against Xerxes' invasion, he assented subject to being supreme commander; this being refused, he withheld his aid. Gelon went through the motions of trying to resign his office, but the protest from the people was so great that he consented to remain tyrant for the rest of his life.

Striving hard to follow in Gelon's footsteps, Hieron further increased the power of Syracuse by removing the populations of the rival ports of Naxos and Catana to inland Leontini and repopulating Catana, renamed Aetna, with refugees from war-ravaged Greece. In 474 B.C., in alliance with Aristodemus of Cumae, the important colony west of still-insignificant Naples, Hieron defeated the Etruscans in a naval battle off Cumae, thus becoming a power in mainland Italian politics, and saving the Greek colonies from the Etruscans.

In 472 B.C. Hieron insured the success of a democratic revolution in Acragas, in western Sicily, by defeating its hated tyrant. Subsequently, he supported the people of Locri in southern Italy against the tyrant of Rhegium. Hieron's partiality for democratic revolutions proved the undoing of his family, for his brother Thrasybulus, who succeeded him, was ousted by a democratic revolution in Syracuse in 466 B.C.

Hieron was renowned also as a patron of literature, having at

various times at his court Pindar (q.v.) and Aeschylus (q.v.). Pindar honored him in his verses for the victories he had obtained in his youth at the Greek games.

Hieron was noted as a homosexual by Xenophon (q.v.), his best-known beloved boy being recorded as Dailochus.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 653.



AESCHYLUS (525-456 B.C.)

Athenian poet and dramatist.

Born of an aristocratic family in Eleusis, the religious center near Athens, Aeschylus took part in all the epic Athenian battles against the Persians: Marathon (490 B.C.), Salamis (480 B.C.) and Plataea (479 B.C.). He had already begun his lifelong devotion to dramatic poetry by entering the contests in 499 B.C., but it was not until 484 B.C. that he won the first of thirteen victories. He is reported to have written ninety plays in all, mostly in the traditional set of four, consisting of a tragic trilogy plus a lighter satyr play. Only seven are extant.

The Suppliants is the oldest of his extant plays, followed by *The Persians* (472 B.C.), said to be the only extant Greek historical drama, as opposed to the merely mythological, and then by *The Seven Against Thebes* (467 B.C.). It is on the marked improvement shown in his last four extant plays that his reputation mainly stands. *Prometheus Bound* was followed by his only surviving trilogy, the *Oresteia* (*Agamemnon*; *The Choëphorae*; *Eumenides*).

At the invitation of Hieron I of Syracuse (q.v.), Aeschylus visited Sicily in 476 B.C. (writing a play for the new town of Aetna), and returned for further visits to the Greek New World in 472 and 458, on this last occasion remaining until his death. He was buried in the Sicilian city of Gela, with two elegaic couplets of his own composition as an epitaph on the tomb:

Beneath this stone lies Aeschylus, son of Euphorion,
the Athenian, who perished in the wheat-bearing land of
Gela; of his noble prowess the grove of Marathon can
speak, or the longhaired Persian who knows it well.

Forming with Sophocles (q.v.) and Euripides (q.v.) the Big Three of Attic drama, Aeschylus was considered the greatest

of them by his countrymen. In the most sublime of poetry, Aeschylus dealt with the noblest of themes: the wrath and jealousy of the gods, the meaning of life, the strange quirks and inescapability of fate, etc. Aeschylus is considered the real founder of Greek drama in that he was the first to use nonreligious themes successfully and to create dialogue by the introduction of a second actor. In the *Oresteia*, following young Sophocles' lead, he even had three actors. In these later plays he also introduced the first of real-life characterization, notably the watchman in *Agamemnon* and the nurse in *The Choëphorae*.

Reference: Ellis, 12.



PINDAR (c. 522- c. 443 B.C.)

Greek lyric poet.

Generally regarded as the greatest of the lyric poets of ancient Greece, Pindar was born near Thebes of an aristocratic family tracing its lineage to the legendary days. His family having many branches in various Greek states, Pindar was able to become a sort of national Greek poet laureate, not identified solely with Thebes or any other single state.

He travelled widely in Greek Sicily, North Africa, and probably Asia Minor, and many fragments that survive reflect his pan-Hellenic views (with an especial fondness for Athens) as well as his views on politics, religion and art (he recognized sculpture as a sort of poetry).

His chief medium was the choral lyric, of which there are extant in full only forty-four *epinicia*, celebrating victories in athletic games. Each was written to be sung in a procession for the victor, usually on his return to his home town. Many are thought to have been undertaken by Pindar on a commission. His odes, of which many survive only in fragments, are noted for their beauty of language and boldness of imagery. References to the gods, to mythology and to moral sentiments are somehow tied in with the specific feats of a specific athlete.

Such was the veneration in which Pindar was held that when Alexander the Great (q.v.) sacked Thebes in punishment for its rebellion (335 B.C.), only his house was saved from destruction and his descendants from slavery.

Pindar's homosexuality is connected principally with his passion for Theoxenus of Tenedos, which produced the following famed lines:

Whoever, once he hath seen the rays flashing from the eyes of Theoxenus, is not tossed on the waves of desire, hath a black heart forged in cold flame of adamant or of iron, and having no honor from Aphrodite of the quick glance, he either toileth brutally for wealth, or else through some woman's boldness his soul is borne along every path while he serves her. But I, to grace the goddess, like wax of the sacred bees when smitten by the sun, am melted when I look at the young limbs of boys.

Similar sentiments are said to have been expressed more briefly and more coarsely by Christopher Marlowe (q.v.) as "He who loves not boys [and tobacco] is a fool."

Reference: Athenaeus, 241-3; Bulliet, 62; Licht, 473-4; Schrenck, 133.



SOPHOCLES (c. 495-406 B.C.)

Athenian dramatist.

He was born at Colonus near Athens on the eve of the great Athenian victories over the Persians, and lived on till the days of Athens' defeat and humiliation by Sparta. As an active citizen, apart from his career as a dramatist, he served in political, diplomatic, and religious posts, and was even a general in a minor war (440-39 B.C.).

Both his civic and artistic careers began for Sophocles at sixteen when he led a chorus of boys in celebration of the victory at Salamis (480 B.C.). He was inspired to become a tragic poet, and over the years wrote 120 plays, of which only seven survive complete. In the dramatic contests he won his first victory over Aeschylus in 468 B.C., thereafter winning twenty more times and never doing worse than placing second in any contest.

Of the extant plays of Sophocles, *Ajax* is the oldest. *Antigone* (441 B.C.) is widely considered the most interesting one, although Aristotle pronounced his *King Oedipus* (429 B.C.) the most

perfect example of tragedy. Continuing as a wartime playwright through the bitter Peloponnesian War, he produced *Electra* (411 B.C.), *The Trachinian Maidens* (410 B.C.) and *Philoctetes* (409 B.C.). His last surviving play, *Oedipus at Colonus* (a sequel to *King Oedipus*), was produced by his son after his death.

Adding further innovations to those created by Aeschylus, Sophocles introduced a third actor, used more dialogue and less chorus, made his sets more imaginative, and placed more emphasis on human and dramatic interest than on the traditional moral and religious loftiness. The real characterization initiated by Aeschylus was also brought along much further by Sophocles.

"Sophocles was fond of young lads," begins a story recorded by Athenaeus, or in fact two stories about Sophocles. One involves Sophocles' foxiness in getting to kiss a young waiter at a banquet; the other involves the theft of his cloak by a male prostitute, much to the amusement of a mocking Euripides (q.v.). The names of Sophocles' best-loved boys are recorded as Demophon and **Smicrines**.

Reference: Athenaeus, 253-59; Bulliet, 61; Ellis, 12.



EMPEDOCLES (c. 493- c. 433 B.C.)

Greek statesman and philosopher.

He was born at Acragas, an important Greek colony in western Sicily, of a distinguished family. When Empedocles was in his twenties, his father played a major role in the overthrow of Acragas' hated tyrant, with the support of Hieron of Syracuse (q.v.). The successful democratic party soon lost control to an oligarchy, and after his father's death, Empedocles carried on in the family tradition, heading the democratic faction. The oligarchy being overthrown, Empedocles was urged by his followers to become their king (a democratic one, doubtless) but refused. In due course, the enemies of Empedocles again returned to power, and Empedocles went into exile.

In his exile, Empedocles wound up in the Peloponnesus in Greece and devoted the remainder of his life to study and writing. His studies and writings covered a wide range of interests: poetry, rhetoric, politics and physics. His attitudes also range widely. In some works he appears as a mystic, concerned with the Orphic mysteries and the theories of Pythagoras; in others,

he appears as one of the earliest of materialistic physical scientists.

Empedocles is perhaps best known for his proto-atomic theory that there are four underived and indestructible elements—fire, water, earth and air—from which all structures are made, being made or dissolved by the interaction of the two opposed forces of love or harmony and discord or hatred. Mixed in with this theory was an implication of a theory of transmigration of souls.

The name of the youth to whom Empedocles was especially attached is recorded as Pausanias.

Reference: Burton, 213.



PHIDIAS (c. 500- c. 432 B.C.)

Athenian sculptor.

He was born in Athens of an apparently well-connected family and received the best of training when he became determined on a sculptor's career. His earliest works were dedications in memory of the great Athenian victory at Marathon (490 B.C.), from the spoils of war.

At Delphi Phidias erected a great group in bronze including the figures of Apollo and Athena and some Athenian heroes, such as Miltiades, the hero of Marathon. On the Acropolis of Athens Phidias set up a colossal bronze image of Athena Lemnia, visible from far out at sea; other images of Athena were made for Pellene and Plataea. For Elis he created Aphrodite Urania in his supreme form, called chryselephantine, consisting of a bronze foundation, the flesh parts incrustated with ivory and the clothing parts of beaten gold. In this same form Phidias created his two other supreme achievements, Athena Parthenos, the colossal figure that became a chief treasure of Athens, and the Zeus at the temple at Olympia, which was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Closely associated with Pericles, Phidias is said to have been his chief artistic adviser and the superintendent and designer for the great works in marble for the Parthenon and elsewhere on the Acropolis. Pericles had begun applying to Athens' beautification the accumulated war funds still assessed against Athens' allies, supposedly to liberate the Greek cities still subject to the Persians in Asia Minor.

Phidias was believed to have died in prison, charges having

been brought against him of misappropriation of public funds. As a friend of Pericles, he had been victimized by those enemies of Pericles who dared not attack the great leader personally.

Though none of his works survive, Phidias is universally considered the greatest artist in ancient Greece by virtue of the extravagant praise heaped on him and his creations by his contemporaries and by tradition. His influence is said to have extended over many centuries, with his portrayals of the gods, especially Zeus and Athena, influencing even Christian religious art.

Phidias carved the portrait of the youth he most loved, Pankrates of Elis, at the foot of his Olympian Zeus, according to the historian Pausanias.

Reference: Bulliet, 56; Carpenter (I), 30; Schrenck, 134.



EURIPIDES (480-406 B.C.)

Athenian dramatist.

He was said to have been born on the day of Athens' great naval victory over the Persians at Salamis, where Euripides' middleclass parents were refugees. Of sufficient means to procure a good education, Euripides first aimed at becoming an athlete, then tried painting for a while, finally in his mid-twenties settling down to a long career as a tragic poet. Unlike Aeschylus (q.v.) and Sophocles (q.v.), he played no part in public life. His contempt for Athenian democracy increasing with each Athenian disaster, Euripides accepted with pleasure an invitation to the Macedonian court, meeting his death at Pella, traditionally from an attack by savage dogs set upon him by jealous courtiers. His death preceded that of Sophocles by a few months.

Of the ninety-two plays written by Euripides, nineteen are extant, more than the combined extant plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles. He had his first play produced in 455 B.C. and won first prize in 441 B.C., securing it only four times more in the ensuing half century, which doubtless contributed to his bitterness about the Athenians. The irreverent "modern" plays of Euripides delighted the common folk, but appalled the tradition-minded critics and experts, who mostly felt that Sophocles had gone far enough.

Euripides made his gods and heroes mere vehicles for rec-

ognizable human passions, portraying them irreverently as ordinary contemporaries. He also introduced two new forms: the prologue (to recount the now less familiar myth) and the *deus ex machina* (to give its later Latin name to the mechanical gimmick by which a god resolved the play's problem).

Among the surviving plays of Euripides that have proven most popular are *Alcestis* (c. 438 B.C.); *Medea* (431 B.C.), a popular favorite that won only third prize; *Iphigenia in Tauris* (c. 416 B.C.), which has the distinction of being the oldest play set in what is now Russia, on the site of modern Balaklava in the Crimea of Light Brigade fame, as well as the distinction of having the first beginnings of romantic drama; *The Trojan Women* (415 B.C.), an antiwar play with the beginnings of melodrama; and *The Bacchae*, written during his Macedonian exile and produced posthumously to become a popular favorite for its picturesque splendor and suitability for lavish production.

Despite the infidelity of his two wives, to which is attributed the unsympathetic portraits of women in his plays, Euripides was considered as addicted to women as Sophocles was to boys. His principal homosexual connections were as the intimate friend of the homosexual poet Agathon (q.v.), with whom he was mercilessly satirized in Aristophanes' *The Thesmophoriazousae* (he was also held up to ridicule by Aristophanes in *The Wasps*) and as having boasted to Sophocles of having had for free the male prostitute who robbed Sophocles of his cloak, as recorded by Athenaeus. One of his lost plays, *Chrysippus*, of which some fragments survive, had a homosexual theme.

Reference: Athenaeus, 259; Hirschfeld, 652.



SOCRATES (469-399 B.C.)

Athenian philosopher.

He was born in Athens, the son of a statue-maker and a midwife. Although he received only a limited education in his youth, he later taught himself geometry, astronomy and philosophy. According to one biographer, he received instruction, both intellectual and sexual, from Archelaus of Miletus. Described as short, fat, ugly and stupid-looking, Socrates worked until his forties in the family business, married to a shrewish woman named Xanthippe, and was the father of dull and fatuous sons. When

the Peloponnesian War started, Socrates served in the Potidean campaign (432-29 B.C.), in which he saved the life of Alcibiades (q.v.). He also participated in the Athenian defeats at Delium (424 B.C.) and Amphipolis (422 B.C.).

Apparently around this time, Socrates revealed, to all who would listen, that he had received a divine commission, witnessed by oracles, dreams, voices and signs, to devote himself to education and philosophy, exposing ignorance mistaking itself for knowledge, thereby promoting intellectual and moral improvement. The original source of his philosophy was probably the Pythagorean Brotherhood, the recently suppressed devotees to the teachings of Pythagoras who had exerted great influence in the Greek colonies of Sicily and southern Italy, advocating the moral reformation of mankind and giving assurance of the transmigration of souls.

Socrates began earning a reputation as the wisest man in Greece by hanging around the streets, the market-place, and especially the boys' gymnasia, asking questions about the activities and views of those he encountered, debunking their cherished beliefs, and when pressed, expounding his own nebulous philosophy that all good qualities are identifiable with virtue, and what's virtuous is good, and is most likely the most useful and pleasant for all concerned.

Owing to the fact that there were among the rebellious youths attracted to his debunking bull sessions four brilliant youths who came to be among the outstanding political, military and intellectual leaders of Athens, Socrates was vaulted into political prominence in his sixties, just when Athens was sliding down to total defeat in the closing years of the Peloponnesian War.

Socrates' beloved Alcibiades, having pushed his country into the disastrous Sicilian expedition, then gone over to his country's Spartan and Persian enemies, once more came into power at Athens in a right-wing coup. In 407 B.C. Alcibiades won several brilliant victories for Athens and returned in triumph as virtual dictator, and once again the darling of the populace. Socrates found himself President of the Athenian Senate.

The following year, however, Alcibiades was disastrously defeated and fled. Following another disaster, a naval one in 405 B.C., the reactionaries executed another coup, as allies of

Sparta, seized complete power in Athens, instituted a reign of terror and began negotiating for a total surrender to Sparta. The chief of the so-called Thirty Tyrants happened to be another one of Socrates' former boy-disciples, Critias (q.v.).

After a multitude of cloak-and-dagger intrigues for control of the ruins of Athens, the democratic party again prevailed. As one of their many measures to stem the total corruption and universal breakdown of all respect for law and traditions, they brought an indictment against Socrates in 399 B.C.—in which he was accused “firstly, of denying the gods recognized by the state and introducing new divinities and secondly, of corrupting the young.” The second part, sometimes believed to have homosexual implications, was spelled out as follows:

- 1) That he taught his followers to despise the institutions of the state, especially the democratic device of election by lot.
- 2) That amongst his closest disciples were the two equally unscrupulous dangerous men Alcibiades and Critias.
- 3) That he taught the young to disobey parents and guardians and to prefer his own authority to theirs.
- 4) That he was in the habit of quoting mischievous passages of Homer and Hesiod to the prejudice of morality and democracy.

All of these charges were probably substantially true. The 500 jurors who formed the supreme court of Athens found Socrates guilty by a vote of 280 to 220. Although the prosecution had asked for the death penalty as a matter of form, a request for leniency and the payment of a fine was expected to be acceptable. However, in making his final plea, Socrates declared with consummate arrogance that his services were so outstanding that instead of punishment he deserved being maintained in style at the expense of the state. When he finally yielded to the request of his friends that he offer to pay a fine, Socrates did so with such obvious indifference that the outraged jurors voted for the death penalty again by a much bigger majority. A few days later, after declaring himself satisfied both with his own conduct and his sentence, and after having passed up all chances to escape, Socrates drank the cup of hemlock that brought death to the condemned criminal.

Socrates left no writings of his own behind him. The most faithful account of his words is credited to another former boy-

disciple, Xenophon (q.v.) whose *Memorabilia*, *Apology* and *Symposium* have been said to do for Socrates what Boswell did for Johnson, although Xenophon is best known for another work, the *Anabasis*. However, Socrates' fame rests almost entirely on the works of the most lastingly famous of his former boy-disciples, Plato (q.v.), who in his many Dialogues ascribed to Socrates what was actually for the most part the product of Plato's own lifelong devotion to the works and teachings of many philosophers, as filtered through his own brilliant mind.

Socrates' passion for beautiful boys was so traditional (on this both Plato and Xenophon agreed) that homosexual love was referred to euphemistically, for a considerable period, as "Socratic love." For those inclined towards belief in reincarnation, there are some striking similarities between Socrates and Alcibiades, on one hand, and Oscar Wilde (q.v.) and Lord Alfred Douglas on the other.

Reference: Burton, 213; Hirschfield, 655; Licht, 453-56.



ALCIBIADES (c. 450-404 B.C.)

Athenian statesman and general.

Born into the leading family of Athens, the Alcmaeonidae, Alcibiades was orphaned at three and became the ward of his cousin Pericles, the leader of the democratic party. Heir to great wealth (subsequently increased by marriage) and possessing great beauty and charm, Alcibiades grew up completely spoiled, self-willed, capricious and insolent. Unmanageable by all his tutors and teachers, he was attracted only to philosophical concepts that mocked common ideas of justice, temperance, holiness and patriotism. Inevitably, Alcibiades was drawn to the high-minded debunking of Socrates (q.v.), and took pride in being considered his most notable disciple. Serving in the army in his late teens, Alcibiades had his life saved by Socrates in the Battle of Potidaea (432 B.C.), and later repaid the service at Delium (424 B.C.). Somewhere in the intervening years there probably took place the famous attempted seduction scene recounted so graphically in Plato's *Symposium*.

After his marriage to a wealthy heiress, Alcibiades entered Athenian politics. Though originally friendly to Sparta, expediency made him a leader of the anti-Spartan war party for whose leader-

ship he had to contend with the vulgar demagogue Cleon. Under the restraining leadership of the great Pericles, who had died in 429 B.C., the Athenians had done well in the opening years of the Peloponnesian War, which was expected to determine the leadership of Greece. Even under the domination of the hysterical Cleon the Athenians had won some successes. After his death (422 B.C.), the conservative and peace-minded Nicias secured a truce with Sparta, and Athens sat at the peak of its glory, her treasury bulging with gold.

Seeing all hopes of his own glory apparently rapidly vanishing, Alcibiades came forward in 416 B.C. with a dazzling scheme to excite the populace that adored him. That same year Athens had lost any claim to moral superiority over Sparta by the barbaric massacre of the whole population of the island of Melos for refusing to join the Athenian empire, the women and children being sold into slavery. Susceptible to any proposal promising more grandeur for Athens, the populace applauded Alcibiades' scheme for conquering first Syracuse, then all Sicily and southern Italy, then using the newly gained wealth and manpower to conquer all Greece, and perhaps ultimately the Persian empire!

In 415 B.C. the Sicilian expedition set forth, with 134 triremes and 4,000 soldiers, and with Alcibiades a joint commander along with his rival Nicias and a third named Lamachus. On the eve of the sailing, Alcibiades was accused of a sacrilegious prank, but his demand for an immediate investigation was refused. However, no sooner had the expedition reached Sicily than Alcibiades was recalled to stand trial. On his way home, he escaped and fled to Sparta.

Filled with the spirit of vengeance against his ungrateful countrymen, especially after he learned that he had been condemned to death and had had his property confiscated, Alcibiades offered the Spartans strategic advice for the ruination of the Athenians. They sent from Sparta the able Gylippus to assist the Syracusans as advocated by Alcibiades, and his leadership in the face of the timidity, ineptness—and bad luck—of Nicias all served to produce the worst disaster in Athenian history. All of the original expedition, as well as the reinforcements sent out, were killed or enslaved after their surrender.

Just in case the Athenians had missed the point about how

hopeless was their position without his leadership, Alcibiades next went to Asia Minor, originally on Sparta's behalf, to persuade Athens' Ionian allies to revolt and to negotiate with the Persian satrap Tissaphernes. Meanwhile, however, Sparta's king having learned that Alcibiades had fathered a son on the Spartan queen during his sojourn, an order was sent out for his execution. Being warned of the danger, Alcibiades broke all his ties with the Spartans and went over to the Persians, persuading them their best policy was to let the Athenians and the Spartans destroy each other.

A few years later a right-wing coup at Athens by Alcibiades' friends brought him an offer for his services. He accepted and shortly after won such a smashing victory for the Athenians that he returned to Athens in triumph (407 B.C.), completely forgiven for his treason, with all previous proceedings against him cancelled. He was made Athenian generalissimo and for a year was a virtual dictator, at which time Alcibiades' beloved Socrates became President of the Athenian Senate.

However, when Alcibiades suffered a defeat in 406 B.C., the fickle Athenian mob voted him out of his command. Fleeing again, he took refuge in a castle he had acquired on the Hellespont and began negotiating again with the Persians. This time, however, Alcibiades' proverbial good luck ran out. The Spartans, who were being courted by the Persians, persuaded them to put Alcibiades out of the way before he did any more harm. Accordingly, his castle was set on fire and as he rushed out of it, Alcibiades was cut down by a shower of arrows.

Reference: Burton, 213; Hirschfeld, 651; Mayne, 189;

Mehta, 129; Moll, 24.



CRITIAS (c. 448-404 B.C.)

Athenian statesman, poet and historian.

Little is known of Critias' earlier years other than that he was one of the boy-disciples of Socrates (q.v.) and an associate of Alcibiades (q.v.), with whom he was involved in 415 B.C. in the mutilation of the Hermae (statues of Hermes) on the eve of the Sicilian expedition, for which he was imprisoned for some time.

In 411 B.C. Critias was instrumental in putting down the ultra-reactionary coup of the Four Hundred, and later secured the

recall of Alcibiades. Alcibiades allied himself first with the moderate conservatives, called the Five Thousand; but ever sensitive to his appeal for the mob, he started moving leftward and gave his tacit approval to a coup by the radical democrats. The democrats considered Critias a dangerous enemy and he was banished, the ungrateful Alcibiades doing nothing for him. Critias fled to Thessaly where, in contradiction to his home politics, he tried to stir up a democratic revolution.

In 406 B.C. Alcibiades was defeated and discredited, and fled Athens. After the leader of the Athenian radical democrats, Cleophon, rejected another Spartan peace offer, the Athenian fleet, the last card left to play, was wiped out at Aegospotami by the brilliant Spartan admiral Lysander (q.v.), who proceeded to mop up the last remnants of the Athenian empire and to besiege the city. The Athenians turned against Cleophon and a new provisional regime was installed to negotiate surrender to Sparta, which occupied the once mighty city for a few months.

Critias returned from his exile to Athens, where a Commission of Thirty had been established to devise a new conservative constitution. Critias became the leader of the Thirty, who seized absolute power, executed the moderate leader Theramenes as "too soft," and imposed on Athens a bloody reign of terror designed to rid the city of all associated with the democratic ideology and party.

Many of the democrats managed, however, to escape into exile, and in 404 B.C., under their leader Thrasybulus, they returned in a daring expedition and seized Athens' seaport of Piraeus. From there they incited the Athenian mob to rise against the Thirty, now known as the Thirty Tyrants. In the course of the street fighting, Critias, become the most hated of the Thirty Tyrants, was killed.

In addition to his varied political activities, Critias was the author of several tragedies, of biographies of distinguished poets and of some philosophical and historical essays.

Critias' best-loved boy was recorded by Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* as Euthydemos.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 653.

AGATHON (c. 450-400 B.C.)

Athenian dramatist and musician.

The banquet that forms the basis of Plato's *Symposium* took place in the home of Agathon in 416 B.C. to celebrate his having won a prize for tragedy. Agathon perhaps bears the dubious distinction of being the first recorded effeminate homosexual in history of the easily recognizable modern stereotype. Along with his good friend, the great dramatist Euripides (q.v.), Agathon is a major character in *The Thesmophoriazusae*, a comedy of Aristophanes.

In the play, Euripides tries to persuade Agathon to impersonate a woman, insisting it would require very little change from his usual dress and manners, the purpose being to plead the cause of Euripides before a secret association of women planning to condemn Euripides for his cruel portrayal of women in his tragedies. When Agathon stubbornly persists in his refusal, Euripides is obliged to prepare his old father-in-law for the role that could so easily have been played by Agathon.

The tragedies of Agathon, none of which survive except in fragments, included *Telephus* and *Thyestes*.

Like Euripides, Agathon was invited to Macedonia to grace the court of its culture-minded King Archelaus (q.v.).

In considering the alleged vast gulf that separates manly homosexuals of the fashionable Athenian days of pederasty from the modern effeminate stereotype, it is instructive to keep in mind the figure of Agathon, with his plucked eyebrows, made-up face, mincing walk and womanish clothes, the friend of Euripides, Socrates, (q.v.), Alcibiades (q.v.), Plato (q.v.), Xenophon (q.v.), and Archelaus.

Reference: Burton, 213.



ARCHELAUS (c. 447-399 B.C.)

King of Macedonia (413-399 B.C.).

He was born the illegitimate son of King Perdiccas of Macedonia by a slave concubine. Despite adversities in his younger years arising from his birth, his irrepressible ambition brought him to the throne over the murdered bodies of his uncle, his cousin and his half-brother.

Once king, Archelaus proved to be a capable and beneficent

ruler. He fortified cities, constructed roads and organized the army, perhaps deserving some credit for the beginnings of the war machine that in less than a century had conquered half the world.

Archelaus established Pella as the new Macedonian capital and did everything possible to spread among his barbarous people the refinements of Greek civilization. As a great patron of literature and the arts, Archelaus entertained at his court such prominent Athenian figures as Euripides (q.v.), Agathon (q.v.) and the painter Zeuxis.

Among the Greek refinements he pursued was pederasty, and this one cost him his life. While hunting, Archelaus was killed by the youth Crates, to whom his advances had become odious.

For some years after Archelaus' death, Macedonia was plunged into confusion and civil war. Out of the chaos emerged a distant cousin, Amyntas, who established the new dynasty, most noted for Amyntas' son and grandson, respectively Philip (q.v.) and Alexander the Great (q.v.).

Reference: Bulliet, 59.



LYSANDER (455-395 B.C.)

Spartan admiral and statesman.

Little is known of the background or early life of Lysander, who shot out of obscurity to become in a few years the conqueror of Athens and the most powerful man in Greece, who made Sparta as powerful on the seas as on land. Probably he was of a collateral branch of one of Sparta's two royal families, and his rise may have been connected with his being the lover of the ungainly and unattractive Spartan prince Agesilaus (q.v.).

When in 407 B.C. Lysander took command of the Spartan naval forces, it seemed that Athens was making a sensational comeback from the series of misfortunes that began with the Sicilian expedition and was followed by the defection of Alcibiades (q.v.) to the Spartans and Persians, and their virtual alliance against Athens. However, after the return of Alcibiades in the wake of a conservative coup, his leadership had produced Spartan defeats at sea and a partial restoration of the Athenian empire, once again extending to Byzantium.

Lysander's arrival in Lydia to take command of the reorganized

Spartan-Persian navy coincided with the appointment of the Hellenophilic Persian prince Cyrus as satrap of Lydia. The two struck up a firm friendship, it being agreed that Persian gold would finance the recruitment of the best sailors, who would be given the best training by Lysander. During his training program, Lysander refused to be drawn into battle when Alcibiades, once again the darling of the Athenian masses who had made him their generalissimo, appeared with a huge fleet. Shortly after, however, Lysander had the good fortune to deliver a crushing defeat to a subordinate of Alcibiades', attacking without orders, whose losses were blamed on Alcibiades and brought demotion, followed by his second desertion of Athens and eventual death.

A second bit of good fortune for Lysander occurred when the Athenian demagogues snatched disaster out of victory by sentencing to death (for not rescuing shipwrecked sailors) their new able naval commander who had inflicted a great defeat on the Spartan-Persian navy, temporarily removed from Lysander's command, at Arginusae. At the insistence of Cyrus, Lysander was restored to full control of the Spartan-Persian naval forces, whose vigorous training program had now been completed.

Lysander directed his naval forces to the Athenian outposts in the Hellespont (Dardanelles). The Athenian fleet following him, he trapped it in a brilliant manoeuvre at Aegospotami (405 B.C.) and destroyed more than 90 per cent of the Athenian fleet.

With the last remnant of Athenian offensive power destroyed, Lysander, with a natural talent for amphibious warfare unusual for his age, sailed a few months later for Athens itself. In 404 B.C. he sailed boldly into Athens' port of Piraeus, took it, destroyed its fortifications and connecting walls to Athens, then besieged Athens. Lysander's reactionary friends in Athens exercised a coup, and after seizing power, arrested, tried and executed the radical demagogues and negotiated surrender to Sparta.

Lysander, now the most powerful man in Greece, and perhaps dreaming of a unified state under his rule, moved from city to city, destroying all vestiges of democracy with great slaughter and cruelty, setting up oligarchies with councils of ten responsible to Spartan governors. Lysander's ambition and arrogance alarmed

both the Persians and the Spartan senators. He was recalled to Sparta to answer charges furnished by the Persians. Much like Pausanias (q.v.) before him under similar circumstances, he obeyed the summons and laid down his command. After clearing himself, he secured leave to travel as a private citizen, a private citizen whose friends controlled most of Greece.

Lysander soon became involved in a complicated series of coups and counter-coups at Athens, where he was asked by one side to step in. To forestall any new threat from Lysander's ambition, the Spartan King Pausanias himself appeared at Athens and arranged a general settlement and amnesty, whereby a moderate democracy was restored in 403 B.C.

A few years later another great opportunity for Lysander appeared. On the death of one of Sparta's co-kings, brother of the prince Agesilaus whose lover he had been, Lysander persuaded the Spartan senators to pass over the late king's heir as being the probable son of Alcibiades. Hoping to become the real ruler of Sparta himself, Lysander, with hitherto undeveloped oratorical gifts, persuaded the senators to overlook Agesilaus' lameness, normally a bar to the throne, and make him king. However, as soon as Agesilaus had the throne, he made it clear that he would be second to nobody and treated Lysander so deliberately insultingly that he resigned his offices.

With Agesilaus campaigning in Asia Minor, Lysander returned to Sparta with a plot to overthrow the hereditary monarchy with the aid of the subject peoples. Before he could put his new plots into effect, war broke out with Thebes (395 B.C.), and Lysander led the Spartan army northward. He was ambushed outside the gates of Haliartus in a sudden sally by Theban soldiers and slain.

Reference: Bulliet, 57; Plutarch, 712.



XENOPHON (c. 430- c. 354 B.C.)

Greek general, historian and essayist.

Born to a middle-class family of Athens, Xenophon was one of the boy-disciples of Socrates (q.v.), whom he admired as an individual, though he seemed to have had little use for any of his deeper philosophical speculations. Xenophon was said to have had personal beauty comparable to that of the older Alcibi-

ades, but in marked contrast to him, Xenophon was devoted to the old-fashioned, conservative virtues.

Witnessing with equal disgust the excesses of the radical democrats and demagogues and the treasonable surrender by the reactionaries to Sparta in 404 B.C. and the succeeding coups and counter-coups that befell Athens under Spartan domination, Xenophon abandoned Athens in 401 B.C. to join the expedition of the Hellenophilic Persian prince Cyrus, aimed at seizing the throne from his brother, Artaxerxes II.

After Cyrus was killed at the Battle of Cunaxa, deep in the Persian Empire, and the leading Greek mercenary generals were treacherously murdered during armistice negotiations, Xenophon was elected a general and became the leader of the surviving Greek forces. Fighting their way through wild country inhabited by savage tribes, the Greeks reached the Black Sea after a six months' epic immortalized in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which was to become the most familiar Greek school text.

After his return to Greece, Xenophon, like many of his fellow officers, enlisted in a Spartan army fighting Sparta's recent Persian allies. The capture of a wealthy Persian grandee by Xenophon provided a ransom almost large enough for him to retire. After a few more years of service under Agesilaus II (q.v.), including an action against his Athenian countrymen at Coronea (394 B.C.) which brought his banishment, Xenophon retired to an estate given him by the grateful Spartans and devoted the rest of his life to writing. Although he was driven from his estate after the Thebans defeated the Spartans at Leuctra (371 B.C.), he apparently did not return to Athens, where his banishment had been revoked in the wake of the new Athenian-Spartan alliance against Thebes.

Aside from the *Anabasis*, Xenophon's works include three about Socrates (*Memorabilia*; *Symposium*; *Apology*) with a picture quite different from Plato's; a continuation of Thucydides' history (*Hellenica*); an essay on the management of a house and farm (*Oeconomicus*); an account of the education of Cyrus (*Cyropaedia*) which developed into a history of Cyrus the Great and an exposition of Xenophon's own ideas about education, said to have been written in opposition to Plato's *Republic*; a eulogy of Agesilaus II (*Agesilaus*); essays on horsemanship and hunting

(*Hippike*; *Hipparchicus*; *Cynegeticus*); a philosophical dialogue on the hazards of autocracy (*Hiero*); and essays about the politics of Athens and Sparta.

The youths Xenophon was recorded as loving include Clinias and Autolycus. Autolycus, for several years Athens' outstanding male beauty, was also wooed by Callias (q.v.), and is mentioned in several famous classical works. He was also the subject of a lost play.

Reference: Burton, 213.



CALLIAS (c. 440- c. 370 B.C.)

Athenian general and statesman.

Born to one of Athens' most wealthy and distinguished families, Callias was related to many of his country's leading citizens. His mother, after her divorce from his father, a general, married Pericles. One sister of Callias married Alcibiades (q.v.) and another become the mother of the orator Isocrates.

In his youth Callias, who moved on the fringes of the Socratic circle, rivalled his future brother-in-law Alcibiades as a dissipated playboy and became the black sheep of his family. Callias was the subject of short, contemptuous references in two comedies of Aristophanes, *The Birds* and *The Frogs*, and his wooing of Autolycus, a leading male beauty also wooed by Xenophon (q.v.), was the subject of a satirical comedy by Eupolis, now lost. Xenophon's *Symposium* was set in Callias' home, as Plato's was in that of Agathon (q.v.).

In his middle age, Callias grew quite respectable and made some notable contributions to his country. In 392 B.C. he commanded the Athenian detachment in an allied attack against the Spartans at Corinth. Shortly before his death, Callias headed the Athenian embassy to the general congress striving for a peace settlement with the Spartans. It came to naught when the Thebans withdrew and shortly after won their great victory at Leuctra (371 B.C.) under Epaminondas (q.v.), as a result of which hegemony of Greece was wrested from Sparta.

Reference: Bulliet, 55; Moll, 22.

LYSIAS (c. 459-c. 380 B.C.)

Athenian lawyer-orator.

He was the son of Cephalus, a leading citizen of Syracuse invited by Pericles to settle in Athens, and it was in the home of Cephalus' oldest son that Plato's *Republic* was set, Cephalus himself appearing in the opening dialogue. In his youth, Lysias joined a group of adventurers from all over Greece, including the historian Herodotus, sent by Pericles to bolster the harried colony of Thurii in southern Italy. Of Lysias' thirty-year residence in Italy little is known, but he was driven out in an anti-Athenian reaction in the wake of his countrymen's disastrous Sicilian expedition (413 B.C.) and returned to Athens.

Independently wealthy from the inheritance of their father's lands and shield factory, Lysias and his brother witnessed the disastrous closing years of the Peloponnesian War. After the fall of Athens to Lysander (q.v.), the reactionary oligarchy set up by him arrested such resident aliens as Lysias and his brother as potentially dangerous. Although his brother was compelled to drink hemlock, Lysias escaped, thanks to a large bribe, to Megara where he became an ardent supporter of the democratic forces that returned to power in Athens in 403 B.C.

Lysias now developed the profession that made him famous and devoted the rest of his life to it. He wrote speeches for the law courts, often delivered on behalf of his clients. He is reported to have written one for Socrates (q.v.), who refused to use it. The thirty-four orations that survive indicate Lysias' genius for a "plain style," adapted to the personality and circumstances of the pleader. The orations also provide a mine of rich material for the history, politics, mores and customs of his period.

Lysias' homosexuality is deduced from his oration against Simon, in the belief that it was on his own behalf and that the first-person form did indeed apply to himself in this case. The suit involved charges of assault in connection with a feud over the handsome youth Theodotus of Plataea, who had been bribed and kidnapped by Simon from his lover.

Reference: Bulliet, 55.

PLATO (c. 427-347 B.C.)

Athenian philosopher.

Born in Athens of noble parents, Aristocles, as his name originally was, claimed descent on his mother's side from Solon (q.v.). He was also related to Critias (q.v.), the playboy-philosopher turned tyrant. Something of a child prodigy, not only as a brilliant student but also as a capable wrestler, he took it upon himself to supplement the broad education for which his parents provided with his own private efforts. These included attaching himself to the circle of Socrates (q.v.), who must have been quite impressed to allow such a child admission. At the time at which *The Symposium* was set, for instance, Plato was about eleven! The name Plato, at first a nickname (from Greek *platys*, flat, whence also plate, platitude, plateau, etc.) was adopted by him as his proper name.

Not until 407 B.C. did Plato become formally a student of Socrates, who by this time had advanced high enough in his fortunes to have formal pupils. Plato witnessed the succession of catastrophes suffered by Athens in the course of its downfall, both from the Spartans and from its own political factions, and was on hand for the trial and death of Socrates (399 B.C.).

After some years of intensive studying and writing, Plato took a trip to the Greek New World, Sicily, living at the court of Dionysius I, Tyrant of Syracuse. Upon his return to Athens, Plato founded his school in the grove of Academus (a legendary hero involved with Theseus, Helen of Troy and her brothers, Castor and Pollux), whence his school, like thousands thereafter, became known as the Academy. For much of the remainder of his long life, Plato taught philosophy and mathematics at the Academy, which became a leading intellectual center of the Greek world, drawing the most brilliant of students, including of course Aristotle (q.v.).

Plato's teaching and writing were interrupted, however, by more visits to Sicily. In 367 B.C. he went to Syracuse to become tutor to the tyrant Dionysius' heir, the minor Dionysius II, whose regent, his uncle Dion, was a philosophically minded friend of Plato's. Plato's efforts to make an ideal philosopher-king out of the weak Dionysius proved vain, and in 366 B.C. both master and pupil were forced out of Syracuse by a revolt. Plato returned

again to Syracuse in 361 B.C., hoping that its present temporary rulers could be persuaded to make Syracuse an ideal Republic, but this time also his hopes proved vain. Despairing of seeing his principles put into practice, he returned to his groves of Academe to finish out his life teaching, studying, and writing.

All of Plato's known writings are extant, his principal works being his thirty-five Dialogues. Using Socrates as the mouthpiece for his own ideas, inspired to some extent by Socrates and many others, Plato left a body of work that is among the most influential in human history. Amid great diversity, both of subject and treatment, his dialogues are pervaded by two dominant themes, a passion for human improvement and a persistent faith in the power and supremacy of the mind.

Plato's many subjects include such diverse areas as the delineation of the ideal state (*The Republic*); the pros and cons of democracy and autocracy (*Politicus*); the nature of real love and beauty (*Symposium* and *Phaedrus*); immortality (*Phaedo*).

In his younger homosexual days, Plato was devoted to various boys including Dion, Alexis, and especially Aster, to whom he wrote some verses recorded in the Greek Anthology, of which the key line was "Aster is my Aster," being a play on the name, which means star. In his old age, however, when he wrote his *Laws*, Plato took a rather dim view of homosexuality, a not too unusual phenomenon. It has of course been pointed out many times that when Plato was philosophizing about the highest type of love in the *Symposium*, it was from various varieties of homosexual love that he drew his examples. The same is found in other works, even *The Republic*. The type of sexless love that he apparently set forth as the ideal has since become known as "Platonic love," the name being also used on occasion in the heterosexual area. Platonic ideals did apparently include kissing, for in one epigram, apparently addressed to the somewhat older effeminate dramatist Agathon (q.v.), Plato wrote, "When I kissed you, Agathon, I felt your soul on my lips: as if it would penetrate into my heart with quivering longing."

Reference: Hirschfeld, 655; Licht, 469; Mehta, 129;
Schrenck, 134.

ARISTIPPUS (c. 435- c. 360 B.C.)

Greek philosopher.

He was born the son of a merchant of Cyrene, a Greek colony in the part of North Africa now Libya. Sent to school in Athens, Aristippus became one of the boy-disciples of Socrates (q.v.). After completing his Athenian studies, Aristippus travelled through a number of Greek cities, presumably making further philosophical studies.

Upon returning to Cyrene, Aristippus opened his own school there, perhaps in imitation of Plato's Academy at Athens. The Cyrenaic School of Philosophy, as developed by Aristippus, represented perhaps the most true and valid message that any of his boy-disciples got from Socrates. Starting from the two Socratic principles of virtue and happiness, Aristippus emphasized the second and made pleasure the criterion of life. He held the good to be that which gives the maximum of pleasure. This of course was later developed to justify all forms of luxury and self-indulgence and provided the first clearly expounded and coherent philosophy of hedonism.

The followers of Aristippus were sometimes called the Voluptuaries. A famous saying of Aristippus, quoted in *The Immoralist* of Gide (q.v.) was, "The art of life lies in taking pleasures as they pass, and the keenest pleasures are not intellectual, nor are they always moral."

The youth most beloved by Aristippus is recorded as Eutichydes. Reference: Burton, 213.

**AGESILAUS II (c. 444-360 B.C.)**

King of Sparta (c. 400-360 B.C.).

The step-brother of Agis II of Sparta, Agesilaus usurped the Eurypontid throne from his nephew, Leotychides, with the aid of his onetime lover Lysander (q.v.), who as conqueror of Athens had become the arbiter of Greece. The long-simmering rumor that Leotychides was really the son of Alcibiades (q.v.) was made an official assertion by Lysander, who persuaded the Spartan senators to overlook the lameness of Agesilaus, normally a bar to the throne.

Lysander's hopes of regaining power in Sparta by ruling through Agesilaus as his puppet were promptly dashed. Taking

personal leadership of the 8,000 men of the Spartan expeditionary force, Agesilaus crossed to Asia Minor in 396 B.C. to secure the liberated Greek cities against attack by the Persians, to whom the Spartans had promised the cities for their aid against the Athenians, only to renege. Lysander, originally along as an adviser, was treated so insultingly that he finally took the hint, resigned his offices and returned to Sparta. For two years Agesilaus waged successful if indecisive war against Persian satraps, amassing immense booty. He was planning an attack against Artaxerxes himself when rebellion in Greece forced him home.

Revolting against the imperial sway of Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Corinth and Argos formed a league to attack their Spartan masters, backed by Persian gold. Lysander had been killed in 395 B.C. in the opening skirmishes of this new war. Marching down from northern Greece with a large force, Agesilaus defeated the allies at Coronea in 394 B.C., but the victory was indecisive, and was undone when the Spartan navy was annihilated by the Persian fleet (with many Athenian mercenaries) under command of the Athenian admiral Conon. Agesilaus continued minor campaigns with indecisive actions until a general peace in 387. By this time the Athenians had regained much of their former status and power and Agesilaus in effect abandoned any further efforts at hegemony in Greece, except with respect to the hated Thebans. Persian authority over the Greek cities of Asia Minor was recognized and in return the Persians gave up all claims to their former possessions in and across the Aegean.

Agesilaus' hatred of Thebes led him to continue its occupation, an insult that fanned Theban patriotism and led to Agesilaus' downfall. In 378 B.C. the Theban democratic exiles under Pelopidas (q.v.) recovered Thebes by a coup, threw out the Spartans and made an alliance with the Athenians again. Unable to break the power of the new allies, Agesilaus again arranged for a general peace in 371 B.C., but before this could be finalized, it was undone by the withdrawal of the Theban Epaminondas (q.v.) in reaction to an insult. Agesilaus' co-king Cleombrotus was sent to punish the Thebans, but instead he suffered a disastrous defeat at Leuctra, which marked the end of Spartan military supremacy.

Now on the defensive, Agesilaus had to defend Sparta against Theban invasions in 370 and 362 B.C., the latter one involving a totally unprecedented siege of Sparta itself. In 361 B.C. Agesilaus, now 83, accepted a call to Egypt to assist in a revolt against the Persians, hoping thereby to gain funds for a continued fight against Thebes. Substantially successful, he died on his way home with the bullion.

Alert, quick, brave, and yet cautious, Agesilaus was an able general, idolized by Xenophon (q.v.), and an able statesman. Nonetheless, his ill-starred reign saw Sparta pass from the heights of its grandeur, triumphant over Athens and master of Greece, to the depths of defeat and humiliation.

Agesilaus' homosexuality along the lines idealized by Plato (q.v.) is the subject of many references by Plutarch, though it should be noted that Agesilaus was already in his forties when Plutarch's biography began. Despite his obvious passion for the handsome youth Megabates, in attendance on him during his Asiatic campaigns, Agesilaus ascetically resisted even the slightest of the proffered intimacies. Back in Sparta, discovering that his young co-king Agesipolis was also homosexual, he offered him all possible assistance in his love affairs, not imposing his own standards on the young man. A further playing of Cupid by Agesilaus took place when, to please his own son, Archidamus III (q.v.), he saved from the death penalty Sphodrias, the father of Archidamus' beloved Cleonymus, although this action cost him the severance of Athens' brief alliance and nearly brought war with Athens, for Sphodrias had made an unauthorized raid on Piraeus, Athens' seaport.

Reference: Bulliet, 57; Hirschfeld, 650; Plutarch 712, 718-20.



ARCHIDAMUS III (c. 395-338 B.C.)

King of Sparta (360-338 B.C.)

Enjoying a mutually fond relationship with his aging father, Agesilaus II (q.v.), Archidamus was actively involved in Spartan political and military affairs as crown prince. When in 378 B.C. Agesilaus yielded to his son's pleas to spare the life of Sphodrias, father of Archidamus' beloved Cleonymus, the Athenians, outraged at the failure to punish the alleged criminal who had raided

(albeit without authorization) their seaport of Piraeus, broke their brief alliance with Sparta and joined Thebes in an alliance that brought ruin to Sparta.

After the Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.), and the crushing defeat of Sparta's army by the Thebans under Epaminondas (q.v.), young Archidamus led a relief force to rescue the survivors. For the next ten years he served as his aged father's able right arm in keeping at bay the many enemies of Sparta now trying to close in for the final kill. After withstanding the siege of Sparta itself in 362 B.C., Archidamus led his father's army northward later in the year. Aided by allies who had become alarmed at Theban strength, he did well in a battle at Mantinea which cost the Thebans the life of their great leader Epaminondas, and was followed by a sort of armistice.

When in 360 B.C. Archidamus at last became king, his father having died on the way back from Egypt at the age of 84, Sparta was recuperating from decades of warfare, and during his reign remained generally aloof from the continuing intrigues in Greece over which an ever larger shadow was being cast by Philip of Macedonia (q.v.).

By an odd chance, on that very day in 338 B.C. when the hated Thebans were being crushed at Chaeronea by the Macedonian war machine, Archidamus died at the head of a mercenary army fighting in southern Italy for the citizens of Sparta's colony of Tarentum.

Reference: Bulliet, 57; Plutarch, 728-29.



EPAMINONDAS (c. 418-362 B.C.)

Theban general and statesman.

Born to an impoverished but noble family of Thebes, Epaminondas received much of his education from Lysis of Tarentum, an exiled member of the mystical Pythagorean Brotherhood. Refusing financial assistance from his lifelong friend, the wealthy and politically active Pelopidas (q.v.) whose life he saved at Mantinea (385 B.C.), he passed his earlier years in poverty and obscurity.

In 378 B.C. the liberation of Thebes from the control of the Spartans and their reactionary Theban puppets was effected in a daring coup by Pelopidas' exiled democratic faction, Epaminondas

assisting the conspirators from within Thebes. The expulsion of the Spartan garrison was followed by several years of intermittent warfare, in which Epaminondas, at the invitation of Pelopidas, assumed the leadership of the Theban forces, training their warriors and organizing new tactics. He represented the Thebans at the congress of contending Greek states called by the tired old Agesilaus of Sparta (q.v.) to arrange a general peace, but withdrew upon the insulting demand that Thebes surrender its dependencies.

Later in 378 B.C., Agesilaus sent his co-king, Cleombrotus, on an expedition to punish the Thebans for their arrogance. The Spartan army was smashed at the battle of Leuctra by the new heavy infantry developed by Epaminondas, who thereby emerged as the leading Greek general of his day and advanced Thebes to hegemony of Greece in place of the humiliated Spartans.

In 370 B.C., after leading an expedition into Sparta's province of Laconia, Epaminondas ravaged the countryside and liberated the Messenian helots, whom he aided in reestablishing their capital of Messene. Thereafter Epaminondas, hoping to begin the unification of Greece, founded the Arcadian League, a federal union with a federal capital at Megalopolis and with provisions for an upper and lower legislative body, a standing army and a college of generals for both war and peace. In 369 B.C. Epaminondas added Sicyon to the Theban state, and in the following year aided Pelopidas in a campaign in Thessaly, in the north, hoping to liberate Thessaly from its tyrant and unite it with the Arcadian League. In 368 B.C. he had to return there again, to rescue Pelopidas from the tyrant's prison after his capture. A few years later, however, Pelopidas lost his life during another campaign against the tyrant.

In the face of the increasing power of Thebes, the Spartans and the Athenians formed an alliance. Epaminondas countered this by building a Theban navy of 100 triremes which he used to detach some of Athens' reacquired colonies. The bitter strife brought the dissolution of the Arcadian League and an attempt by the allies to form a new anti-Theban federation. Epaminondas confronted the allied armies at Mantinea in 362 B.C. Although the Thebans were deemed to have emerged victorious, Epaminondas lost his life from a wound received in the action. This

great loss, following that of Pelopidas, produced a sharp decline in subsequent Theban fortunes.

Epaminondas ranks in military history as an outstanding strategist and tactician. He also stood in high esteem for probity of character. Unlike most Greek homosexuals, he did not marry and beget a family, but remained a bachelor throughout life. He may or may not have been a lover of Pelopidas at one time. His best-known beloved boys were Asopichus, who fought with him at Leuctra, and Cephisodorus, who fell near him at Mantinea. Both were buried with him in his tomb by his command.

Reference: Athenaeus, 261; Bulliet, 57; Burton, 215; Hirschfeld, 652.



PELOPIDAS (c. 407-364 B.C.)

Theban general.

Born to a distinguished and wealthy Theban family, Pelopidas in his early years was principally interested in becoming an outstanding athlete. He first appeared as a warrior in 385 B.C., when he served in the Theban contingent aiding the Spartans in an attack on Mantinea, in the course of which Pelopidas' life was saved by Epaminondas (q.v.), his lifelong friend and mentor.

In 382 B.C., after the treacherous seizure of Thebes' citadel by the Spartans and the seizure of power by a reactionary group serving as puppets of Sparta, Pelopidas went into exile with the democratic faction and became their leader. In 379 B.C. he led a daring raid which, with assistance from within, organized by Epaminondas and others, brought the expulsion from Thebes of the Spartans and their puppets.

Deferring general political and military leadership of the new strong democratic regime to Epaminondas, Pelopidas devoted himself to the organization and training of the Sacred Band, an elite corps composed entirely of homosexual lovers in accordance with ideas to be deduced from the writings of Plato (q.v.). Under Pelopidas' personal command, the Sacred Band achieved its first great success in 375 B.C. at Tegyra, where a Spartan force was routed.

In 371 B.C., the Spartans having sent a punitive force against Thebes for its withdrawal from the peace congress, a final showdown battle between the rival states took place at Leuctra. With

the Sacred Band spearheading the attack as usual, the Thebans totally defeated the Spartans, who were put to flight. The following year Pelopidas served under Epaminondas in his Laconian campaign, which brought the liberation of Sparta's subject peoples.

In 369 B.C. Pelopidas, answering an appeal of the Thessalians, led a Theban expeditionary force against Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. After driving Alexander out, Pelopidas passed into Macedonia, arbitrating the claims of two rivals for the Macedonian throne. Returning to Thebes, Pelopidas brought with him the winning king's brother Philip (q.v.) as a hostage.

The following year Pelopidas, once again involved in Macedonia, was seized on his return homeward by Alexander of Pherae, who had returned to power. Epaminondas hastened to his rescue with strong forces and freed him. In 367 B.C. Pelopidas, in a new diplomatic role, was sent by Epaminondas to Artaxerxes of Persia to secure his approval of a projected peace settlement in Greece.

Responding once again to an appeal from the Thessalians against Alexander of Pherae in 364 B.C., Pelopidas won a great victory at Cynoscephalae but lost his life in a rash sally aimed at slaying the tyrant with his own hand.

Mourned as a beloved general of the Thessalians as well as the Thebans, a general who had died with reckless bravery in the defense of liberty, Pelopidas was given a funeral of near unprecedented magnificence.

The Sacred Band, deprived of the leadership of Pelopidas, had only one more day of great glory, the day of its extinction. At the Battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.) when the united army of the Greeks went down before the Macedonian war machine, the 300 lovers fell to the last man, the charge that smashed them being led by Alexander the Great (q.v.). The victorious Philip, learning of their fate, shed tears and exclaimed, according to Plutarch, "Perish any man who suspects that these men either did or suffered anything that was base."

Reference: Plutarch, 356-7.

AESCHINES (384-314 B.C.)

Athenian orator and statesman.

He was born in Athens, the son of a schoolteacher. After assisting his father at the school, Aeschines tried his hand at acting, seeking to making the best use of his natural oratorical gifts. Meeting with little success, he served a few years in the army, then took a job as a clerk.

In 348 B.C., in his thirty-sixth year, Aeschines decided to enter politics. Athens was on the verge of an all-out struggle with the ambitious Philip of Macedonia (q.v.), who had seized Olynthus, an ally of Athens. Aeschines was sent on an embassy to rouse the Peloponnesian states into alliance against Philip.

Impressed by Aeschines' oratorical gifts, the Athenians sent him next on an embassy to Philip where he had to match his oratory against Philip's gold. Apparently the latter won, Aeschines being subsequently accused by Demosthenes (q.v.) of having been bribed to give out the conclusion that resistance to Philip was useless. In 346 B.C. Aeschines was sent on a second embassy to Philip, aimed at securing his ratification of a peace treaty. As a result of his dilatoriness, Aeschines was recalled and accused of high treason by his enemies Demosthenes and Timarchus. At his trial, Aeschines defended himself in the oration *Against Timarchus*, his winning point being that in his youth Timarchus was a well-known male prostitute and he had thereby forfeited any right to bring before the people accusations of misconduct by any decent citizen.

In 343 B.C. Demosthenes renewed the attack with his oration *On the False Embassy*, to which Aeschines replied with his oration *On the Embassy*, and was acquitted. In 339 B.C., as an Athenian delegate to the Amphictyonic Council, Aeschines made a rousing patriotic speech which resulted in the so-called Fourth Sacred War, aimed at Philip. This war culminated in the epic Battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.), in which the combined Athenian-Theban citizen army went down in total defeat before the Macedonian war machine, and all effective resistance to Macedonian hegemony collapsed.

The next eight years were spent by Aeschines in intrigue and rivalry with Demosthenes over which of them was the most to blame for the Macedonian success. Their last great oratorical

duel concerned the fitness of a gold crown being offered Demosthenes for his services by his friend Ctesiphon. Aeschines' oration *Against Ctesiphon*, in which the action was called treasonable, proved less convincing than Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, and Aeschines lost his suit and was fined.

Despairing of any further career in an Athens dominated by Demosthenes, Aeschines went into voluntary exile at Rhodes in 330 B.C., opening a school of rhetoric there. Subsequently he moved to another island, Samos, where he died.

Reference: Bulliet, 55; Schrenck, 134.



DEMOSTHENES (c. 384-322 B.C.)

Athenian orator and statesman.

He was born at Athens, the son of a wealthy manufacturer (swords and furniture). His mother being the daughter of a native woman in a Crimean colony of Athens, Demosthenes was to be taunted as being part barbarian. His father died when he was seven, the ample funds left for his support being misappropriated by his guardians, who gave him a meager allowance during his early years. After studying under Issaeus, the great master of forensic eloquence and Attic law, Demosthenes tried to use his new learning, when he came of age, to wrest his inheritance from his thieving relatives. Legend has it that he failed due to a speech defect and thereafter overcome the defect by declaiming on the beach, with pebbles in his mouth, against the roar of the pounding surf.

After a career as a professional writer of speeches for the law courts, some of them delivered himself, Demosthenes entered politics in 355 B.C., though continuing for a time his private practice. The rise of Macedonia to hegemony of Greece provided Demosthenes with the dominant theme for his political career, trying to awaken the Athenians and all the citizens of other liberty-loving states to the Macedonian threat. Many of his orations aimed at making Athens reform itself and revive its old virtues in order to provide moral leadership of all Greeks, but his best-known orations, the *Philippics*, were directed against Philip of Macedonia (q.v.) personally and gave the Western languages a new word.

Despite all the efforts of Demosthenes, the wily Macedonian continued to win over more and more of Greece by force, intrigue and bribery, and by 346 B.C. he was Chairman of the Amphictyonic League. Although Philip made friendly overtures to Athens, and to Demosthenes personally, Demosthenes continued irreconcilable and persisted in trying to make alliances against Philip with the two surviving free states of Sparta and Thebes. An alliance with Thebes produced the so-called Fourth Sacred War, culminating in the Battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.) and the total destruction of the Theban and Athenian forces. Thebes was occupied, but Athens was allowed to remain free of occupation, though bound to Philip by inclusion in his new Hellenic League, a loose confederation of all Greek states except Sparta.

After delivering a funeral oration for those fallen at Chaeronea, Demosthenes dropped out of the political limelight for some sixteen years. He worked on commissions dealing with fortifications, with the dole for theatrical attendance and with relief during a food shortage. During the period after Philip's assassination (336 B.C.) that saw the rise of Alexander the Great (q.v.), Demosthenes avoided direct confrontation with Alexander. In 330 B.C., Demosthenes once more proved his dominant position in Athens, though confined behind the scenes, when his oration *On the Crown* justified his whole career and brought defeat to the suit of his rival Aeschines (q.v.) to condemn as treasonable the gold crown that his friend Ctesiphon had proposed awarding Demosthenes.

In 324 B.C., towards the close of Alexander's meteoric career of conquest, Demosthenes came into the limelight once more when Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer in Asia, fled to Greece with 700 talents of gold and was given refuge by the Athenians, contrary to Demosthenes' advice. The Athenians were persuaded by Demosthenes not to heed Harpalus' call to revolution, lest Athens suffer the fate of Thebes. Warned of pending arrest, Harpalus fled, but when his treasure was counted, half was missing. After a six months investigation, a commission implicated Demosthenes in the embezzlement. He was condemned, fined, and in default of payment, imprisoned. Escaping from prison, Demosthenes fled to Aegina, then to Troezen.

After the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.), Demosthenes called on all Greeks to rally and fight for their freedom. The following year the rebellion was smashed by the Macedonian regent, the Athenian fleet wiped out, and a Macedonian garrison placed in Athens. The city was to be spared from destruction only on condition of surrendering the returned Demosthenes and other leaders. The Athenian assembly having dutifully condemned him to death, Demosthenes managed to escape, eventually finding refuge at the shrine of Poseidon on the island of Caluria. Here he was tracked down by troops in Macedonian pay under the actor Archias who played the other part in a colorful death scene dialogue with Demosthenes, dying from the poisonous effects of the ink on his pen, which he had been chewing for some time.

Demosthenes has been honored since his death not only as the creator of what are perhaps the most perfect orations in human history but also for his far-seeing and high-minded patriotism and love of freedom which occurred, as chance would have it, when Athens was too impotent and wearied to respond successfully.

Demosthenes' principal homosexual attachments were the youth Cnasion, whom he kept to the great indignation of his wife; Aristarchus, over whom he got into an eye-gouging fight; and Epicrates, in honor of whom he wrote a panegyric.

Reference: Athenaeus, 197; Bulliet, 55; Mehta, 129; Schrenck, 134.



ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.)

Greek philosopher.

He was born at Stagira in the northeast of Greece, near the borders of Macedonia, his father being physician to the Macedonian king. After an early education at home, with some grounding from his father in medicine and biology, Aristotle went to Athens at eighteen to study with Plato (q.v.) at his Academy. He remained there for twenty years (367-47 B.C.), an earnest and appreciative student, but also an independent-minded one, ever ready to take issue with his teacher and even to criticize him. Possibly he was also on the faculty of the Academy.

Finding even the broad range of Plato's interests too limited for him, Aristotle also pursued studies outside the Academy. He investigated the natural sciences and took lessons from rhetoricians and orators, including Demosthenes (q.v.), whose life span curiously coincided with his own. Even while nominally a student of Plato's, Aristotle took his own students, two of them being noted as objects of homosexual attachments, Theodectes and Hermias.

Although Aristotle anticipated that Plato's will would call for him to take over the Academy, the post went instead upon Plato's death (347 B.C.) to Plato's nephew, Speusippus. Apparently those arguments were not entirely appreciated by Plato. With Plato's other prize student Xenocrates (who was to succeed to the Academy next), Aristotle accepted the invitation of his former student and boy friend Hermias, who had succeeded his father in the tyranny of Atarneus (on the Asian mainland opposite Lesbos), to come to his court. There Aristotle married Pythias, the niece of Hermias. After the sudden death of Hermias, Aristotle lived for some time at Mytilene on Lesbos.

In 343 B.C. Aristotle accepted from Philip of Macedonia (q.v.) the most famous assignment of his career, to go to Macedonia to become the tutor of the future Alexander the Great (q.v.), then aged 13. Just how long or how extensive was his influence over Alexander has never been clear but Alexander retained great respect for Aristotle for many years, at least until 328 B.C., when Alexander's rage against Aristotle's tactless relative Callisthenes was turned on Aristotle himself.

By 340 B.C., when he had reached the age of 16, Alexander was already acting as regent during his father's campaigns, and Aristotle was increasingly free to spend long periods in his nearby native town of Stagira, where he was honored as its first citizen. He had persuaded the Macedonians to restore Stagira, which they had sacked in 348 B.C.

In 334 B.C., shortly after Alexander had succeeded his father as king and had begun his meteoric conqueror's career, Aristotle returned to Athens, where he remained until the anti-Macedonian rebellion twelve years later. He founded a school near the temple of Apollo Lyceus, called it the Lyceum, thereby providing a rival to the Academy in more ways than one. His students were

called the Peripatetics from their habit of walking around during the discussions, leading the students of Plato's school to call themselves the Academics.

With his methodical mind, Aristotle carefully prepared lectures, confined to specific subjects, collected the works of many authorities in a library and even made efforts towards indexing. From Asia his victorious ex-pupil sent him vast quantities of specimens, animate and inanimate, for his natural science studies.

In 322 B.C., when the anti-Macedonian rebellion instigated after Alexander's death by Demosthenes broke out, the demagogues who came to the fore accused Aristotle of impiety on the absurd charge of deifying his onetime boy friend Hermias. Determined to avoid the fate of Socrates (q.v.), he fled from Athens to the nearby island of Euboea, where he died at Chalcis in a few months.

Always a prolific writer, Aristotle turned out a vast amount of work on almost every conceivable subject, most of which survived. His influence was great not only in the classical world, but also on the Moslems and Christians of the Middle Ages, to whom "according to Aristotle" was the supreme authority for any question, whether on ethics, morals, politics, physiology, astronomy, poetry or drama.

Aristotle's most long-lasting intellectual contributions include:

- 1) The use of logic, especially in the form of the syllogism, as the basis for approaching all studies, whether metaphysics, natural sciences or politics.
- 2) Advocacy of the golden mean in both ethics and politics, a view still strongly upheld by many in the Western democracies, especially in the United States.
- 3) Astronomical theories involving the revolution of the sun and the planets around the earth, which fitted Christian theology so well that it was tenaciously adopted and maintained against all evidence to the contrary until only a few centuries ago. Aristotle's other equally erroneous natural science dogma, the creation of all matter from the four elements of earth, fire, water and air, proved less subject to ardent partiality.
- 4) The theory of unities of time and place in drama, especially tragedy.

Reference: Athenaeus, 61; Burton, 213; Hirschfeld, 651.

PHILIP II (382-336 B.C.)

King of Macedonia (359-336 B.C.)

A younger son of Amyntas II of the new Macedonian dynasty which succeeded that of Archelaus (q.v.), Philip saw the throne upon his father's death (370 B.C.) pass first to his oldest brother and then, upon his assassination (368 B.C.) to the next older brother, the minor Perdiccas, with the murderer as regent. The dispute attending the succession had been arbitrated by the leading Theban commander Pelopidas (q.v.), who took with him to Thebes the teenage Philip. Kept for three years in Thebes, then the strongest power in Greece, as a hostage for Macedonian good behavior, the alert and ambitious Philip was able to observe closely the training of the crack Theban heavy infantry which had routed the proud Spartans.

When Philip returned to Macedonia in 364 B.C., he found Perdiccas had succeeded in getting rid of their brother's murderer. Philip assisted his brother in securing the royal authority until Perdiccas died in 354 B.C., leaving an infant son. Several pretenders springing up, the kingdom seemed once more headed for chaos. Philip seized the throne, put down his rivals and began applying his energy, determination, unscrupulous duplicity and his genius for organization to the fulfillment of his dreams.

After seizing the gold mines belonging to a nearby Athenian colony, Philip used his new wealth to create a professional, highly trained and disciplined national army based on the Theban model, but with modifications of his own and his able corps of generals. He then gave his new army its first experience in reducing the backward hill peoples to the north and west of Macedonia, while he himself used his capacity for intrigue and his new wealth to gain power in the advanced states of Greece. Around this time he married the strange Princess Olympias of Epirus and fathered the future Alexander the Great (q.v.) unless as Olympias and Alexander later claimed, Zeus did that job on Philip's behalf.

By 347 B.C. Philip had succeeded not only in subduing and incorporating into Macedonia the primitive peoples of the north and west, but had also moved against the advanced Greek colonies along the Aegean, right up to Byzantium, inevitably incurring the wrath of Athens and its leading orator, Demosthenes

(q.v.). Desirous however of putting off as long as possible a direct confrontation with the Greeks, Philip continued merely to bribe, threaten and intrigue. Thoroughly successful, he moved steadily southward and had all his initial efforts crowned by being chosen Chairman of the Amphictyonic League in appreciation for his pious punitive action against the state that had violated the Delphic oracle. As a champion of Greek culture and religion, Philip presided over the Pythian games in 346 B.C.

Intelligent enough not to rush things, Philip turned north again to consolidate his northern borders. His new irresistible war machine pressed on to the Adriatic and into what is now Bulgaria. Meanwhile, the efforts of the irreconcilable Demosthenes had produced an alliance between Athens and Thebes, dedicated to the elimination of Philip's interference in Greece. When the allies moved against his supporters, Philip swept down from Macedonia and crushed the Athenian-Theban citizen army at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. Thebes was occupied by a Macedonian garrison, but Athens was spared this insult by Philip in token of his respect for her historic cultural contributions.

The Congress of Corinth, convened by Philip, provided for a Hellenic League including Athens and in fact all states but Sparta. Plans were made for a Greek crusade against the Persians, with Philip as captain-general. An advance force crossed into Asia in 336 B.C.

That same year, however, all Philip's great plans came to a sudden end when he was assassinated in the course of festivities in celebration of his daughter's marriage. The assassin, who had jumped up on Philip's carriage and buried a knife in his throat, was Pausanias, a beautiful teenage page of Philip's who, according to one account, had been humiliated by being contemptuously raped by Philip, thoroughly drunk at the time, at a banquet, more or less in front of all the guests. It was generally assumed that Pausanias was persuaded to turn his humiliation into a burning desire for revenge by someone devoted to Alexander, either Alexander himself, his lifelong friend Clitus, or his mother Olympias.

Philip's sexuality seems to have been very similar to that of Ottoman sultans a millennium and a half later. Although actively involved with many women, it was also said of him that he

carried with him on his military expeditions 800 young eunuchs for the use of himself and his friends.

Reference: Bulliet, 56; Mann, 56-63; Wall, 212.



ALEXANDER III (THE GREAT) (356-323 B.C.)

King of Macedonia (336-323 B.C.).

While his father Philip (q.v.) was a practical and earthy genius, Alexander had in his mother Olympias a half-wild, weird and terrible bitch, and his own character proved a true blend of the parental qualities. Growing up at a time when his father was creating an invincible war machine and subduing all surrounding peoples, with the ultimate aim of uniting all the Greeks under Macedonian leadership for the conquest of the Persian Empire, Alexander was given everything that would make him a worthy heir. At 13 he was given as his tutor one of the most learned scholars of all time, Aristotle (q.v.). Just how much Alexander learned from Aristotle never became clear, but he treated him with fond respect for many years.

By the time he was sixteen Alexander was acting as regent for his father during Philip's distant campaigns, and had little time left for Aristotle, who was given an extended leave to his nearby native town of Stagira. In his first command, Alexander quelled an uprising of the hill people. In 338 B.C., at 18, he accompanied his father in the epic showdown campaign against the Athenians and Thebans for the hegemony of Greece and at Chaeronea led that charge which destroyed the Sacred Band, Thebes' elite corps of homosexual lovers.

Some months later when Philip, anxious to remarry, divorced Olympias and sent her home to Epirus, Alexander went with his mother, having developed a great hatred of Philip. The following year an outward reconciliation was effected, but Alexander's position remained uncertain. Philip had questioned Alexander's legitimacy, and furthermore, Philip's new wife, Cleopatra, was about to give birth. When in 336 B.C. Philip was assassinated by the young page Pausanias, Alexander's complicity was universally suspected. However, with the complete support of the army, Alexander swept all rival claimants before him and Philip's new little son was slain.

The death of Philip produced rebellions from both the primitive subjugated peoples of the north and the sophisticated Greeks of the south. After a quick strike into Greece, Alexander was recognized by the Congress of Corinth as captain-general of the Hellenes in place of his father. In 335 B.C. he then wheeled to the north, drove his army right up to the Danube and even crossed it to burn a settlement of the troublesome Getae on the other side. He then marched to the Adriatic, subjugating all the tribes in his path.

By this time the Thebans had once again driven most of Greece into rebellion against the Macedonians. To teach the Greeks a lesson that would never be forgotten, Alexander marched south, captured Thebes in a few days, sacked it and wiped it out of existence, except for its temples and the house of Pindar (q.v.). Except for those who claimed descent from Pindar, all men were killed and all women and children sold into slavery.

With his European empire firmly in Macedonian control, Alexander crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C. with 32,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry to pursue his father's dream. At the river Granicus, he won his first victory over the Persian forces, whereupon the Greek cities of Asia Minor revolted against the Persians and came over to him. Alexander moved down the coast of Asia Minor, sweeping all before him. In 333 B.C. he came up against the large and motley army of Darius of Persia at the Syrian town of Issus and won a smashing victory. Refusing Darius' offer of all of Asia west of the Euphrates and 10,000 talents of gold, Alexander demanded unconditional surrender. Darius refused and retreated inland.

Ignoring Darius for the time being, Alexander continued down the Mediterranean coast, taking Tyre after seven months' siege, subjugating the rest of Phoenicia and Syria, then pushing into Egypt in 332 B.C. After wintering in Egypt and founding Alexandria, Alexander pushed back up through Palestine and Syria in 331 B.C. and in the fall, deep in Assyria, met again with Darius, who had raised a new army. After routing Darius' forces at Gaugemela and Arbela, Alexander pursued him towards the Persian heartland, capturing Babylon, then Susa, and finally the Persian capital of Persepolis, which was burned after being looted of its immense treasure.

In 330 B.C. Alexander pursued Darius north into Media, where Darius was murdered. This should have ended the fighting and led to the organization of the new empire. However, the restless Alexander pushed relentlessly northward to the Caspian, then eastward into the wild hill country of Ariana, the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans.

Meanwhile Alexander had alarmed the Greeks by behaving in an increasingly arrogant and despotic manner, even to his proud Macedonian colleagues. In 330 B.C. he murdered the senior Macedonian general, Parmenio, fearing his reaction to Alexander's execution of Parmenio's son for complicity in a plot. In 329 B.C. he began adopting Persian dress and manners, and when his lifelong friend Clitus made some insolent remarks about it, Alexander killed him in a drunken fury. To reduce his dependence on the proud Macedonians, Alexander drew 30,000 natives into his army and trained them in the Macedonian fashion. He fostered the belief in his divinity (which he had started already in Egypt), married a princess named Roxana and encouraged intermarriage of the Macedonians with the Persians.

After further campaigns in Ariana, Alexander pushed eastward into India, having been invited to give assistance in a local war. After his usual victory, Alexander apparently decided to conquer all of India. However, when the Greeks had reached a point in the vicinity of modern Lahore, just south of Kashmir, Alexander's army refused to go any further. Finally convinced that there was a point beyond which the Greeks could not be pushed, even by him, Alexander gave way and headed homeward, much chastened and apparently come down to earth again. Moving down the Indus river to the Indian Ocean, he marched west and returned to Susa in 324 B.C.

Continuing his deliberate policy of fusing the Greek and Asiatic peoples, to the mixed feelings of the Greeks, Alexander presided over mass marriages, at one of which 10,000 of his soldiers took native wives. Most of his officers, however, resisted. With characteristic energy, Alexander now set about reorganizing his empire on a stable basis, replacing bad governors with capable ones. After discharging most of his Macedonian veterans (who reacted with a mutiny that required all Alexander's personal

magnetism to quell), he moved to Babylon in the spring of 323 B.C. to receive embassies from all the civilized nations from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Alexander was preparing to lead a naval expedition sailing around Arabia to Egypt when he suddenly caught a fever after two nights of carousing in the house of a beloved eunuch boy named Medius and died at thirty-three.

The influence of Alexander and of the Greek culture he brought with him survived his death by many generations, even after the breakup of his empire. He was widely worshipped as the god he aimed to make himself, and even by the more cynical and sophisticated Greeks, Alexander was idolized for his tremendous courage, energy, imagination and military genius. In the Middle Ages he became the subject of many Arthurian-type romances. Traditional recollections of Alexander exist even today in the heart of Asia.

A number of names have been connected with Alexander homosexually, and indeed, his name is among those most often met with on lists of famous homosexuals. There seem to have been some homoerotic implications, possibly on a platonic level, with his boyhood friends Clitus, Craterus, and Hephaestion. Alexander's grief at the death of Hephaestion became proverbial. The doctor who had failed to save him was crucified, and after Alexander got over his wild grief, plans were made for a magnificent funeral and superb memorials. Definitely not platonic were Alexander's relations with the young eunuchs Bagoas and Medius.

Although Alexander took several royal Asiatic wives, only his marriage to Roxana was apparently consummated. A posthumous son named Alexander was murdered, along with his mother, in 309 B.C. As Alexander IV the boy had been nominal successor jointly with his cousin Philip, an imbecile son of Philip the Great, under the regency of Alexander's generals. When the generals fell to quarreling, the empire fell apart into rival states, of ever changing boundaries, under the Macedonian generals and their descendants.

Reference: Athenaeus, 251; Bulliet, 50-52; Burton, 225; Mann, 205; Moll, 35.

AGATHOCLES (361-289 B.C.)

Tyrant of Syracuse (317-289 B.C.).

He was born the son of a potter who moved to Syracuse and tried to teach his trade to his son. Rebelling against such a menial trade, Agathocles was said to have spent a considerable portion of his youth frequenting the public baths and earning some extra money as a male prostitute. After doing some service in the army, he was kept by one Damas, a distinguished and wealthy citizen of Syracuse. After Damas' death, Agathocles married Damas' widow, got his hands on the family wealth, and used his new resources to enter Syracusan politics.

Taking to the democratic party, Agathocles was twice banished for attempting to overthrow the once again dominant oligarchical party. After a civil war broke out, Agathocles returned to Syracuse in 317 B.C. as leader of the democrats, with his private mercenary army, seized power and took a solemn oath to preserve the new democratic constitution. Ten thousand of the richest citizens and their families were murdered or banished, their property being divided among the poor.

Agathocles applied himself next to building a strong army and fleet to subdue all of Sicily. This brought him into conflict with the Carthaginians, to whom the exiled oligarchs had already appealed. In 310 B.C. Carthage declared war on Agathocles and besieged Syracuse. Taking a desperate chance, Agathocles slipped through the Carthaginian blockade with a small force, landed in Africa and attacked the Carthaginian homeland. For three years he maintained himself there, winning several victories and apparently achieving his principal goal, the withdrawal of most of the Carthaginian forces besieging Syracuse to protect Carthage. In 306 B.C., however, Agathocles was completely defeated, his son having meanwhile also been defeated back in Syracuse and lost most of his father's army.

Fleeing back to Syracuse, Agathocles managed somehow to make peace in 305 B.C. with both the oligarchs and the Carthaginians, and even to maintain his hold on most of Sicily. He called himself King of Sicily.

During his remaining years, Agathocles proved himself an able and popular ruler. His influence spread to the mainland in 302 B.C., when he answered a call for help from the citizens of

Tarentum, Sparta's colony in southern Italy, which, hard pressed as usual by its neighbors, failed to get help from the mother country. However, Agathocles accomplished little there and devoted himself to the peaceful prosperity of Syracuse for his remaining years. At his death he bequeathed the Syracusans their freedom.

Although the democracy was restored, it lasted only a few years until another tyrant came along, and thereafter Syracuse, the prize bone of the Second Punic War, lost its independence to the Romans.

Reference: Bulliet, 54.



DEMETRIUS I (337-283 B.C.)

Macedonian king and general.

The son of Antigonos, one of the ablest generals of Alexander the Great (q.v.), Demetrius served his father as an effective lieutenant in the complex wars of succession over the conqueror's empire. By 315 B.C., when Antigonos had gained control of Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia, Demetrius was assigned to defend Syria against Ptolemy of Egypt. Year after year was passed campaigning against Ptolemy on fields of battle stretching from Cyprus to Babylon, victories going sometimes to Antigonos and Demetrius, and at other times to Ptolemy and his allies.

In 307 B.C., father and son decided that the liberation of Athens would be a brilliant coup. With great speed and daring, Demetrius succeeded in this enterprise, driving out the Macedonian garrison of a rival general and proclaiming the restoration of the Athenian democracy. During the months of ensuing celebration, Demetrius was treated by the Athenians like a god. Called by his father in 306 B.C. to attack Ptolemy on Cyprus, Demetrius won a great naval victory, after which Antigonos took the title King and bestowed the title on Demetrius also. Not to be outdone, Ptolemy and several other generals also took the title of King.

In a sudden drop in his fortunes, Demetrius was driven out of Athens by the rival Macedonian general and failed to prevail in a long siege of Rhodes (305-304 B.C.) against Ptolemy, who also won a victory on Cyprus. Things looked up briefly in 304 B.C.

when Demetrius retook Athens and revived the Hellenic League, but then seemingly total disaster recurred in 301 B.C. In the Battle of Issus, his father Antigonus was defeated and slain by a coalition of rival generals. Demetrius took to flight.

In 295 B.C., Demetrius staged another comeback. Athens was retaken, and the following year Demetrius was able to seize the Macedonian heartland itself, murdering its ineffective king. After briefly reuniting most of Greece, he was driven out by a new coalition in 288 B.C. Captured in 285 B.C. by Seleucus, the general who had succeeded to Syria, and his own son-in-law, Demetrius spent his final three years in luxurious and dissipated captivity. His son Antigonus (q.v.) had loyally offered Seleucus all his possessions for his father's freedom, but the offer was never accepted.

The record of Demetrius' homosexual activities is chiefly confined to the period when the Athenians feted him as the liberator and savior of Athens. No beauty, male or female, was safe from him. A youth named Damocles, relentlessly pursued by Demetrius even to a bath house, had to make a fatal leap into a cauldron of boiling water to escape that fate he apparently considered worse than death. Another youth, Cleaenetus, more practical, acquiesced to Demetrius' importunities in return for the liberator remitting a fine imposed on the youth's father.

Reference: Plutarch, 1085-86; Schrenck, 134.



ANTIGONUS II (GONATAS) (c. 320-239 B.C.)

Macedonian king and general.

The son of Demetrius I (q.v.), Antigonus had dutifully offered all the family wealth to his brother-in-law Seleucus for his defeated father's freedom from captivity, but in vain. Upon the death of Demetrius in 283 B.C., Antigonus took the title King of Macedonia, but his supposed kingdom passed through the hands of various other generals for several years, the last of them being slain in 279 B.C. during an invasion by the Gauls.

After the Gauls pushed southward into Greece and crossed into Asia Minor (to settle in the province subsequently called

Galatia), Antigonus was at last able in 276 B.C. to get control of Macedonia, at least for a time. In 273 B.C., however, Pyrrhus of Epirus, looking for a likely enemy from whom to regain the prestige lost to the Romans in the course of his Pyrrhic victories and defeats, attacked Antigonus and drove him out again.

Fortunately for Antigonus, Pyrrhus died the following year while trying to conquer Greece, meeting an unsoldierly death from a falling tile. Antigonus once again established himself as King of Macedonia and, except for an eight-year period when he was driven out again by Pyrrhus' son Alexander (263-255 B.C.), passed a long and happy reign over Macedonia. When he died at eighty, Antigonus had won the affection of his subjects by his honest administration and had achieved further renown for the number of learned men gathered at his court, including Zeno (q.v.), the founder of Stoicism. The dynasty of Antigonus survived until the Roman conquest (168 B.C.).

The object of Antigonus' homosexual affections is recorded as Aristocles the harp-singer.

Reference: Athenaeus, 253; Hirschfeld, 651.



ZENO (c. 336- c. 264 B.C.)

Greek philosopher, founder of Stoicism.

Little is known of Zeno's background other than his birth on Cyprus. Presumably of affluent parentage, he came for his studies to Athens, which continued as the intellectual center of the Western world. Examining the various philosophies, Zeno was most impressed by Cynicism, founded by Antisthenes, another of those disciples of Socrates (q.v.). The Cynics had taken Socrates' message to be that virtue was the only good and was attained by showing indifference, and even contempt, for wealth, health, honor, and even freedom and life. Developing as fourth century B.C. beatniks, the Cynics had paraded, sometimes even in nudity, their poverty, their antagonism to pleasure and their indifference to others as the essence of their virtue. Their most famous product was Diogenes.

Accepting the kernel of Cynic philosophy, Zeno opened his

own School by a stoa, or porch, near the Athenian market place. Finding it unnecessary to *parade* poverty and indifference to honors, Zeno developed his Stoic philosophy on the mere acceptance of adversities that might occur, with neither joy nor grief. Although the creed developed many abstruse metaphysical aspects, it became essentially associated with manly uncomplaining endurance and self-sufficiency.

Enjoying relatively little influence amongst the Greeks, Stoicism eventually became *the* creed of the noblest Romans, Cicero, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius being among the best-known Romans influenced by it. It has often been considered a precursor of Christianity, though the materialism that was one of its most basic elements would seem to place Stoicism far from Christianity.

Zeno was reputed an exclusive homosexual by his contemporaries, and Stoicism in its earlier years became popularly associated with homosexuality. Beloved in his own youth by the philosopher Parmenides, Zeno was especially devoted to his disciple Persaeus, who lived with him and subsequently became a Stoic leader.

Reference: Athenaeus, 45; Bulliet, 56; Burton, 213; Schrenck, 134.



EPICURUS (341-270 B.C.)

Greek philosopher.

Born on the island of Samos, the son of an Athenian colonist who taught school, Epicurus went to Athens at 18 to study with the various philosophers. He left after a few months during one of the Macedonian attacks in the chaotic period following the death of Alexander the Great (q.v.).

Pursuing his studies in widely scattered places he visited on his travels, Epicurus developed his own philosophy and taught for some years in various towns of Asia Minor, where he gathered his own enthusiastic disciples.

In 307 B.C., when he heard that the liberty of Athens had been restored by Demetrius (q.v.), Epicurus returned to Athens and

bought a lovely estate in its outskirts. He spent the rest of his life on his estate, as the congenial head of a community of men and women living in the greatest freedom and welcoming visiting students.

Epicurus' philosophy was diametrically opposed to that of the Cynics and Stoics. He considered pleasure and the pursuit of happiness the highest aim in life, but his hedonism was less crude than that of Aristippus (q.v.). Rather than heedless indulgence, pleasure was taken as the avoidance of pain and unhappiness. Men should be prudent and honest if only to avoid getting into unnecessary trouble. As with the rival philosophies, abstruse metaphysical doctrines also came to be involved with the Epicurean philosophy.

Over the years, the elements of self-control and virtue implicit in the doctrine came to be overlooked and the philosophy became associated principally with sensual pleasure and gluttony. To a great extent, this resulted from deliberate slander manufactured by the rival Stoics, who even stooped to forging obscene letters in the name of Epicurus.

Epicurus' principal homosexual interest is recorded as the youth Pythocles.

Reference: Burton, 213.



THEOCRITUS (c. 320- c. 260 B.C.)

Greek poet.

Little is known of Theocritus' life other than that he was born at Syracuse and spent the later parts of his life at Alexandria in Egypt and on the island of Cos off Asia Minor.

Theocritus is considered the originator of pastoral poetry, many of his idylls being held as masterpieces.

Theocritus' homosexuality has been deduced from his Idylls 12, 29 and 30, which are heavily autobiographical. Idyll 23 is also similar, but is one of those considered to have been incorrectly attributed to Theocritus. Other homosexual references, not of an autobiographical nature, are found in Idylls 7 and 13.

Idyll 29, *To a Boy*, contains the following poignant lines of an aging homosexual:

“Truth in the cups,” men say, dear boy;
So we who drink must speak the truth,
And I my inmost thoughts impart;
Thou lov’st me not with all thy heart.
I know it; half my life is mine,
The rest is vain; the fault is thine,
Who art so lovely. Dost thou comply?
The Blessed no more blest than I.
Dost thou deny me? Dark the day
As darkest night. Thus to betray
A loving heart were deadly wrong!
Boy, I am old and thou art young;
Heed then my counsel; so shalt thou
Thank me hereafter, profit now.
Build thou upon one tree one nest;
So shall no creeping thing molest
Thy quiet home; each day to perch
On different boughs and ever search
New branches—these were fickle ways!
Doth one scarce met behold and praise
Thy beauty? He’s a friend long known;
The love that loved thee first, outgrown . . .
By thy soft lips I pray thee, bear
In mind, the passage of one year
Cheats thee of one year’s youth; apace
Comes ruthless age, the wrinkled face . . .

(Hill translation)

Reference: Hirschfeld, 656; Licht, 474-75; Moll, 28.



HAMILCAR BARCA (c. 268-228 B.C.)

Carthaginian general and statesman.

In 246 B.C. the Carthaginians sent Hamilcar, the young scion of one of Carthage’s leading families, with a small mercenary force to Sicily to try to stem the steady advances of the Romans. The First Punic War, the opening round of the great duel between

Rome and Carthage, had been waged since 264 B.C., when the enemies of Hieron II of Syracuse had sought help from the Romans, fresh from their victories over Pyrrhus of Epirus and masters already of most of Italy. The Romans had won several victories over their original enemies and over the Carthaginians, who opposed Roman intervention, for the first seven years. In 257 B.C., however, the Carthaginians under the leadership of the Spartan mercenary Xanthippus had destroyed a Roman expeditionary force sent to Carthage. This provided the occasion for the legend of the captured consul Regulus who, sent on parole to Rome to arrange an exchange of prisoners, advised against any exchange and returned honorably to Carthage to die.

Although the Romans continued to suffer further losses at sea, from storms or naval actions, involving the deaths of thousands of soldiers on the ships en route to Africa (255, 253, and 249 B.C.), they were continuing to maintain their control of most of Sicily when Hamilcar arrived. Hoping to refurbish their recently dimmed reputation, the Romans welcomed Hamilcar as an opportune target and attacked him with vigor. Displaying for the first time the family military genius, Hamilcar developed a nearly impregnable position for his small force in the western tip of Sicily and not only successively beat off all Roman attacks, but even acquired naval units with which to harry the Roman-occupied ports of Sicily and southern Italy.

When in 241 B.C. the Carthaginians were obliged, after the destruction of their fleet by the Romans in a great naval battle, to negotiate a peace, Hamilcar's unbeaten force was permitted to withdraw from Sicily without any token of submission, as though they were as much victors as the Romans. All of Sicily, except for an autonomous sliver in the east under their ally Syracuse, passed to the Romans, who also were to receive a ten-year indemnity from Carthage.

Upon Hamilcar's return to Carthage, the ruling oligarchy, seeking to humiliate the arrogant young general, withheld the large pay promised by Hamilcar to his troops. Since it was only this promise and the personal authority of Hamilcar that had held together these mercenaries, they broke into a bloody mutiny. Panic-stricken, the oligarchy gave dictatorial powers to Hamilcar as their only hope for saving Carthage from being sacked. Using

all his guile, Hamilcar crushed the revolt in 238 B.C.

The Romans had meanwhile used this occasion of anarchy at Carthage to seize the Carthaginian colony of Sardinia. Consumed by hatred for the Romans, Hamilcar, by now virtual dictator of Carthage, recruited and trained a new army, which in 237 B.C. he led on an expedition to Spain, where he aimed to create a new empire to compensate Carthage for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia to the Romans. After eight years Hamilcar had managed, with his great talents for both warfare and diplomacy, to carve himself a substantial Spanish empire. Before he could complete his work, he was killed in battle at forty, leaving his projects to his son-in-law Hasdrubal and his sons Hasdrubal and Hannibal (q.v.).

The older Hasdrubal was said to have been married to Hamilcar's daughter to allay the increasing talk about Hamilcar being the youth's lover, according to the accounts of Cornelius Nepos and Livy.

The name Barca was originally a nickname, being the Carthaginian word for lightning. It was taken as the surname of the family, who were thereafter known as the Barcids.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 652.



CLEOMENES III (c. 256-219 B.C.)

King of Sparta (235-221 B.C.).

He was born the son of Leonidas, the reactionary old king who had violently opposed the idealistic, communist reforms of his saintly co-king, Agis III, and had accomplished his death in 241 B.C. Once again the wealthiest citizens, with no civic interests, owned all the land and had no concern except the protection of their estates. The old virtues of the Spartans remained in atrophy.

Since Agis' widow Agiatis was a wealthy heiress, Leonidas, now virtual tyrant of Sparta, forced her to marry his teenage son Cleomenes. Because of the difference in their ages, Agiatis became a sort of mother to the boy, at the same time imbuing him with the greatest veneration for her late husband's noble life and with contempt for his own father's despicable actions.

As a result, when Cleomenes succeeded to the throne in 235 B.C., he set out at once to revive Agis' program. Being as

tough and determined as Agis had been soft and yielding, Cleomenes successfully put through nearly all of Agis' thwarted communist program: remission of debts, division of the vast estates into small plots, etc. He also restored the old military training. All who opposed Cleomenes were killed or driven into exile.

Applying himself next to the revival of Sparta's external power and glory, Cleomenes brought a number of Peloponnesian cities into subjection or alliance. However, by attempting to rival the Greek federation called the Achaean League, Cleomenes mortally offended its leading figure, the eminent soldier-statesman Aratus. Resentful at being pushed aside by the arrogant young conqueror with his communist program, Aratus called on the Macedonians to save Greek men of property and culture from the communist barbarians of Sparta. Heeding the call, Antigonus III of Macedonia moved south and inflicted a decisive defeat on Cleomenes at the Battle of Sellasia in 221 B.C. For the first time Sparta was occupied by the Macedonians, who incidentally took advantage of the occasion to reimpose their rule on Greece, which had more or less regained its independence for several decades. The Spartan monarchy and all the communist reforms of Cleomenes were abolished.

Cleomenes escaped to Egypt, hoping to get assistance from Ptolemy IV (q.v.). The weak Ptolemy, however, felt threatened by the dynamic Spartan warrior and his soldiers, whom he had little real intention of helping. The Spartans were arrested. Escaping from their prison, they tried to raise a revolt. Meeting with no success, Cleomenes and his bodyguard fell on their swords to end their lives as noble Spartans. Cleomenes' teenage son Nikomedes, who according to one account had tried to get assistance for his father by prostituting himself to Ptolemy, jumped off the roof in an unsuccessful attempt at suicide.

After the death of Cleomenes, Ptolemy ordered that his body should be flayed and left hanging for birds of prey. However, according to Plutarch, a serpent wrapped itself around his head, keeping off the birds and convincing the populace that Cleomenes had been a god. The story of the last of the Spartans is told in one of the greatest historical novels, *The Corn King and the Spring Queen* by Naomi Mitchison.

The homosexual loves of Cleomenes were recorded as Xenares, his lover when he was a youth, and later Panteus, his lifelong friend and chief aide, who shared his fate at Alexandria.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 653; Plutarch, 973, 992.



PTOLEMY IV (c. 242-204 B.C.)

King of Egypt (221-204 B.C.).

Ptolemy succeeded his able father as king while still quite young, and after having his mother, his brother, his sister-wife and his uncle killed, he proceeded to devote himself fairly exclusively to debauchery.

Ptolemy fell thoroughly under the influence of the eunuch Sosibius, his own boy friend Agathocles, and the latter's sister Agathocleia, and let them pretty well run his kingdom. His first great problem was the arrival of the valiant, exiled King of Sparta, Cleomenes III (q.v.), with his bodyguard, after defeat by the Macedonians. With no intention of wasting his money on anything so serious, Ptolemy hesitated to give a prompt negative reply, fearful the Spartans in their anger might seize his kingdom. His fears increasing, he had them arrested and imprisoned. Though they escaped, their failure to arouse a revolution led them to kill themselves.

Two years after the death of Cleomenes, another great problem disturbed the peaceful debauchery of Ptolemy. Antiochus III of Syria invaded the Egyptian lands in Palestine in 217 B.C. Thanks again to good luck, and the inspired suggestion that he arm the Egyptians instead of relying on Greek mercenaries, Ptolemy won an unexpected victory. However, putting arms into the hands of Egyptians was to have unfortunate consequences for the dynasty for many years.

During the remainder of his reign, while the administration of Egypt disintegrated, Ptolemy continued his debauchery and his devotion to the artistic life, much like Nero (q.v.) three centuries later.

Ptolemy wrote a tragedy, developed religious festivals, and built a temple to Homer.

Reference: Plutarch 990, 992.

HANNIBAL (c. 248-182 B.C.)

Carthaginian general and statesman.

The son of Hamilcar Barca (q.v.), Hannibal was brought to Spain as a boy, his father making him take a vow of implacable hatred to the Romans. Completing his education in Carthage when his father died (228 B.C.), Hannibal was soon called to Spain by his brother-in-law Hasdrubal, who was continuing the Carthaginian expansion and had founded New Carthage (Cartagena). The Romans, unwilling to permit this new expansion of the Carthaginians to go uncontested, moved into Spain themselves. Hasdrubal signed a treaty with them, pledging not to attack the Greek colony of Saguntum, a Roman protectorate, or to cross to the north of the Ebro, the Roman sphere of influence. After Hasdrubal's assassination (221 B.C.), young Hannibal, who had already shown his great military talents, was proclaimed commander-in-chief by the troops, the home government duly confirming the choice.

Losing no time in carrying out his vow, Hannibal found a pretext to attack Saguntum in 219 B.C. Disregarding Roman protests, he besieged it for eight months, then stormed it and destroyed it. When Carthage declined to disown Hannibal's action, the Romans declared war. It was to be known as the Second Punic War.

Conceiving of the grandiose plan of carrying the war into the Roman heartland, Hannibal picked the most reliable of his Libyan and Spanish mercenaries and in the spring of 218 B.C. set out for Italy. After fighting his way through the tribes of northern Spain, he crossed the Pyrenees and negotiated with or outmaneuvered the more civilized tribes of southern Gaul. Eluding a Roman army under the consul Scipio, which arrived too late at Marseilles to intercept him, Hannibal reached the Alps by the fall.

Hannibal now accomplished one of the great military feats of ancient times, the crossing of the Alps with his large army. Although the cold, the mountainous terrain and the hostility of some of the tribes cost him about half his army, he arrived in Roman territory with about 26,000 men and enough elephants to panic Roman citizen-soldiers. After resting his troops for some months and winning over by his diplomacy most of the Gallic

tribes (northern Italy being then that third of all Gaul called Cisalpine Gaul), he moved down the Po Valley and with his cavalry forced the Romans out of the Lombard plain.

Meeting at last with the consul Scipio and his colleague at the river Trebia, Hannibal gave the Romans their first taste of his brilliant tactics, crushing the Roman army after a flanking surprise attack. In 217 B.C., Hannibal crossed the Apennines to the eastern coast of Italy, outflanked the army of the consul Flaminius, then trapped it in a narrow defile at Lake Trasimene near modern Perugia and annihilated it. Although Hannibal had inflicted on the Romans the worst defeat in their history, and no army stood between him and Rome, he lost a large part of his army by disease (he himself becoming blind in one eye) and knew that Rome could not be taken without siege weapons. He decided that pending the arrival of siege weapons from Carthage or from trans-Adriatic allies, he could best use his victory by moving into central and southern Italy to stir up revolts against Roman power.

A short stalemate ensued. Hannibal had little success with his revolt-stirring plans, while the Romans, under their newly appointed dictator, Fabius Maximus, switched to a cautious policy of merely harrying Hannibal's outposts without joining battle. In 216 B.C., however, the Romans, encouraged by Hannibal's lack of success with their subject states, sent a huge army of 86,000 against him to seek a showdown battle. The Romans caught up with Hannibal at Cannae in southeastern Italy. Out-numbered about eight to one, Hannibal won the most spectacular victory of his career, virtually wiping out the entire Roman army.

Almost all the cities of southern Italy now came over to Hannibal, and had the economy-minded merchant-statesmen of Carthage only sent him the urgently requested reinforcements and siege weapons, he could have attacked Rome and ended the war in triumph. No support came for Hannibal from Carthage and this darkest hour for the Romans proved also their finest hour. Building a new army from able-bodied males of every age and class, training it night and day, the Romans made the destruction of Hannibal's army almost their sole purpose in the succeeding few years.

Under their able new leader, the consul Marcellus, the Romans

won their first victory, albeit a minor one, over Hannibal at Nola in 215 B.C., and after several years of indecisive fighting, which saw Hannibal's strength being worn down, the Romans accomplished their first major objective, the recapture of the crucial city of Capua, in 211 B.C., despite all Hannibal's efforts to save it, including even a march to within a few miles of Rome. In 209 B.C. Hannibal lost Tarentum, another crucial city, to Marcellus.

Hannibal's last hopes were now pinned on his brothers. Anticipating this, the Romans had kept his brother Hasdrubal tied up in Spain with attacks by the brothers Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, and after they were both slain (212 B.C.), by the attacks of Publius' brilliant young son, P. Cornelius Scipio. Only 25 when he arrived in Spain in 210 B.C. with full powers, Scipio captured the main Carthaginian city of New Carthage (Cartagena) in 209 B.C., but Hasdrubal managed to escape Scipio's net. Giving up all hopes of holding Spain, Hasdrubal set out to save his brother, following his path into Italy. In 207 B.C., however, Hasdrubal was defeated at the Metaurus river by Claudius Nero and fell in battle. Hasdrubal's head, cut off, was later hurled by the victorious Romans into Hannibal's camp. Another brother, Mago, who had been with Hannibal first and then was sent to Spain to get help from Hasdrubal, also brought an army into Italy, but was defeated by the Romans before he could reach Hannibal.

Meanwhile the Romans also tied up all other possible sources of relief for Hannibal. Carthage itself was put on the defensive by a Roman-subsidized attack by her Numidian neighbor; and her new ally, Macedonia, was prevented from helping when the Romans stirred up the Greeks against Macedonia's weak Philip V. The revolting cities of southern Italy were once again subjected to Roman power, and in Sicily Syracuse had fallen in 211 B.C., despite all the ingenious defensive machinery of Archimedes.

Despairing of victory now, Hannibal withdrew into the toe of the Italian boot and maintained himself for several years with little more than guerilla warfare. Meanwhile, Hannibal's most worthy foe and ultimate nemesis, Scipio, having driven the Carthaginians out of Spain, returned to Rome in triumph and was elected consul in 205 B.C. (though under age). Assembling

a vast Roman expeditionary force, Scipio landed in Africa in 204 B.C. and the following year, with the help of his African allies, defeated the Carthaginians.

As Scipio anticipated, the Carthaginian government ordered Hannibal to abandon his stubborn and quite hopeless fighting in Italy and organize the defense of Carthage. This he did, and after trying in vain to negotiate with Scipio, Hannibal met him at the decisive Battle of Zama (202 B.C.). Badly defeated, Hannibal managed to escape the thousands of Romans bent on his capture.

Under the ensuing peace terms dictated by Scipio, now to be called Scipio Africanus, Carthage had to give up Spain and all her remaining Mediterranean islands, destroy all but ten warships, pay tribute for fifty years and promise not to make war without Rome's permission.

After the Romans pulled out, Hannibal, now 46, returned to Carthage and gravely took up an entirely new career, accepting appointment as *Sofet* or Chief Magistrate. To the surprise of all, Hannibal proved as effective in peace as in war. His actions in restoring commerce and reforming the finances were so effective that Carthage was able to pay its tribute without any additional or extraordinary taxation.

Alarmed by the fast recovery of Carthage under Hannibal, the Romans demanded his surrender in 195 B.C. He went into voluntary exile, first in Carthage's mother-city of Tyre in Phoenicia, then in Ephesus, where he was first well received by Antiochus III of Syria, who was planning war against the Romans, for which Hannibal offered his services. Unaccountably given not an army but the command of the Phoenician fleet, Hannibal lost his first naval battle. Learning that the irate Antiochus was planning to surrender him to the Romans, Hannibal fled, first to Crete, then to the court of King Prusias of Bithynia. His Roman pursuers followed him to that Black Sea kingdom that was to prove so significant in the lives of such great Romans as Caesar (q.v.) and Hadrian (q.v.). When Hannibal learned that Prusias was about to yield to the Roman demand for his surrender, he took poison.

Hannibal's inclusion amongst homosexuals is based essentially on the biography of Cornelius Nepos, in which it is stated that

when his brother-in-law Hasdrubal sent for him to come to Spain, it was said in Carthage that Hasdrubal was undoubtedly planning to use Hannibal as he himself had been used by Hannibal's father Hamilcar, much to the dismay of some elder statesmen who thought that the continuation of this sort of thing amongst her generals from generation to generation might give Carthage an odd reputation. Nothing in Hannibal's later career, at least as recorded, offers much evidence either in contradiction or in support of his alleged homosexuality.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 652.



LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA (138-78 B.C.)

Roman general, statesman and dictator.

Born to a minor branch of the great Cornelian clan, Sulla received an excellent education and was especially partial to literature and art. In his thirties Sulla began his politico-military career as an officer under his future hated rival and archenemy, Caius Marius, soon to be the darling of the Roman common man. Marius brought the war in North Africa (107-105 B.C.) against Jugurtha to a victorious conclusion, but Sulla claimed especial credit for the victory by his capture of King Jugurtha. Carthage had been completely wiped out in 146 B.C. at the end of the Third Punic War, at the same time that the Romans were establishing their control of Greece.

A few years later Marius won his epic victories over the invading hordes from the north, the Teutones being destroyed in southern Gaul in 102 B.C. and the Cimbri in northern Italy in 101 B.C. In this latter victory, Sulla once again antagonized Marius by his immodest self-promotion.

Marius, riding high as a national hero and elected consul for the sixth time, somewhat illegally, pushed through radical laws for his democratic party, to which the opposition party of the aristocrats, the optimates, responded with violence. To this violence the democrats, with their demagogues now in the fore, replied in kind. The decades of coups, assassinations, mass executions and civil wars began to descend upon Rome, whose social structure had never quite recovered from the excessive strain and dislocation required to defeat Hannibal (q.v.).

Obliged by his consular office in 100 B.C. to massacre a group

of violent revolutionaries of his own party at the demand of the aristocratic Senate, Marius became temporarily discredited as the popular leader and went into retirement at the end of his term. Sulla, who had retired into private life again at the conclusion of the campaign against the Cimbri, emerged into Roman politics in 93 B.C., on the aristocratic side. Appointed Governor of Cilicia in Asia Minor in 92 B.C., Sulla had the good fortune to consolidate his previously slight military reputation with a victory over the ambitious King Mithridates of Pontus in what proved the opening skirmish of another great duel of Rome's almost as costly as the one with Hannibal.

As Sulla returned to Rome he found it confronted with another great crisis, the revolt of Rome's Italian allies, producing the Social War (War of the Allies). Both Marius and Sulla offered leadership in the war, but Sulla gained the more spectacular successes in the fighting (91-88 B.C.). Replacing Marius as the new national hero, Sulla was elected consul in 88 B.C.

Meanwhile, Mithridates had taken advantage of Rome's troubles at home. Declaring war on Rome, he routed Rome's ally, Nicomedes of Bithynia (q.v.), and various Roman forces in Asia Minor, massacred in one day 80,000 Romans and Italians, and expanded his new empire from Asia Minor into Greece. Having assembled a large Roman expeditionary force to sail against Mithridates, Sulla on the point of departure in southern Italy was confronted by a coup at Rome by the supporters of Marius. A set of new radical laws, including voting rights for Rome's Italian allies (who had lost their war but gotten satisfaction of their original grievance, the Senate's refusal to give them Roman citizenship) was combined by Marius' supporters with a proposal to give him the command against Mithridates. Marching the troops of his expeditionary force back to Rome, Sulla stormed the city, slaughtered the radical democrats responsible for the coup, undid all the recent radical legislation and put through reactionary laws that made him the darling of the aristocratic party. Marius fled to North Africa.

Italy having been pacified by his reign of terror, and his reliable supporters being placed in the highest offices, Sulla in 87 B.C. sailed forth against Mithridates for what proved four years of glorious victories. After defeating Mithridates' Greek

allies and sacking his headquarters, Athens itself, Sulla went on to plunder other Greek cities, accumulating himself a vast amount of the loot, but also endearing himself to his soldiers by allowing them a good share. Joined by a large fleet under Lucullus, Sulla crossed to Asia to move in on Mithridates' inner bastions. Hoping to live to fight another day, Mithridates sued for peace. Sulla forced him to surrender his entire fleet and all his conquests and to pay a huge indemnity, then allowed him as a vassal of Rome to return to his original small province of Pontus.

Leaving Lucullus to collect from the Asian cities that had supported Mithridates an immense fine (and from his own cut to lay the foundations for his vast fortune which made possible those proverbial banquets), Sulla set back for Rome where, during the years of his victories abroad, his enemies had returned to power. The radical demagogue Cinna, driven out of Rome by the aristocratic or senatorial party after his efforts to get Sulla's laws repealed, raised an army and called back Marius from Africa. Together they succeeded in capturing Rome, instituting a democratic reign of terror, and seizing the property of all the leading opposition figures who had been killed or forced into exile. Marius became consul for a seventh time, with Cinna as the other consul, but died in 86 B.C.

Cinna continued to keep his radicals in full control until his death (84 B.C.), after which his followers began to lose their grip. Sulla landed in southern Italy in 83 B.C. with 40,000 veterans and proceeded northward with great caution and political skill. The new Italian citizens were won over by being confirmed in their new rights. The only people that refused this offer, the stubbornly hostile Samnites, were decisively defeated as they were making a desperate march on Rome. With the defeat and suicide of the last outstanding democratic leader, Marius' son, Sulla found himself master of Rome and her fast-increasing empire. A whole generation of new Roman leaders of the future came forward to offer Sulla their support—especially Crassus and, with three legions, Pompey.

The remnants of the aristocratic party, grateful to their omnipotent savior, assembled in the Senate and bestowed on Sulla the long unused title of dictator, "for the purpose of restoring the state." The usual six-months limit was not fixed. Greatly sur-

passing the previous proscriptions of Marius and Cinna against his party, Sulla posted in the forum his vast lists of proscribed outlaws and instituted a reign of terror throughout Rome and all Italy against the democratic partisans. He then celebrated a gigantic triumph for his victory over Mithridates, followed by a comprehensive program of reactionary legislation, which in today's jargon would be called a "fascist counter-revolution." The Senate, with substantial additions from the middle class, was given greater powers over all branches of society than it had ever enjoyed before, including many rights that had been acquired over the years by the magistrates, the merchants, and even the plebeians. Large tracts of land were set aside for Sulla's devoted veterans. Of his whole program, the only part that proved really enduring was the long overdue reform of the judicial system, producing seven standing courts and a framework adaptable for growth of both criminal and civil law.

His reforms completed after three years of "blood and iron" dictatorship, during which he rarely failed to maintain a grim sense of humor, Sulla went into retirement to pass what proved to be only the remaining few months of his life amusing himself with actors and actresses, dabbling in poetry, and completing his memoirs.

The death that released him from his strange disease was attributed to the excitement he underwent in having a man strangled in his presence for having remarked that he would get out of paying a certain debt since Sulla would soon be dead. His strange disease was anciently called *morbus pedicularis* and involved worms or lice in the bowels, producing ulcerated flesh which became permeated with the vermin, leaving the victim "eaten of worms," as the Bible had it, for the similar death of Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12: 23). In any event, what was left of Sulla's body enjoyed a magnificent funeral.

The occasional homosexual activities of Sulla, whose name also appears as Sylla, involved a young actor named Metrobius.

Reference: Plutarch, 546, 572.

NICOMEDES III (c. 110-74 B.C.)

King of Bithynia (91-74 B.C.).

The son and successor of a petty king in Asia Minor who was a great favorite of the Roman Senate and a faithful ally of Rome, Nicomedes was confronted immediately upon his accession with the towering menace of the ambitious King Mithridates of neighboring Pontus in eastern Asia Minor. Supported by Mithridates, Nicomedes' brother Socrates drove him out of his little kingdom on the southwest corner of the Black Sea.

In 90 B.C., however, the Romans reinstated Nicomedes as King of Bithynia and thereby initiated their long duel with Mithridates, that was to involve such great Roman leaders as Sulla (q.v.) and Pompey. The first round went to Mithridates, who in 88 B.C., after being attacked by Nicomedes with Roman backing, defeated him, drove him out of Bithynia again, and massacred thousands of Romans and Italians, allegedly 80,000, and then went on to conquer most of Asia Minor and much of Greece.

The Romans under Sulla having won the second round, the totally defeated Mithridates went back to Pontus, and in 84 B.C. Nicomedes was once again restored to his throne by his good Roman friends. The following year, however, war broke out again when a minor Roman general on his own initiative raided Mithridates' realm.

In the course of this Second Mithridatic War (83-81 B.C.), Marcus Thermus, governor of the Roman province of Asia, sent his bright young aide, Julius Caesar (q.v.) to see if he could raise a fleet in Bithynia. The love affair that developed between the young king and the somewhat younger Roman became something of a scandal. Caesar tarried with Nicomedes far beyond the time his mission warranted, and after returning to Thermus, Caesar found a specious excuse (to collect a debt of one of his servants) to return to Nicomedes for a further stay. In one of several recorded allusions to the affair, by no less a notable than Cicero, Caesar was described on one night as having acted as royal cup-bearer during a wild party at the youthful Bithynian court, then being led, clad in a purple shift, to the royal bed-chamber and its golden couch.

After the departure of his beloved Caesar on the inescapable call to duty, and subsequent glory and immortality, Nicomedes

faded into historical oblivion. His premature death, in 74 B.C., produced a startling legacy. Nicomedes bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, or so it is recorded. Did he perhaps actually try to leave it to Caesar? The legacy produced the third and greatest Mithridatic War, in which Pompey developed so great a reputation that it took many years of arduous campaigning by Caesar in Gaul and Britain to match it.

If Caesar was disposed in after years to forget Nicomedes, his enemies made this impossible. The mock title of "Queen of Bithynia" was perhaps the mildest of epithets Caesar was to have flung at him in this connection. Perhaps the greatest posthumous tribute to Nicomedes was paid him by Caesar's soldiers during his triumph after the conquest of Gaul, when amongst the ribald songs they were permitted to get away with singing was the following:

Behold now in triumph Caesar, who under him brought Gaul;
Sharing not the triumph Nicomedes, who under himself brought
Caesar.

Reference: Bulliet, 70-72; Hirschfeld, 654; Moll, 30;

Suetonius, 30-31.



GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR (102-44 B.C.)

Roman statesman, general and dictator.

He was born (according to one account by the method to which he gave his name) to a branch of the great patrician Julian clan, which traced its descent from the legendary Prince Aeneas of Troy (supposedly the son of the goddess Aphrodite or Venus), Aeneas being the founder of Rome's mother city, Alba Longa. Despite this background and a customary aristocratic education, Caesar showed at an early age a disposition towards the popular or democratic party, whose idol and long-time leader, Marius, was married to Caesar's aunt.

In 87 B.C., his sixteenth year, Caesar assumed the toga of manhood upon his father's death and witnessed the storming of Rome by the great conservative leader Sulla (q.v.) and the slaughter of those radical democratic leaders who had sought to give to Marius the command of the expedition against Mithridates that Sulla was then himself leading. And then he witnessed the return to power of the democrats under Cinna, who recalled

Marius from exile and in their turn slaughtered patrician leaders. Despite his patrician background, Caesar was noted as a partisan of the democrats and was marked by virtue of his brains, charm, and sympathies as one of the party's great hopes for the future. He received his first office, as a priest of Jupiter, and married Cinna's daughter Cornelia, thereby spurning the wealthy heiress to whom he had been engaged since boyhood.

After Marius' death (86 B.C.), Caesar's father-in-law had become the party's leader, and his future seemed assured. But Cinna himself died in 84 B.C. and the following year Sulla returned in triumph from his Asiatic and Greek victories and in a few months had made himself master of Italy, the Senate confirming him as dictator. Although Caesar was an obvious target for Sulla's proscriptions and reign of terror, Sulla was prevailed upon to spare him because of his youth and his patrician connections. He is said to have grumbled prophetically, "Very well, but never forget that the man you want me to spare will one day prove the ruin of the party we have so long defended. There are many Mariuses in this one Caesar."

When Caesar was so ungrateful as to refuse Sulla's command that he divorce Cornelia, he was deprived of his priesthood and property and warned to flee before the dictator's anger. After being hidden from house to house, Caesar escaped to Asia and served in the Second Mithridatic War (83-81 B.C.). His long homosexual love affair during the war with young King Nicomedes of Bithynia (q.v.) caused a scandal that was to plague him for the rest of his life. After he was finally prevailed upon to part from Nicomedes, Caesar distinguished himself during a minor war in the storming of Mytilene, in what might be termed a minor Lesbian campaign.

Upon learning of Sulla's death (78 B.C.), Caesar hurried back to Rome but found the political atmosphere still unfavorable to the democratic party. He tried to get back into politics by prosecuting two of the opposition leaders for extortion during recent terms as governors of Macedonia and Greece, respectively, but lost the cases. Disgusted, Caesar set out for the island of Rhodes to study rhetoric.

On the way to Rhodes there occurred one of the most colorful episodes of his career. Captured by pirates off Athens, Caesar

was taken to pirate headquarters in Cilicia in Asia Minor. He was held a prisoner for six weeks while his servants went to collect a ransom of fifty talents, a figure proposed by Caesar himself when the pirates suggested a mere twenty. During this interval, Caesar charmed his captors, joined in their games and exercises, and read them verses and speeches he composed. This final benefit the pirates failed to appreciate and ridiculed him, whereupon Caesar took an oath to see them all hanged. True to his word, following the payment of his ransom and his release, Caesar went to the Roman base of Miletus, raised a fleet and returned to the pirate base where he found most of the ships in the harbor. In his first display of tactical genius, Caesar seized the pirate ships, captured the pirates and their treasures and had them all crucified.

At Rhodes Caesar proved an outstanding student of rhetoric and he was thenceforth to include oratory among his great talents. The death of Caesar's ex-lover Nicomedes in 74 B.C. and his bequeathal of his Bithynian kingdom to Rome (or had it really been to Caesar?) provoked the Third Mithridatic War. Abandoning his studies, Caesar crossed to the Asian mainland and raised a corps of volunteers with which he maintained the loyalty of the province of Asia until the arrival of Lucullus' Roman army.

Returning to Rome again, Caesar abandoned something of his ideological fervor, and got back into politics by attaching himself not to demagogues but to political intriguers, notably Crassus. Now in his thirties, Caesar obtained minor appointments through Crassus, unperturbed by Crassus' having been one of Sulla's principal henchmen and having made his fortune from the property of those members of Caesar's party that had been proscribed by Sulla.

The political tide turned in consequence of the dramatic revolt of the slaves and gladiators under Spartacus (73-71 B.C.). As one Roman army after another under the leadership of Sulla's heirs was defeated by Spartacus, and the revolt spread, the conservatives were discredited completely. They accepted only too gladly the offer of Caesar's patron, the politician Crassus, who happened to hold the praetor's office, just below that of the consuls, and anticipated a catastrophic defeat. Instead, to every-

one's surprise, Crassus delivered a shattering defeat to Spartacus, leading to the bloody liquidation of the revolt. Serving Crassus as his military tribune had been Julius Caesar.

The fruits of victory were suddenly snatched from Crassus by the inflated publicity given to Pompey the Great (a title given him by Sulla) who on his way home from Spain and a lucky victory over the brilliant Sertorius (a follower of Marius who had led a nationalist secession in Spain) managed to get into the anti-Spartacus act. Having defeated a small band of Spartacus' followers in northern Italy, the reliably conservative Pompey was hailed by the patricians as the real savior of Rome and accorded a triumph for saving Italy. Unfortunately for the patrician cause, Pompey proved appreciative of the charm and influence of the slighted Crassus. Elected consuls together, they formed a powerful new political force that gathered much democratic support by securing the repeal of much of Sulla's reactionary legislation. But for the time being, Caesar was unable to benefit from Crassus' new good fortune.

Caesar departed for Spain to serve for a year on the governor's staff, hoping to find his opportunities there. At the end of a year he bemoaned the fact that he had already reached the age at which Alexander the Great (q.v.) had completed his conquests, and had himself accomplished nothing great. On his way back to Rome, Caesar tried to stir up the colonists of northern Italy to demand from Rome full political rights.

In 67 B.C. Caesar's wife Cornelia died and he turned her funeral, as he had that of his aunt's, into a panegyric for Marius and the democratic ideology. While Pompey, Caesar's future archrival, was away in Asia (66-62 B.C.) replacing the unlucky Lucullus in the grim struggle against Mithridates and really earning a great military reputation, Caesar's reputation in Rome at last began to grow, though it was at first as both a political intriguer and a playboy, both lines of endeavor running him heavily into debt. Caesar was believed to have gotten himself involved in the conspiracy of Catiline (64-63 B.C.), which began as a democratic political campaign with a radical program but ended, after being thwarted by the conservatives under Cicero, as an attempt to seize Rome with an army of hoodlums. Although Caesar had abandoned Catiline before he had gone to extremes,

he nevertheless argued vigorously in the Senate against the summary execution of Catiline's captured Roman deputies, a courageous act that almost cost him his life.

With most of the senior leaders of the democratic party now dead, Caesar emerged as its self-proclaimed leader, and with the backing of his old patron Crassus, started on the regular sequence of offices leading from high priest to consul. Even as high priest Caesar was to make a lasting contribution, for with the help of the scholar Sosigenes he embarked on the reform of the calendar to the 365.25-day year, the Julian Calendar which bears his name.

By 62 B.C. Caesar was praetor, just below the consulship, and had divorced his second wife Pompeia (granddaughter of Sulla but only distantly related to Pompey) after she was involved in a scandal with the notorious Clodius, the occasion of the famous "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion." Upon the return of the triumphant Pompey from his Asiatic conquests, Caesar pulled a political master stroke. Caesar assured Pompey of complete support for his sweeping plans for the reorganization of Asia, knowing that this would lead the suspicious conservatives to oppose it and thereby alienate Pompey from them. For Pompey, like a good Roman, had disbanded his army upon landing in Italy, and was unable to have his way by threat of force.

In accordance with custom, the termination of his praetorship brought him an overseas governorship, and Caesar got Spain, where he began to lay the foundations for a military reputation, still trivial compared with Pompey's, in his campaign against the Lusitanians (in modern Portugal).

Upon his return to Rome in 60 B.C., Caesar found Pompey, as anticipated, disgusted with the conservative opposition not only to his reorganization of Asia but even to giving lands to his veterans. Using all his charm, Caesar persuaded Pompey to break with the conservatives and once more form an alliance with the wealthy Crassus. With Caesar as a third member, the so-called First Triumvirate emerged to dominate Rome. By 59 B.C. Caesar was consul and loyally put through the program of Pompey, who married Julia, Caesar's daughter by Cornelia (and thus a granddaughter of the hated demagogue Cinna).

By common consent of the partners, Caesar's consulship was

followed by an unprecedented five-year term as governor of Gaul. To gain himself the money he always needed for his political intrigues as well as a military reputation to match Pompey's, Caesar began his spectacular conquest of Gaul. When he started, Rome possessed only the provinces just north of the Pyrenees and west of the Alps, in addition, of course, to Cisalpine Gaul, which was really northern Italy. The Germans had moved deep into France, and the Helvetians were beginning to move in. After eight years of brilliant campaigning, the subject of his famous *Commentaries*, Caesar had brought under Roman control all of modern France and Belgium and parts of Switzerland and Germany. Britain had been twice invaded and opened up to Roman trade and influence.

Meanwhile, between campaigns Caesar had kept closely in touch with events in Rome and had met his fellow triumvirs in 56 B.C. to plan further political strategy. In 55 B.C. Caesar's governorship of Gaul was extended for another five years, Pompey and Crassus assuming the consulship, to be followed by Spain for Pompey and Syria for Crassus, who hoped there to forge his own military reputation. When Crassus in due course marched off to the East to fight, his army was annihilated at Carrhae by the Parthians in 53 B.C.

Caesar was now confronted by Pompey alone, whose ties were weakened by the death of Julia. Instead of going to Spain, Pompey ruled it through legates and remained in Rome. The conservatives began once more to pin their hopes on Pompey as their man, and in 52 B.C. the Senate appointed him sole consul, which amounted to dictator, and pressed him toward the pet scheme of the conservatives, the prosecution of Caesar for illegal acts committed while in command in Gaul, if not previously as consul.

Caesar had meanwhile closed his Gallic campaigns with the toughest fight of all, the suppression of the revolt of all Gaul under Vercingetorix (52-51 B.C.). Drawing upon all his various forms of genius, Caesar emerged from a seemingly hopelessly besieged position to triumphant victor, concluding with ruthless slaughter of the sort he had previously avoided. It has been estimated that more than one million Gauls were killed during Caesar's subjugation of Gaul.

Pompey having finally been pushed into that open break with

Caesar he wanted to avoid, the Senate demanded that Caesar lay down his command (which rendered him immune from prosecution) and come to Rome as a private citizen to stand trial on the charges of malfeasance, or be declared a public enemy. The vetoes of the pro-Caesar tribunes, Antonius (Mark Antony) and Cassius were ignored, and they were expelled from the Senate. They crossed over the border to Caesar's Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy), and advised him to march on Rome.

Securing the support of his wildly enthusiastic and devoted army, which agreed to serve without pay if necessary, Caesar crossed the stream that formed his southern border, the Rubicon, with his legions, uttering the famous words, "The die is cast." Most of Pompey's forces being in Spain, and most influential citizens outside Rome coming over to Caesar, there resulted only a triumphal march down the Adriatic coast. Pompey, his small forces routed, embarked for the East, where his prestige was greatest.

Deciding to secure Spain first, Caesar crossed over with a small army, and with a few brilliant strokes, outmaneuvered Pompey's lieutenants and secured their surrender in two months. Returning to Rome, Caesar was appointed dictator by the awed Senate, but he resigned to stand for consul, to which he was elected in a week. In January of 48 B.C. Caesar crossed the Adriatic in pursuit of Pompey, and, after an initial defeat, won a great victory at Pharsalus over Pompey's much larger forces. Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was murdered.

Following Pompey to Egypt, Caesar remained there for nine months, partly because he was beguiled by the attractions of the young Cleopatra, whom he set on the throne in place of her brother, and who became the mother of Caesarion, Caesar's only known son. He was also detained in Egypt by virtue of being besieged for some months until rescued by a Roman expedition.

In the summer of 47 B.C. Asia was aroused by a new revolt against Rome by a son of Mithridates, and Caesar moved swiftly northward to the northeastern corner of Asia Minor where at Zela he achieved his usual decisive victory, commemorated with the famous "*veni, vidi, vici.*" Returning to Italy, Caesar quelled a mutiny in the south, then crossed over to Africa where at Thapsus

in 46 B.C. he crushed the fourteen legions that represented the final real strength of his opponents. He returned to Rome for a fourfold triumph and was appointed dictator for ten years.

Late 46 B.C. Caesar had to go to Spain again to crush the last remnants of organized opposition, under the sons of Pompey. In March, 45 B.C., he won his last victory at Munda, almost suffering defeat. In September Caesar returned to Rome, the complete master of the greatest empire to that time in the west.

During what proved to be only the remaining six months of his life, Caesar undertook the beginnings of many programs: new colonies for devastated lands; the extension of Roman citizenship; the increase in the size of the Senate; agrarian reform; tax reform; codification of the laws; beautification of Rome; completion of calendar reform. On the retrenching side, and surely pleasing to conservatives, he dissolved trade unions and cut the supply of free grain in half.

In February, 44 B.C., Caesar was appointed dictator for life but rejected the royal diadem set on his head by Antony. When the street mobs hailed him as king, Caesar was said to have sneered, "I am Caesar and Imperator," as though these names rated higher than that of king, as was indeed to be the case. He was apparently not averse to permitting honors to be paid to him that were normally reserved by the Romans for their gods, and he used the golden throne, the ivory sceptre and embroidered robe traditionally ascribed to the ancient kings of Rome.

For those true republicans who had been Caesar's supporters all this was too much. So also was the ostentatious presence of Cleopatra, who had followed Caesar to Rome and entertained lavishly in her palace (even Cicero not being immune to her charms), hinting Caesar would marry her after he became King of Kings. On March 15, 44 B.C., the plot against Caesar was successfully carried out and he was murdered by Brutus, Cassius et al. in the senate house at the foot of Pompey's statue. He is believed to have known about it, but to have chosen to meet his fate.

Despite his ruthless treatment of foreign enemies, Caesar was always exceptionally magnanimous and lenient with his fellow citizens who had opposed him. Whereas Pompey had declared, "He who is not with me is against me," Caesar countered with

the characteristic offer, "He who is not against me is with me," a slogan recently stolen by Hungary's Kadar. His tremendous charm was acknowledged by even his bitterest enemies, such as Cicero, who said he would rather spend an evening in conversation with Caesar than any other way. His tremendous effectiveness with his armies, making him one of the greatest commanders and military geniuses of history, owed much to the military by-products of his political charm: he collected intelligence diligently, proceeded cautiously and took a personal interest in the welfare of his soldiers, using his politician's memory to remember their names. These qualities, added to his own great courage in battle and willingness to undergo all the hardships of his men (walking on foot, bareheaded in sun and rain), made him the idol of his troops, who put personal loyalty to him far above any vague loyalty to the state.

Aside from being a military genius, a superlative politician and leader of men, an accomplished orator and conversationalist, and a good-humored and magnanimous human being, Caesar was also a highly esteemed writer. Unfortunately, there survive only his *Commentaries*, seven books on the Gallic Wars and three on the Civil War. They are considered masterpieces of clear, beautiful, concise Latin and among the most reliable histories of antiquity. His lost works include two dramas written in his youth, one on Hercules and the other on Oedipus; several collections of poems; a book on astronomy and a work on the Latin language. Throughout his life he was a voracious reader.

Of all men who have occupied positions at the summit of their societies, none had as full a life, putting to shame the heroes of ancient legends, modern romances and the like, while yet remaining on a very human level. On almost any reasoned list of the ten greatest figures in human history, the name of Caesar is bound to appear.

The variety of levels of activity enjoyed by Caesar extended also to his sex life. An epithet fixed to Caesar was, "Husband to every woman and wife to every man." Besides his three wives and Cleopatra, many other women had their names linked with his, with or without justification. Aside from his great homosexual affair with Nicomedes, another partner of Caesar's is referred to by Catullus (q.v.) in poems 29 and 57, where the

lowest of Latin terms, *cinaedus*, is applied to Caesar, the partner in this case being Mamurra, whose identification as an obscure sybarite in Rome seems highly unconvincing. Mark Antony has been suspected of having started his meteoric career after he joined Caesar in Gaul in 54 B.C. by performing stud service for Caesar, and the Mamurra references fit his character quite well, were there some justification for the name (of course Catullus might merely have misunderstood a reference by his source). In addition, Augustus (q.v.) was accused of getting himself adopted as Caesar's heir by making himself sexually available to his great-uncle in Spain.

Caesar accepted with good humor the many taunts about his affair with Nicomedes, perhaps suggesting his acceptance of the basic implication. Bibulus, Caesar's conservative colleague in his first consulship, whom Caesar made a virtual prisoner, referred to Caesar in one of his fulminating edicts as "The Queen of Bithynia . . . who once was interested only in sleeping with a monarch but now wants to be one." And Cicero, once hearing Caesar pleading with the Senate in defense of Nicomedes' daughter and pointing out his obligations to Nicomedes, interrupted Caesar, shouting, "Enough of that, if you please! We all know what he gave you, and what you gave him in return." It was even recorded that once a wit, who prided himself on recklessly saying the first thing that came into his head, walked into an austere assembly where he saluted Pompey as king and Caesar as queen.

Reference: Bulliet, 64-73; Hirschfeld, 651; Moll, 30;

Suetonius, 30-31.



MARCUS PORCIUS CATO (95-46 B.C.)

Roman statesman.

Generally known as Cato the Younger to distinguish him from his great-grandfather, Cato the Censor, the sanctimonious old reactionary with the one-track mind ("Carthage must be destroyed"), Cato had his first taste of military service in 72 B.C., against Spartacus. He next served as a military tribune in Macedonia where he strove as a model Roman officer to train model Roman soldiers.

Entering political life after he turned thirty, Cato showed outstanding zeal and integrity in managing public accounts, both

at home and abroad in the Asian provinces during the war against Mithridates. Trying in all ways to imitate the older Cato, and heartened by his outstanding Stoic faith, Cato developed the reputation for being amongst all Roman leaders absolutely the most honest and incorruptible.

During the fateful and chaotic months of Catiline's conspiracy (64-63 B.C.), Cato loyally supported Cicero and fought hard for the summary execution by the Senate of the captive conspirators, despite its unconstitutionality, as argued forcefully by the rapidly rising Julius Caesar (q.v.). In 59 B.C. Cato lost to Caesar in the consular election, then tried unsuccessfully with Caesar's ineffectual co-consul, Bibulus, to block the land distribution to Pompey's veterans. When Caesar brought Pompey and Crassus into the First Triumvirate with him, all were agreed on the need to rid Rome of the incorruptible reactionary.

Cato was sent on a mission to Cyprus where for two years he was exposed to the temptation of vast sums at his disposal, but remained uncorrupted. Returning to Rome in 56 B.C., Cato found the city in the hands of the renegade aristocrat Clodius, who made a mockery of the nominal supremacy of Pompey and Crassus and, on Caesar's behalf, terrorized the conservatives, especially during elections, with his hoodlums. Appearing in his now well-established role as the austere, noble, old-style Roman, Cato secured election to the state's number three office of praetor and tried in vain to eliminate bribery in the elections. The bribery having now attained colossal proportions, and being financed largely by Caesar's loot from Gaul, Cato decided after being again defeated for consul that Caesar was the root of all the evils, and that Caesar's elimination, at any cost, was indispensable. Accordingly, Cato, champion of the law and the constitution, fell in with the illegal intrigues which brought the elevation of Pompey to sole consulship and the Senate's command that Caesar appear in Rome as a private citizen to answer charges of malfeasance.

In the ensuing civil war, which began in 49 B.C., Cato was put in charge of the defense of Sicily, from which he was soon driven by a partisan of Caesar. Crossing over to Greece and to the camp of Pompey, who had enjoyed an initial success over Caesar, Cato was left behind when Pompey went off to his

catastrophic defeat at Pharsalus. While Pompey fled to Egypt and his death, Cato took some of the republican forces to North Africa, where they were in due course followed by Caesar after his year with Cleopatra and his conquest of Asia.

In 46 B.C. Cato's forces were decisively beaten by Caesar at Thapsus. Though assured by mutual friends that Caesar had always preserved his great respect and admiration for Cato, and that he would grant him a full pardon and award him high posts, Cato decided that there was only one further action for him of which his great-grandfather would approve. Shut up in a house in Utica, Cato disemboweled himself with his sword. Having botched this noble action like so many others, Cato was found by friends who brought a physician to stuff the bowels back in and sew him up. Coming to, and seeing what was happening, Cato grabbed his bowels back from the physician, wrenched them out and died. The citizens of Utica gave this last of the old Romans a fine funeral, unperturbed by Caesar's arrival. After his death, he became a sort of patron saint of Stoics, a model for their imitation, until finally one of their number became emperor (Marcus Aurelius).

Cato, far more than the confused Pompey, was Caesar's real arch-foe. Despite his personal austerity, virtue and incorruptibility, Cato was a typical gloomy doctrinaire, abhorring compromise and obstinately blind to the fact that his political ideal was a hopeless anachronism. By contrast, the utterly profligate and corrupt Caesar, extorting and looting fortunes with one hand and passing out gigantic bribes to all with the other, was a thoroughly practical compromiser who dealt ably, reasonably and effectively with all problems he confronted, personal, military and political.

The homosexuality of one so austere, virtuous and self-disciplined would naturally be unlikely to be manifested beyond the platonic level, however passionate on that level. Like George Washington (q.v.) who was to resemble him in many ways, Cato was passionately devoted to his older brother, named Caepio. When Caepio fell sick and died suddenly in Thrace in 66 B.C., Cato rushed to the spot and amazed those familiar with his reputation for self-discipline by wailing, grieving and embracing the dead body like a hysterical widow. By about this time

Cato acquired an inseparable friend named Munatius, who remained near him night and day until around 58 B.C., when he left in a jealous row over the increasing favor shown by Cato to a new young companion, Canidius.

After Cato's neglected wife Atilia committed adultery and was divorced, he took a second wife named Marcia but after some years gave her away to an admirer of his named Quintus Hortensius. Hortensius had asked that Cato's daughter Porcia be made to divorce her husband and marry him so that he could be the father of Cato's grandchild, at the same time generously offering to allow Porcia afterwards to divorce him and remarry her first husband if she wanted to. However, since Porcia's husband was none other than Cato's important ultra-conservative ally Bibulus, Cato had to refuse with regrets. As compensation for having refused Cato's daughter, he offered instead Cato's wife. The offer being accepted, Cato divorced Marcia and henceforth was free of wives.

Reference: Anderson, 277; Plutarch, 922-23, 931, 939.



GAIUS VALERIUS CATULLUS (c. 84-54 B.C.)

Roman lyric poet.

He was born in Verona, a city of Latin colonists in Cisalpine Gaul, the northern part of Italy not yet considered to be Italy. His father, apparently a leading citizen of the province, was to play host to Julius Caesar (q.v.) on some of Caesar's visits to this one of the three parts into which his Gallic realm was divided. Catullus acquired a good education, manifesting an early interest in poetry. Especially partial to the lyric poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus (q.v.), Catullus tried his hand at Latin imitations and by his poetic genius had soon evolved some improvements of his own.

Around 62 B.C. Catullus went off to Rome, then on the eve of its take-over by the First Triumvirate (Caesar, Pompey and Crassus) and made use of his introductions to move in the highest circles of the aristocracy, the intellectuals and the libertines alike. Probably very soon after his arrival, Catullus began the great romance of his life, his passionate affair with Clodia. Although Clodia was generally known as an enchanting but thoroughly amoral nymphomaniac, Catullus idolized her as a

sort of goddess. A considerable portion of his hundred-odd poems are addressed to her as Lesbia or reflect the various stages of his passion for her: absolute devotion and trust, distrust and jealousy, quarrels, attempts at reconciliation, and finally hatred and renunciation.

Possibly in hopes of mending his broken heart, Catullus accepted a job on the staff of the governor of Bithynia, that Asiatic province so fatal in the life of Caesar, who by now had been consul and was conquering Gaul. Disappointed in his hopes of making his fortune in Bithynia, Catullus returned to Rome to find it being terrorized by Clodia's brother, Publius Clodius, surnamed the Handsome, who on Caesar's behalf harried the conservative opposition. By his demagogic manipulation of mobs and hoodlums, Clodius, who had himself given up his patrician rank for plebeian status, drove Cicero and Cato (q.v.) out of Rome and almost ruled the city, until killed in a gang fight.

After partaking of several years of riotous living in the strife-torn capital, Catullus abandoned it in disgust for his native Verona, where he spent a large part of what proved his few remaining months, and in this period probably produced most of his work. While at his father's house, Catullus witnessed a visit by Caesar who, with his usual good-humored magnanimity, accepted Catullus' apologies for the vicious poems 29 and 57, dealing with Caesar's homosexual activities, the lowest of epithets being applied to him. The identity of Caesar's alleged partner, Mamurra, has never been too clearly established, an obscure Roman sybarite of that name being rather unlikely. Mark Antony (q.v.) has been suggested, but without any possible connection to the name Mamurra, though of course Catullus may have simply gotten some names confused. Catullus died at thirty.

Catullus' homosexual interests, doubtless in the post-Clodian period, are reflected especially in the poems to Juventius (24, 48, 81, and 98) and others apparently about him (15 and 21). There is also a poem to a boy-love named Licinius (50) and another to Quintius (82), a boy in his native Verona to whose affair with a girl Catullus gives his approval (100), noting that at the same time Catullus' former rival for the boy, Caelius, is courting the girl's brother. And in 56 he describes a "poetic justice" rape of a boy caught in the act with a girl. The contempt

that Catullus felt, by contrast, for all homosexuals in any role but that of active lover of a beautiful boy is reflected in 16, 25, 33, 106, and 112.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 651; Kiefer, 191-92.



MARCUS ANTONIUS (MARK ANTONY) (c. 83-30 B.C.)

Roman general and statesman.

He was born of the prominent Antonian clan, which traced its descent from Hercules, much as descent from Venus was traced by the Julian clan of Caesar, to whom Antony was related on his mother's side. His father, noted chiefly for his extraordinary incompetence and rapacity in campaigns against the Mediterranean pirates and their Cretan allies, died when Antony was still a boy. Antony's grandfather had been a famous orator on the conservative side, who had been liquidated in the reign of terror of Marius and Cinna (87 B.C.).

Brought up by his adored stepfather, a fearless, highliving scoundrel named Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura, who had been expelled from the Senate for immorality after a long political career, Antony took him for his model. Lentulus Sura joined Catiline's conspiracy in the hopes of recouping his fortunes and was one of those captive Roman deputies of Catiline's over whose summary execution by the Senate Caesar (q.v.) and Cato (q.v.) argued bitterly.

Caesar's impassioned oratory, as praetor-elect, to save Lentulus Sura proved in vain, but he became thereby Antony's new idol. At the same time Antony developed a fierce hatred for Cicero, the consul who had suppressed the conspiracy (and had also exercised his oratory, on the records of which generations of schoolboys have pondered). Antony's uncle, Gaius Antonius, was Cicero's co-consul and later furthered Antony's loathing of Cicero by revelations of the bribes Cicero had given him, and later solicited from him for defending him against charges of plundering Macedonia, of which Gaius Antonius became governor after his consulship. Vengeance against the sanctimonious old fraud became one of Antony's lifelong aims.

Antony began his political career as a henchman of the infamous Publius Clodius the Handsome, the demagogue whose political machine and hoodlums were employed to control Rome

on Caesar's behalf. However, as a result of being thrown deeply into debt by his high living, and having encountered Clodius' suspicions about his relations with Clodius' wife Fulvia, Antony fled Rome in 58 B.C. and studied philosophy in Athens for a few months. Thereafter he served under the governor of Syria in his campaign against the troublesome Maccabean Jewish king, Aristobulus II.

Having learned of the ambitious campaigns being undertaken by his idol and patron in Gaul, Antony went there to join Caesar and participated in some of his fighting. Caesar found in Antony the kind of courage, intelligence and pragmatic philosophy he most appreciated and sent him back to the capital as his man in Rome. When Clodius was killed in a gang fight (52 B.C.), Antony became the undisputed leader of Caesar's democratic party in the city. Generously backed by funds from Caesar's limitless loot, Antony won elections for various important offices, from which he tried to cope with the conservative intrigues against Caesar. In 49 B.C., as a tribune alongside his fellow-tribune Cassius, Antony vetoed the Senate's insulting decree against Caesar. They were expelled and fled to Caesar's camp, where they persuaded him to leave Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy) and march on Rome.

After Caesar had mastered Italy and departed for Spain, Antony was left behind as Caesar's deputy in Italy and heir apparent. The following year Antony served as Caesar's second in command at the Battle of Pharsalus, and after Pompey's total defeat and flight, returned to Italy as Caesar's deputy, while Caesar himself continued his conquests of Cleopatra, Asia, North Africa and Spain. During this period Antony's extravagant excesses provided much of the material for Cicero's later denunciation of him, and he even aroused Caesar's rebuke for appropriating Pompey's confiscated property without paying for it. To put an end to his riotous living, Caesar compelled Antony to marry Clodius' awesome and domineering widow, Fulvia.

At the time of Caesar's assassination, a month after he rejected the crown offered him by Antony, Caesar was consul as well as dictator and Antony was his co-consul, conveniently providing the legal certification for his well-established role as Caesar's political heir in 44 B.C. Taking advantage of the fact that Brutus

and Cassius considered him an opportunist who would give them no trouble, Antony returned a friendly response to their "let's have no more Roman blood shed" approaches. He was, after all, the sole surviving consul, and Caesar had been assassinated in the name of a return to the ancient forms of constitutionalism and legality. Antony did indeed prove an opportunist, and at the final rites for Caesar he found his opportunity. By means of his clever funeral oration, so well conceived by Shakespeare (q.v.) some sixteen hundred years later, and by his reading to the citizens of a will whereby Caesar left much money as well as his gardens to the common people of Rome, Antony aroused the populace so much against the assassins that they had to leave Rome for the provinces that Caesar had promised them. Nevertheless, Antony was dissuaded from trying to seize the dictatorial power Caesar had held.

At the expiration of his consulship, Antony got the Senate to assign him the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy), which required the forceful removal of the incumbent, Decimus Brutus, who, though a great favorite and even an heir of Caesar's, had been involved along with his famous cousin in the assassination. Aided by veterans of Caesar's army glad to serve against the traitor, Antony besieged Brutus at Modena.

Meanwhile, the 18-year-old Octavian (q.v.), Caesar's great-nephew and adopted heir, arrived at Rome to claim his financial inheritance, and soon he was on the way to parlaying that into the incredible notion of becoming Caesar's political heir also. Befriended by Cicero, who apparently saw at once his possibilities in opposition to Antony, Octavian was seized upon by other conservatives, now leaderless, as their new leader against the profligate leader of the democratic party. Ironically, at the same time hundreds of Caesar's veterans offered to support him as Caesar's heir. Swayed by the impassioned oratory of Cicero's denunciation of Antony, called his First Philippic, in imitation of that of Demosthenes (q.v.) against Philip of Macedonia (q.v.), the Senate denounced Antony as a public enemy.

In 43 B.C. an army under the two consuls, with Octavian sharing their command, was sent against Antony, still besieging Modena, and defeated him, after which Antony fled to southern Gaul. However, the two consuls had been killed in the

fighting, leaving Rome without a legitimate executive. When the Senate conferred command of the army on Antony's recent opponent, Decimus Brutus, the outraged Octavian marched on Rome with Caesar's veterans and forced the Senate to bestow the consulship on him, at the ripe old age of 19.

Antony, almost suffering starvation on his flight, finally reached the camp in Gaul of Lepidus, who had been Caesar's military deputy after Antony. Relying on the great popularity he had always enjoyed with the Roman soldiers (much less so with the citizenry), Antony won over Lepidus to his cause, and their army set out for a showdown with Antony's enemies. As they marched into northern Italy, Octavian, assured of a favorable response, deserted the conservative party that had elevated him so high so fast so young and threw in his lot with Antony and Lepidus.

They formed a Second Triumvirate and under the ensuing proscriptions and reign of terror, Octavian had to agree to Antony's being allowed to gain vengeance at last on Cicero, whose second Philippic against him, never spoken, was now being circulated. (Since Cicero had been a close friend to whom Octavian really owed his start, it was only fair that Antony in return agreed to Octavian killing Antony's uncle, Lucius Caesar.) Cicero's head and right hand were presented to Antony, whose wife Fulvia, a democratic virago, drove a hatpin through Cicero's tongue, after which the head was mounted in the forum over the speaker's platform.

When news of these new developments reached Cassius, by now established as governor of Syria, he brought his army across the Aegean to join that of Brutus, by now established as governor of Macedonia. Antony and Octavian crossed the Adriatic to meet the new challenge. In the showdown Battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), Cassius, thoroughly beaten by Antony, was unaware that Brutus had beaten Octavian, and so he killed himself. In further fighting, Brutus was now beaten by Antony and fell on his sword. The last republican forces had seemingly been annihilated.

Although Antony was originally supposed to have been given Gaul, he decided to raise money to pay his veterans from the provinces of Brutus and Cassius, whose loyalty he could confirm at the same time. Moving down through Greece and then into

Asia Minor, Antony was confronted at Tarsus in 41 B.C. by that imperious and ambitious ex-mistress of his ex-master, whose communications from Egypt he had ignored. Succumbing to her attractions as had Caesar, Antony went to Alexandria for the winter and stayed, until a year had passed, equally fascinated by the charms of Cleopatra and the riches of Egypt, where the luxuries his vanity always craved could be indulged without limit.

Antony's relations with Cleopatra were seemingly brought to an end in 40 B.C., when he had to rush back to Italy in the wake of a foolish plot by his wife and brother against Octavian, whose troops quickly suppressed it. The old shrew Fulvia having died, Antony was persuaded to cement his alliance with Octavian by marrying his pretty young sister, Octavia. After two years as a good husband to his adoring wife, Antony, apparently oblivious to Cleopatra, was called away from Octavia by the news of an invasion of Syria by the Parthians, successors of the Persians. Going to Athens to organize his forces, Antony behaved there in a manner shocking to the Greeks and the Romans both, assuming attributes of the wine-god Dionysus.

Not satisfied with the forces available to him, Antony made a trip back to Italy in 37 B.C. and closed a deal with Octavian whereby Octavian would give him troops from Gaul in return for the use of Antony's large fleet against Pompey's son Sextus, who had carved out for himself an insurgent empire made up of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia. This fleet, faithfully given, brought Octavian complete success and made possible his consolidation of the west. But the promised army was never given to Antony, who took a bad beating from the Parthians in the highlands of Asia and accomplished his retreat thanks only to his own courage in adversity and the loyalty of his adoring troops. In this hour of adversity, Cleopatra placed her wealth at Antony's disposal, making possible some recovery of his position.

Drawn once again to Cleopatra and Egypt, and even persuaded to enter into a bigamous marriage with her, Antony was pushed into more and more acts calculated to outrage almost all Romans. Kingdoms were carved out of Rome's eastern possessions for Cleopatra's children, whether by himself or by Caesar (Caesarion, also called Ptolemy XIV). By 32 B.C. Octavian decided that

Antony had become sufficiently despised by most Romans, while he himself had been a model ruler. Octavian had Antony's military command of the east annulled and for good measure published a forged will of Antony's in which the whole eastern empire was left to Cleopatra. Antony's only hostile act at first was to divorce Octavia.

Deciding at last on the need for a showdown, Antony took his fleet, still impressive if not as large as it was before he gave part of it to Octavian, across the Mediterranean and set up a base at Actium in northwest Greece. When Augustus' fleet moved in for the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.), the naval fighting remained fairly even until Cleopatra suddenly and unaccountably withdrew homeward. Possibly she thought Antony had already won and would be drawn by his victory to Rome and Octavia. Sixty Egyptian ships, a third of the fleet, moved off with Cleopatra. Demoralized, Antony followed her, upon which his forces lost heart and began surrendering *en masse* to Octavian, including his land forces.

The following year, 30 B.C., Octavian crossed over to Egypt and moved in on the lovers at Alexandria. Receiving a false report of Cleopatra's suicide, Antony killed himself. Cleopatra, having tried vainly to use her aging and somewhat matronly charms on Octavian, who was principally interested in securing her vast treasures, killed herself too, supposedly with the bite of an asp.

While Antony's recorded sexual activities were overwhelmingly heterosexual, he apparently acquired some homosexual tastes early in life. The most famed incident was recorded in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* (XV, 2) and concerned Antony's advances to the dissolute young high-priest Aristobulus III, brother-in-law of Herod. Like so many hyper-aggressive womanizers, Herod had a nearly pathological hatred for any taint of homosexuality. Since Antony was extremely valuable to Herod politically and was a traditional friend of his family, Herod had his young brother-in-law drowned at Jericho as the only possible way to reconcile family honor and family politics.

There have also been some suspicions that Antony may have owed Caesar's early appreciation of his value to his having performed stud service for Caesar in Gaul. Since Antony joined

Caesar not too many months before Catullus (q.v.) wrote his scandalous poems 29 and 57 about the homosexual doings of Caesar and his partner, the dissolute Mamurra, many implications about whom suggest Antony, he may indeed be the person intended by the name Mamurra, though a definite connection has yet to be found. The only person of the name of Mamurra recorded in dictionaries is a totally obscure sybarite businessman in Rome who used marble all over his house, and thus is no way as likely a prospect as Antony.

References: Caprio; Norton, 32; Viereck (MFB), 19.



AULUS HIRTIIUS (c. 90-43 B.C.)

Roman statesman and historian.

Little is known of the background of Hirtius before his appearance as a legate of Caesar (q.v.) in Gaul. After the outbreak of the Civil War in 49 B.C., Hirtius was charged with intriguing on Caesar's behalf in Rome, his friendship with Cicero being deemed very useful for bringing Cicero, and those who followed his lead, over to at least a "not against Caesar" level.

In 46 B.C. Hirtius was serving as a governor in Spain when Caesar's presence was required to finish off the republican forces gathered there. Soon after the arrival of Caesar, he was followed by his 17-year-old great-nephew Octavius (q.v.: "Augustus") who was most anxious to get himself adopted as Caesar's heir and willing to do anything necessary to achieve this end. Making himself sexually available to Caesar was what finally brought Octavius the promise of adoption (after which he became Octavian), according to Antony (q.v.).

Being unable to follow Caesar on a campaign because of illness, Octavius, at some time during the remainder of his stay in Spain, yielded to the blandishments of Aulus Hirtius that he be nice to him too. There being no imperial legacy to offer, Hirtius agreed instead to giving 3,000 pieces of gold, which may have been a record price for a male prostitute, not unreasonable for one who became such an outstanding historical personage. As it turned out, the price Hirtius was to pay for his pleasures, in addition to the gold, included his life.

After returning to Rome, Hirtius was set to work finishing up

some of the *Commentaries* Caesar himself had not had time to complete, especially the eighth book of the *Gallic War* and much of the *Civil War*. Hirtius' style has been deemed rather monotonous and distinctly lacking in the vigor of Caesar's own style.

Hirtius was one of Caesar's choices for the consulate following the one Caesar himself shared with Antony, during which he was assassinated (44 B.C.). Hirtius at first sided with Antony, but after he had duly succeeded Antony in the consulate, Hirtius and his colleague Pansa switched to the conservative side. Accordingly, when the Senate, stirred up by Cicero's oratory in the First Philippic against Antony, sent an army against Antony, then besieging Mutina (Modena), Hirtius was sent in command of one wing of the army, his colleague Pansa with the other wing. Pansa engaged Antony first, was driven back, wounded and lost his life. Hirtius next moved against Antony, and having apparently profited by his work on Caesar's *Commentaries*, routed Antony's army and put him to flight over the Alps. But by the time the dust had settled, Hirtius was found dead. Since there had been attached to Hirtius' staff as a sort of honorary co-commander by the sympathetic Senate the youth whom he was said to have had for those 3,000 pieces of gold, now suddenly on the road to becoming a new Alexander, there were ample grounds for the universal suspicion that in the confusion of battle, Hirtius had been killed by the future Augustus to make sure there wasn't going to be anyone around to tell the same tales about him as had been told about Caesar with Nicomedes (q.v.), especially not a tale from first-hand experience.

Aside from having such highly personal reasons for the killing of Hirtius, not unlike other cold-blooded murders subsequently committed by the beloved savior and reorganizer of the Roman Empire, the future Augustus had a sound political reason. Hirtius' death, following Pansa's, left Rome without an executive, and a few months later the 19-year-old youth marched to Rome to become consul. As it turned out, Antony's comeback put off for more than a decade Augustus' attainment of sole power.

Reference: Suetonius, 88.

GAIUS OCTAVIUS (AUGUSTUS) (63 B.C.-14 A.D.)

Roman emperor.

He was born in Rome during the dramatic year of Catiline's conspiracy during the consulate of Cicero and Gaius Antonius, the uncle of Mark Antony (q.v.). His father, of a wealthy, middle-class family of Velitrae (Velletri) south of Rome, had risen to senatorial rank and had been a just and capable governor of Macedonia, held up as a model by his friend Cicero. As it turned out for Octavius, his father's most important act was to have married Atia, daughter of Julia, the sister of Julius Caesar (q.v.).

In 58 B.C., when Octavius was only 5, his father died and the following year his mother remarried. When in 51 B.C. Octavius' grandmother died, he delivered the funeral panegyric, no doubt with an eye to making an impression on her powerful brother. By the time Octavius was 16, Caesar was dictator of Rome, and to no one's surprise, immediately after assuming the toga of manhood, Octavius was elected to the college of priests, a traditional first step on the political ladder.

When in 46 B.C. Octavius followed Caesar to Spain to offer his services, the dictator was delighted, though the services he allegedly required of Octavius were sexual rather than military. In any event, Caesar began to show Octavius special attention and subsequently adopted him, whereupon Octavius became Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. In 45 B.C. Caesar sent him to study at Apollonia, the nearest Greek colony across the Adriatic from southern Italy, where Caesar expected to be spending much time mustering his forces for an expedition against the Parthians.

Immediately upon learning of Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C., Octavian crossed the Adriatic and received confirmation that the adoption had been legally completed. Disregarding the pleas of his mother and stepfather to be careful, Octavian presented himself as Caesar's heir to Antony, who had meanwhile seized Caesar's papers and effects. Sneered at by Antony with words to the effect of, "Run along back to your schoolbooks, boy!" and ignored by Brutus and Cassius (who didn't stay around long after Antony's funeral oration), Octavian found friendly support only in Cicero, his father's friend, who treated him with great kindness and respect, deciding to use him against Antony.

The young fox having handled the old fox with consummate

adroitness, Cicero persuaded the Senate the following year to include Octavian in nominal joint command with the consuls **who** were proceeding against Antony in northern Italy, having denounced Antony as a public enemy. One of the consuls, Pansa, having been defeated by Antony and killed, and the other having been found mysteriously killed after putting Antony to flight, Octavian found himself suddenly in apparent command and was universally suspected of having murdered the victorious consul, Aulus Hirtius (q.v.), to whom he was said to have prostituted himself in Spain for 3,000 pieces of gold.

The Senate having rejected with a laugh Octavian's demand for the command of the army and a triumph, he returned to Rome with his soldiers, mostly Caesar's veterans and forced the Senate to accept his election as consul, at 19! Octavian's hopes of attaining sole power before his twentieth birthday were frustrated upon his learning that Antony had rallied the army of Lepidus, Caesar's senior general in Gaul, and was marching on Rome.

Realistically adapting himself to circumstances, Octavian marched forth with his army, but sent emissaries to Antony and Lepidus. The three met at Bononia (Bologna) and formed the Second Triumvirate, supposedly for the purpose of restoring the republic. In the ensuing proscriptions and reign of terror, Octavian's old friend Cicero was made available to Antony for liquidation, along with 300 senators and some 2,000 of the wealthy middle class. The remnants of their opposition fled to Brutus in Macedonia, to Cassius in Syria, or to Pompey's son Sextus, ruler of a pirate empire of the isles of the western Mediterranean.

After Cassius moved north to join his army with Brutus' in Thrace, Antony and Octavian crossed the Adriatic for the showdown battle. At Philippi (42 B.C.) Octavian was thoroughly beaten by Brutus but was saved by Antony's victory over Cassius, who killed himself, unaware of Brutus' victory. Afterwards Antony defeated Brutus, who also killed himself.

While Antony moved down into Greece and Asia, and got involved with Cleopatra, Octavian went back to Rome, seeking to consolidate his position in the empire's heartland. When a revolt against his authority, led by Antony's wife Fulvia and his brother, broke out in 40 B.C., Octavian acted decisively, culminat-

ing with his siege and capture of Perugia, where he slaughtered 300 who had surrendered. It had been suspected that, like a modern dictator, he encouraged the revolt so as to get all of his enemies into the open.

Antony, who declared himself ignorant of the plot, had to abandon Cleopatra and return to Rome to confirm his alliance with Octavian, who had meanwhile forced Lepidus into a minor position. It was agreed that Lepidus' province of Gaul should go to Octavian, but that it would supply troops when needed by Antony in the East. In return for which, Antony gave part of his fleet to Octavian so that Octavian's able general and admiral Agrippa could eliminate their common enemy, Sextus Pompey. To confirm their new partnership, which amounted to the rule of Octavian in the west and Antony in the east, Antony married his partner's sister Octavia, Fulvia having conveniently died at last.

Antony's seeming reform as a model husband to the devoted and pretty young Octavia, who bore him several children, was cut short when a Parthian invasion of Syria drew him back to the east. While Antony involved himself in riotous living, first in Athens and then, after his defeat by the Parthians, in Alexandria with Cleopatra, Octavian was conscientiously making it clear to all men of influence and judgment that he was the only possible savior of Rome and Roman civilization. He had married in 38 B.C. a 17-year-old girl named Livia, after forcing her to divorce her husband, the father of Tiberius (q.v.) and of another child with which she was then pregnant (Drusus, the father of Germanicus and Claudius—q.v.). Octavian's choice proved a sound one, and Livia was to provide him with able assistance throughout his reign, most of all in perfecting his public image. Equally sound was Octavian's reliance for all his fighting, on land and sea, on his trusted friend since boyhood, Marcus Agrippa, subsequently his son-in-law.

Having been given by Octavian all the rope required, Antony duly hanged himself with respect to his reputation in Rome, especially after he bigamously married the hated Cleopatra, divorced Octavia and gave away Roman provinces to Cleopatra's children by Caesar and himself. Octavian finally had the Senate

revoke Antony's command in the east, after which civil war became inevitable.

Thanks to Agrippa's able leadership and to Cleopatra's inexplicable desertion with a third of Antony's fleet, followed by Antony's own flight, Octavian emerged victorious from the Battle of Actium off northwest Greece in 31 B.C. Antony's forces having surrendered to him, Octavian followed Antony to Egypt, where in 30 B.C., with the capture of Alexandria and the suicides of Antony and Cleopatra, and just for good measure the murder of Caesar's handsome and promising young son by Cleopatra, Caesarion, Octavian became master of the western world at 33, the age at which Alexander the Great (q.v.) had died.

Returning to Rome as the savior of the republic and restorer of peace, Octavian enjoyed a three-day triumph. For the first time in two centuries, Rome was officially at peace on all fronts. Octavian made his most urgent task the reestablishment of a regular and constitutional government, which he characteristically developed as a subtle blend of dictatorship and traditional republican forms. For ten years Octavian was to retain command of all military and naval forces as *Imperator* or Commander-in-Chief, the favorite title of Julius Caesar. He would also control foreign relations and be the nominal governor of the frontier provinces. He would also consent to being frequently elected a consul, which along with other republican offices continued. In appreciation of the success of Octavian's reforms, the Senate conferred on him in 27 B.C. the title *Augustus*, by which he is generally known to history.

Much of the early part of his reign Augustus travelled around his empire, organizing on a firm basis the government of the recently conquered provinces, especially in Gaul and Asia. In 20 B.C. the Parthian king was to restore voluntarily the Roman prisoners from the Carrhae disaster (53 B.C.) as a token of the esteem and respect inspired by Augustus.

Augustus' first ten-year term being over in 18 B.C., it was promptly renewed by the Senate, and so on each time for the rest of his life, all parties being happy with the fiction. Domestic reforms occupied Augustus' attention next. Laws were brought up to date and codified, local administration was improved, and public buildings and roads were constructed on a vast scale. In

all these tasks Augustus relied greatly on Agrippa, whom he married to his only child, his rather wild daughter Julia. Agrippa proved as efficient in peace as in war, and was Augustus' chief minister until Agrippa's death in 12 B.C.

Much of the latter part of Augustus' reign had to be devoted to worry about the northern frontiers. The frontier had been extended from the Rhine to the Elbe and over the Alps to the Danube with the occupation of provinces embracing modern Austria and parts of Switzerland, Germany, and Hungary. The Roman actions aroused the German tribes to great hostility, which spread to other tribes. Roman victories were achieved by an ever closer margin until the disaster of 6 A.D., when three legions under Varus were annihilated by the Germans under Arminius (Hermann) in the Teutoberg Forest. Giving up further plans for the conquest of Germany, the Romans pulled back to the Rhine frontier.

In the later part of his reign Augustus was also afflicted by family and personal losses of great consequence. The death of his beloved Agrippa in 12 B.C. was followed by that of his brilliant younger stepson, Drusus, and by that of Maecenas, another life-long friend and colleague, best known for his patronage of Virgil (q.v.) and Horace (q.v.). Forced to rely more and more on his moody and disagreeable older stepson, Tiberius (q.v.), he forced him to divorce a wife to whom he was devoted, to marry Augustus' daughter, the widowed Julia, mother of Agrippa's five children. Unable to inspire either esteem or affection, Tiberius proved able only as a soldier and was sent off to commands in Germany and Armenia.

Augustus' hopes about the succession were revived when the two promising sons of Agrippa and Julia reached their adolescence, and were adopted by him. In 5. B.C. Augustus made Gaius, the older one, his co-consul, and three years later did the same for the younger one, Lucius. Then tragedy struck again. Since Augustus wanted to accustom the boys to soldiering, Lucius was sent to Spain in 2 A.D., but fell sick on the way and died at Marseilles. The following year, Gaius, mysteriously wounded in Armenia, died on his way home. Since this left only Tiberius as heir apparent, his mother Livia was widely suspected of having somehow, perhaps by poison administered by trusted agents,

hastened the deaths of her son's rivals for the throne. Once again realistically accepting the inevitable, Augustus declared Tiberius his colleague and successor and in 4 A.D. adopted him.

A further blow suffered by Augustus was the disgrace resulting from the lecherous behavior of his daughter Julia, and of her daughter in turn, which became so outrageous they had to be confined to an island prison. Demoralized by all these blows, especially by the military disaster of 6 A.D., Augustus abandoned public affairs more and more to Tiberius in his last years, and passed into his dotage supposedly mumbling repeatedly, "Varus, give me back my legions." He died at Nola, on his way back from a trip to southern Italy, in the arms of Livia, saying, "Never forget whose wife you have been." After a state funeral amidst universal mourning, somewhat aided by the distribution of a half million gold pieces, Augustus was added by the Senate to the number of gods recognized by the Roman state, which by now included Julius Caesar.

The moral of Augustus' career seemed to be that crimes, cruelties and deceitfulness in one's early days are quite forgivable if necessary to reach a position of power from which to reconstruct one's society in a manner effective enough to last several centuries, and bringing at the same time peace and prosperity. In subsequent reigns, the title *Augustus* replaced that of *Caesar*, which came to be used for the heir-apparent instead of the emperor. In the Byzantine Empire, *Caesar* was to be used again in the old sense, as it was to be in the German and Austrian empires (as *Kaiser*) and in the Russian empire (as *Tsar*).

Augustus' homosexual activities seem to have been limited to his younger days. Noted for his youthful effeminacy, he had allegedly prostituted himself to Caesar (q.v.) in return for becoming his heir, and to Hirtius (q.v.) for 3,000 pieces of gold. It was commonly believed that Augustus had killed Hirtius himself after his victory over Antony in 43 B.C. It may also be that Augustus' lifelong devotion to Agrippa, his constant companion since boyhood, derived from a homosexual relationship when they were boys.

The popular beliefs about Augustus' homosexuality were said to have been reflected when, during a theatrical performance he was attending, an actor spoke a line about an effeminate eunuch

priest with a tambourine, "*Videsne ut Cinaedus orbem digito temperet?*" translatable as both "Do you see that queer's finger beating the orb?" and "Do you see how this queer's finger governs the world?" The audience was said to have seen a reference to Augustus and broken into wild applause, while looking at the imperial box.

Reference: Bulliet, 73-74; Hirschfeld, 651; Moll, 31;
Suetonius, 88.



PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO (VIRGIL) (70-19 B.C.)

Roman poet.

He was born on his father's prosperous farm near Mantua in Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy), not too far from the birthplace of Catullus (q.v.). He grew up in a period of relative calm between the two great civil wars and made his literary talents apparent at an early age. Despite his modest means, Virgil's father decided to spare no expense to provide for his son the maximum development of his talents. At twelve Virgil was sent to school at Cremona and later at Milan. He completed his studies in Rome. Though his studies had mainly involved Greek literature, Virgil became aware of the contemporary peak of development of the Latin language, enriched by the orations of Cicero and the writings of Catullus and Lucretius.

In the brief civil war that followed the assassination of Caesar (44 B.C.), Virgil's father and his district were involved on the losing side, and the lovely paternal farm, the scene of so much happiness in his early days, was confiscated for distribution to veterans. Many years later the farm was to be restored by Augustus (q.v.).

After he had settled in Rome, Virgil had the good fortune to receive the patronage of Augustus' close friend, Maecenas, as well as that of the man then considered Rome's leading literary figure, Lucius Varius Rufus, now fallen into complete oblivion. Virgil also became a close friend of Horace (q.v.), whom he introduced to Maecenas.

In 37 B.C. Virgil enjoyed his first success with the publication of the *Eclogues* or *Bucolics*, in which rural life was idealized

in the manner of Theocritus (q.v.). Thereafter he withdrew from Rome and took up residence in the province of Campania, where for seven years he worked on his *Georgics*, in which rural poetry was presented on a realistic and didactic level, rather than on the idealized level of the *Eclogues*. After the completion of his work in 30 B.C., Virgil gave a command reading to Octavian, back from his elimination of Antony, and "master of all things," in his own phrase. The poetry fitted in well with Octavian's aspirations to the restoration of the old-time Roman virtues, and Virgil became a great favorite of Octavian, soon to be Augustus.

The remaining years of Virgil's life were spent on his masterwork, the *Aeneid*, which he hoped would provide Rome's challenge to Homer. By 19 B.C. he had finally completed the national epic, dealing with the adventures of the Trojan Prince Aeneas, legendary ancestor of Caesar (q.v.), from the time of his departure from Troy till his founding of Alba Longa, Rome's mother city. Far from satisfied with his work, Virgil went to Athens with the aim of revising and perfecting it there after a long rest. However, when he was found in Athens by Augustus, on his way home from an inspection trip, Virgil was ordered to return with the Emperor. Though he fell ill on the eve of departure, he feared to stay back. The illness became worse during the voyage, and Virgil died shortly after setting foot on Italian soil. His will provided for the burning of any works not passed by him as ready for publication, but the *Aeneid* was saved from the flames on the imperial command of Augustus.

Virgil was greatly loved by his contemporaries for his sincerity, good nature, and affectionate disposition, aside from his great talent. His tomb was for many years treated with religious veneration, and he continued influential throughout the Middle Ages as a sort of honorary Christian, Dante being especially frank about his debt to Virgil. However dissatisfied Virgil was with the *Aeneid*, it served to make him *the* Roman national poet.

Virgil's inclusion amongst homosexuals is based primarily on Eclogue II and the identification of Virgil with the Corydon who lusted after the fair Alexis, his master's darling. The real-life counterpart of Alexis was believed to be a youth named Alexander. The name "Corydon" was given for many years as a polite euphemism for a homosexual and was used in recent

times by the great French writer, André Gide (q.v.), as the title of a didactic dialogue about homosexuality.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 657; Kiefer, 193; Moll, 35.



QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS (HORACE) (65-8 B.C.)

Roman lyric poet.

He was born in Venusia in southern Italy, the son of a freedman who had been a Venusian municipal slave and, after his emancipation, served as the town's tax collector. He acquired enough money to buy a farm and provide an education for young Horace, with the same paternal devotion shown Virgil (q.v.) by his father. Horace was also highly conscious of his father's moral and intellectual character, from which he gained the tendency to be very observant of character, a trait that later made him a truthful painter of the social life and manners of his times.

In 45 B.C. Horace went to study philosophy at Athens, still the western world's intellectual center. Mindful of the traditions of his native Venusia, Horace joined Brutus in the civil war and served as a military tribune on Brutus' staff during the fatal Battle of Philippi (42 B.C.). Sharing in the rout, Horace returned to Rome and found himself stripped of his property by the victors. He secured a minor clerical job for a living.

Devoting himself in his spare time to literature, Horace had the good fortune to become a friend of Virgil and Varius, and even before he had published anything, was considered promising enough to be introduced to Maecenas, whose patronage he thenceforth enjoyed. Secure now for life, he devoted himself entirely to literature. In 35 B.C. he published his first *Satires*, and by way of reward Maecenas gave him the following year a Sabine farm where, except for lengthy visits to Rome, Horace spent his remaining years. His succeeding works established him as one of the leading Roman literary figures and for the last ten years of his life, after Virgil's death, *the* leading Roman poet.

His *Epodes*, published in 30 B.C., reflect like the first *Satires* a great deal of personal rancor about his hard times. His second *Satires* (29 B.C.) was gratefully dedicated to Maecenas and established the pattern of dedication to a wealthy patron who had given financial assistance to the struggling writer.

With the publication of his three books of *Odes* in 24 B.C., Horace was considered to have reached his most mature style. Secure in his comfortable life amid the peace and prosperity of the Augustan Age and uplifted by his Epicurean philosophy, he was able to comment on the problems of life with a wise and meditative spirit. His *First Epistles*, published in 20 B.C., reflected much the same outlook and literary competence.

Horace's remaining works include a fourth book of *Odes* (13 B.C.), written by command of Augustus (q.v.) to celebrate the triumphs of the imperial stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius; his *Second Epistles*, mostly attacks on previous writers; a disappointing work on the *Art of Poetry*. Upon Horace's death, Augustus himself served as his executor, proud to demonstrate how high a worthy freedman's son could rise in his empire, and buried him near Maecenas.

Horace is most noted for having first established a personal relationship of an author with his reader, speaking as a familiar friend giving good advice and sharing his own tastes, pleasures and experiences. As a moralist, Horace was an advocate of sobriety, self-possession and the golden mean in all things. Although he considered himself an Epicurean, his philosophy often showed elements of Stoicism also. In any event, his philosophy in many ways foreshadowed that of the English upper classes, and he was to prove a great favorite in eighteenth-century England.

Horace's homosexual interests were displayed by the verses which dealt with such boy loves as Ligurinus (*Odes* IV, 10), Lyciscus (*Epodes*, XI), Gyges, and Lycidas, the last of whom gave his name to a famous work of John Milton (q.v.). According to Kiefer, Horace's poems on boys ring much more true than his shallow and lifeless ones about girls, some of which may even be purely fictitious.

Reference: Kiefer, 198; Hirschfeld, 653; Moll, 35.



ALBIUS TIBULLUS (c. 55-19 B.C.)

Roman elegiac poet.

Little is known of the early life of Tibullus. He was apparently the son of prosperous, middle-class parents living in Pedum, a small town east of Rome. His family, like that of Virgil (q.v.),

was ruined around 41 B.C. by being on the losing conservative side in the third civil war.

Tibullus went to Rome and attached himself to the literary circle of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, a soldier-politician who, while enjoying no such favor as did Maecenas, was to succeed Antony as consul in 31 B.C. and to marry Marcella, a niece of Augustus (q.v.). Messala, who had been a fellow-student in Athens of Horace (q.v.), was the great-great-grandfather of the infamous nymphomaniac empress Messalina, wife of Claudius (q.v.).

Tibullus accompanied Messala on a campaign in southwest Gaul in 30 B.C., and later was known to be in Greece. He died a few months after the death of Virgil.

A cumulative edition of Tibullus' poetry was published in two books shortly before his death and contained elegies considered to be among the finest for their grace and tenderness. The first book is usually called *Delia*, from the subject of most of its verses, whose real name was Plania, a freedwoman with whom he enjoyed adulterous relations behind the back of her simple soldier husband. The sequence of adoration, mistrust, outrage at betrayal, etc., is somewhat similar to that of Catullus (q.v.) with Clodia. The second book is usually called *Nemesis*, after the rapacious and hard-hearted courtesan whose strange hold on him forms the subject of most of Tibullus' verses in this second book.

The first book, *Delia*, includes three poems about Marathus, apparently a beautiful slave-boy for whom Tibullus lusted. In I, 4 Tibullus, as though Priapus, delineates his methods for securing the acquiescence of a reluctant boy, scorning bribery. In 8, he delineates Marathus' charms for Pholoe, a slave girl whom he has promised to Marathus if Marathus yields to him. Finally, in 9 Tibullus bemoans in outrage that neither his proven methods, nor Pholoe, have proven sufficient to secure Marathus, and that thanks to ideas given him by some cursed rival of Tibullus', the boy is now demanding money.

Reference: Kiefer, 202; Hirschfeld, 656; Moll, 35.

TIBERIUS (42 B.C.-37 A.D.)

Roman emperor (14-37 A.D.).

Eventually to be the Caesar unto whom Caesar's things were to be rendered by the disciples of Jesus (q.v.), Tiberius was born the son of Tiberius Claudius Nero, an able officer of Julius Caesar (q.v.), and a scion of the distinguished Claudian clan. Although Tiberius' father had saved Caesar's life once, having brought the forces which rescued him when he was besieged in Alexandria (47 B.C.), he had after Caesar's assassination (44 B.C.) proposed to confer honors on the assassins. His genius for choosing the wrong side was repeated again in 40 B.C., when he joined the revolt against Octavian led by Antony's wife, Fulvia, and brother. After fleeing with his wife Livia and infant son Tiberius, to Naples, then to Sicily, then to Spain, always just one jump ahead of Octavian's agents, he returned under the amnesty of 39 B.C. In token of his forgiveness, Octavian took his wife, young Tiberius' pregnant mother, after a divorce had been arranged, and Livia became the wife of Rome's ruler.

Like Napoleon (q.v.) and Josephine some eighteen centuries later, Livia and Octavian each had children born of their other marriages, but none of their own marriage, which was to last over fifty years. As the children of Octavian's daughter Julia and those of his sister Octavia all died off, not without suspicion, Livia's children came ever closer to the succession. A serious and somber type, Tiberius had proved personally repugnant to Octavian, who by the time Tiberius came of age was Augustus (q.v.). However, Tiberius had devoted himself diligently to all the princely instruction he received, and when Tiberius was 18, Augustus started him on the political ladder which led, under the continued republican faction, to the consulship in 13 B.C.

Meanwhile, Tiberius had also attained some experience in warfare, in which he showed himself promising. By the time he was 23, he had exterminated some rebellious tribes in Spain, placed a loyal vassal on the throne of Armenia at the other end of the empire, and had received from the now respectful Parthians captive spoils and standards and even prisoners from previous wars. In 19 B.C. Tiberius returned to Rome for a triumph and the following year served as governor of Gaul. In 15 B.C. he co-operated with his younger brother Drusus, an equally capable

general, against the troublesome mountain tribes in the Swiss Alps.

In 12 B.C. came the event which was to warp Tiberius' life. Agrippa, the chief aide and lifelong friend of Augustus, as well as his son-in-law, died. Tiberius, himself the son-in-law of the late Agrippa, happily married to his daughter Vipsania, was forced by Augustus to divorce her and marry instead Augustus' daughter, the widowed Julia, a nymphomaniac bitch who was to make his life miserable until her lechery outraged even the doting Augustus so much that he kept her in an island prison.

The desire to get away from Julia now made Tiberius even more devoted to distant duties than before. In a number of campaigns in central Europe, he extended Rome's boundaries to the Danube and to the Elbe. Deprived of one more person close to him when his brother Drusus died in 9 B.C., he seemed to try to take his grief out on the Germans, slaughtering them with great savagery as he sought to drive them beyond the Elbe.

If Tiberius expected Augustus to be grateful, he was disappointed. The two attractive sons of Julia by Agrippa having reached their adolescence, Augustus began pushing these grandsons into the public eye. In a jealous pique over Augustus' lack of appreciation of his devoted service, Tiberius resigned his offices and commands and went off to Rhodes to study there with the Greek professors. After five years, a period which saw the birth of Jesus a few hundred miles to the southeast, he had become convinced of his lack of academic talents, and in 2 B.C. he asked to come back to Rome, confirming that he would be quite happy to play a secondary role to his stepsons. For two more years he was refused permission by Augustus, still angry at his insolence in going off in the first place.

Finally, in 1 A.D., on the intercession of his oldest stepson, Gaius, Tiberius was allowed to return to Rome, on condition of aloofness from public life. The very next year one of those two stepsons of his, Lucius, died at Marseilles. Two years later Gaius died mysteriously of a minor wound, while on the way home from Armenia. Augustus now had only one male descendant left, Agrippa's posthumous son of the same name, now thirteen, and unlike his dead brothers not promising at all, but a good-for-nothing resembling his mother Julia.

Four months after Gaius' death, Tiberius was at last officially adopted by Augustus, but was required to adopt in turn Agrippa, already his stepson. Tiberius next went off for some more energetic military campaigns in Germany. Before he had achieved final success, serious revolts in Dalmatia and Pannonia compelled him to spend several years in their suppression, in the course of which the German command fell into incompetent hands. In 9 A.D. three legions under Varus were annihilated by the Germans under Arminius (Hermann) in the Teutoberg Forest, after which Augustus gave up all hope of the conquest of Germany and established the Rhine-Danube line as the northern frontier.

Tiberius returned to Rome for a triumph in 11 A.D., and with Augustus now old and ailing, became a sort of acting emperor. Three years later, at 56, he finally became emperor upon Augustus' death (14 A.D.). Amongst his first acts was to have Agrippa murdered and to confine to a remote estate his mother Livia, who had expected to share with her son the power she had schemed so long to obtain for him.

Compared with his eventful life before becoming emperor, the thirteen years of Tiberius' reign were relatively dull. The empire was run smoothly by Augustus' bureaucracy and by the professional armies, and most of the records of the reign refer to Tiberius' worsening character and the intrigues over the succession.

After the young Agrippa proved hopeless, Augustus had forced Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, the son of his own brother Drusus by Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony (q.v.) and Augustus' sister Octavia. Germanicus dazzled the world with all his gifts. Loyally suppressing a revolt of the German legions on Tiberius' behalf, Germanicus led these same forces in a smashing attack against the Germans, destroying the new state built up by Hermann and recovering the eagles of Varus' destroyed legions, thus somewhat avenging the Roman humiliation. This success, in addition to a universal popularity with both soldiers and politicians deriving from his immense charm, made Germanicus the idol of the empire.

Tiberius became insanely jealous of Germanicus, who seemed separated from the imperial throne on which all hoped to see him as soon as possible only by a presumably few years of

Tiberius' dotage. Aside from being an adopted son of Tiberius, Germanicus was married to Augustus' granddaughter Agrippina, and was the closest of friends with Tiberius' own son Drusus, who married Germanicus' sister, and apparently was reconciled to being bypassed for the throne.

Germanicus was transferred by the jealous Tiberius to the east, where trouble was again brewing in Armenia. On his way, in 16 A.D., he enjoyed a great triumph in Rome, and then let himself be involved in a sort of triumphal progress through the Balkans and Asia resulting from his great popularity, but hardly likely to endear him to Tiberius. Germanicus laid down the law to the Armenians, and thereafter to the Parthians, about which king Rome wanted them to chose for themselves, then passed through Syria and on into Egypt, a tactless move, since this was strictly a private preserve of the emperor. Back in Syria he quarreled with Tiberius' legate, Piso, who apparently had orders to do anything to cut Germanicus' popularity and reputation and had therefore rescinded Germanicus' recent settlements. Suddenly, in 19 A.D., the universally idolized Germanicus took violently sick and died, after declaring he had been poisoned. The grief throughout the western world probably involved more people than had ever before mourned one man.

Tiberius seemed now disposed to make his own son Drusus his heir, but Drusus died in 23 A.D., poisoned by his wife Livilla (Germanicus' sister) in the interests of her lover Sejanus, who by catering to every whim of Tiberius was rising ever higher in his favor. Although Tiberius had upon Drusus' death adopted two of the three sons of Germanicus and Agrippina, Sejanus hoped by his own intrigues to get the throne eventually himself. As Prefect of the Praetorian Guard, Sejanus kept feeding the suspicious Tiberius reports of plots, and by the use of informers for Tiberius' prosecutions, Sejanus increased the already general hatred for Tiberius. This hatred derived in part from his highly beneficial economy moves, the cutting of the army and the elimination of such luxury items as public shows, which the public greatly missed. He had also reduced the tax load of the subject peoples, which seemed a foolish move to the Romans.

By 26 A.D., Sejanus had persuaded Tiberius into retiring for his safety to the isolated island of Capri, from where by letters

he could make known his wishes to Sejanus, who would bear the daily burdens of the government. In 29 A.D., after Livia's death, Tiberius was convinced by Sejanus of the treasonable conspiracies of Agrippina and her two sons and threw them all into prison, where they died a few years later, leaving on the outside, however, the youngest son, the future Caligula (q.v.).

In 31 A.D. Tiberius finally got wise to the self-serving moves of Sejanus and had him arrested and executed, all the while staying at Capri, which until his death was reputed the home of a sex monster. Sadistic tortures and cruelties were allegedly inflicted on victims of his vast program of extortions and treason trials, the luckiest being hurled off a cliff. Apparently a long-repressed homosexual, his final sexual activities reflected his septuagenarian years. Youths and maidens were obliged to perform for him in various ways and little children and babies were trained to fellate him while in his pool, being called his minnows. Two boys, brothers, to whom he had taken a fancy during their sacrifices at the temple, had their legs broken when they refused to comply with his demands. At least such is the gospel of Suetonius.

In any event, that inexplicable aloofness that had been noted of Tiberius has been characteristic of the repressed, duty-bound, homosexual in public life, in other days being noted of Washington (q.v.) and Pitt (q.v.), among many others. After his death at 77, followed by universal rejoicing, he was carried by his soldiers for cremation with due ceremony, despite the mob's shouts of "To the Tiber with Tiberius." He left as co-heirs his grandson Tiberius Gemellus and Caligula.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 656; Moll, 31; Suetonius, 131.



JESUS CHRIST (c. 6 B.C.- c. 27 A.D.)

Jewish religious reformer.

Jesus (derived from the Greek for the Hebrew name usually transcribed Joshua in English, meaning "savior") was born to Mary (her name was one otherwise transcribed usually as Miriam), wife of Joseph, a carpenter of Nazareth. He was born at Bethlehem, Joseph's ancestral home, where the couple had gone in connection with the Roman tax-census. Little is recorded of an apparently historical nature of the childhood, youth, or even young manhood of Jesus, but it appears that he went

through all the usual Jewish rites of circumcision, confirmation, etc., and was trained in his father's craft, to which he apparently didn't take at all.

Some time around 22 A.D., Jesus' cousin John, who had meanwhile become an ascetic preacher in the Jordan valley, made a local appearance, calling upon the population to repent and prepare for the coming of the Messiah (a Hebrew word meaning "anointed," of which the Greek is *Crist(os)*, referring to a long-awaited legendary figure who would redeem the Jews, presumably on a political and national basis, i.e., win victories over the Romans and their satellites, drive them out of the Holy Land and revive the empire of David and Solomon). Acquiescence to John's precepts was signified by consenting to be baptised or immersed in water.

When John came to his cousin Jesus, apparently a friend from boyhood, Jesus agreed to repent and be baptised and await the Messiah. Devoting himself ever more to religious thoughts, to which he was considerably more partial than to the distasteful carpentry, he began to believe that he himself might be the Messiah, and indeed his given name meant Savior. Deciding that he needed time to consider these matters, which certainly couldn't be considered while engaged in carpentry, he went away, supposedly to the desert, but more likely to a monastery of the Essenes, a pious brotherhood with well-developed ideas about reforming the Jews by denigrating wealth and property and trading, and espousing communal possession and celibacy as the only path to justice, goodness and the immortality of the soul. Like Socrates (q.v.), the Essenes may have reflected the earlier influence of the Pythagorean Brotherhood. Quite possibly they inspired John, who encouraged Jesus to find further enlightenment from them.

When Jesus reappeared, around 25 A.D., he found that John, having come to focus his attacks on Herodias, wife of Herod Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee (their marriage had been preceded by a double divorce, she having been married to Herod's brother and Herod to an Arab princess whose sending away had brought Arab raids in reprisal) had been arrested by Herod at the insistence of Herodias. He had traditionally been beheaded, with his head served on a silver platter to Herod's stepdaughter Salome

in fulfillment of a promise obtained by her from her smitten stepfather in return for prospects of sexual gratification.

Deciding to carry on John's work, and having apparently also decided that he was indeed the Messiah, Jesus began preaching the new doctrines, gathering disciples as he went through the villages of Galilee. A more or less new twist that he added was that the world was shortly coming to an end and that eternal life in the afterworld was available only to those who accepted him as the Messiah and Son of God, repented their sins and accepted his teachings. And indeed this did offer a stronger basis for prompt action than mere moral exhortation. Stressing the Essene teachings in specific terms, he preached that his followers should show their sincerity by ridding themselves of all worldly goods, living, as do the birds, on the land until the final day. They must even hate their nonconforming family and relatives (Luke 14: 26). If possible, they should also abandon sexual activity, which Jesus had always felt to be particularly loathsome and unattractive. To be really holy, a man should castrate himself (Matthew 19: 12).

As he began to preach with great frequency and develop his own style, he discovered his great rhetorical and poetic gifts, and ameliorated the harsh message somewhat with beautiful stories which had morals, called parables. These sounded much more attractive than the gloomy rantings of the usual preachers, or even of Jesus originally, and his followers increased greatly. Especially attractive to the common people was the message that the most poor and humble were especially favored candidates for the afterworld in contrast to the rich and powerful, who would have a hard time making it under any circumstances (Matthew 19: 21-24; Luke 14: 33). His popularity with many also lay in the belief that if he was indeed the Messiah, he would drive out the arrogant Romans and restore the Jewish state.

Getting carried away by the effects of his social message, Jesus began to attack more and more the wealthy Pharisees and scribes, and came to be regarded by the entrenched Jewish religious and commercial leaders as a dangerous agitator. After three years, Jesus was persuaded to abandon the small rural communities of Galilee for the heartland of the iniquitous forces, Jerusalem, and chose to make his incursion during the wild com-

motion in preparation for the Passover festivities. The Roman governor, Pontius Pilate (q.v.), deemed it a wise precaution to have Roman soldiers on hand, less because of the relatively harmless agitator Jesus than because of reports of another of those endless patriotic revolts reported as being prepared, this one under an adventurous scoundrel named Barabbas.

The final apparent outrage committed by Jesus, completely at variance with his doctrine of being concerned only with the spiritual, took place when he invaded the confines of the Temple and with his followers began upsetting the tables of the money-changers, beating them while demanding what they were doing in "My Father's house." He seemed to be courting a showdown with the forces of the iniquitous, certain that "My Father" would stage a spectacular rescue, thereby convincing all doubters and bringing the submission of all to his teachings. Or perhaps, having made unbearable discoveries about himself, he was courting death.

As he anticipated, news came of plans to arrest him, brought by a sympathizer. After eating a farewell dinner with his disciples, Jesus went out into the garden of Gethsemane to pray and was there arrested by soldiers, identification being provided by the kiss of one of his disciples, Judas, allegedly for thirty pieces of silver.

When Jesus appeared for trial before the Ecclesiastic Court of the Sanhedrin, he committed the shocking blasphemy of declaring himself the Son of God and the Messiah, the blasphemer being subject to death under Jewish law. An interesting comparison can be made of the similarity of his attitude with that of Socrates at his trial.

The death penalty could only be confirmed by the governor, and Pontius Pilate tried to evade action. But finding no support from any of the Herods, and having just finished putting down an insurrection in the city by Barabbas, Pilate did not want any more Jewish trouble to mar his record. Accordingly, Pilate, after ceremoniously washing his hands, delivered Jesus for crucifixion. With a final magnanimous gesture worthy of a liberal Roman, Pilate offered the people, in commemoration of the Passover, to free either Jesus or Barabbas, the popular scoundrel who had just been captured in a muddled insurrection. With practically

one voice, the mob chose Barabbas. Accordingly, Jesus was made to bear his cross, as customary, to the hill of Calvary and was duly crucified with the mocking sign on the cross reading "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." Before he died, highly disillusioned, he was recorded as saying, "My Father, why hast Thou forsaken me?"

At this point Jesus' short career would have fallen into total oblivion, like that of so many agitators, religious or social, but for the chance coincidence of a number of unusual factors. Although the first basic foundation of Jesus' teaching, that the world was on the point of ending, proved an untrue absurdity, his followers chose to emphasize an unusual idea they had heard from the Master: The message was not to be just the private faith of a few, and in fact might not even have to be limited to Jews. It was the duty of his disciples, they decided, to spread the word, using the many colonies of Jews in other cities of the Roman world where, less afraid of ecclesiastical authorities than in Jerusalem, the authorities would be more tolerant. These events following so closely on the tragic and universally mourned death of Germanicus, with whom so many humanitarian hopes had been associated when he should succeed Tiberius (q.v.), they found an especially fertile soil.

Secondly, as the followers of Jesus, surviving the determined attacks of the Jewish authorities, spread their message, they emphasized less and less the central theme of the imminent end of the world, and emphasized more and more the moral superiority in the eyes of the Creator of the humble, i.e., women, slaves, and the poor, providing a numerically impressive if otherwise unimpressive field for mass conversions.

Thirdly, the leadership of the new sect fell into the hands of Saul of Tarsus, better known as Paul, who proved to have a natural genius for organization and leadership. Under Paul's leadership, the new sect struck its roots in the Greek world, whence there appeared learned or half-learned philosophers who created for the new sect a new theology, in which the miracles of the mystery cults, the ceremonies of various religious worships and the traditional abstruse metaphysics of the Greek philosophers were interwoven with the romantically rewritten story of Jesus. Just as the rather vague philosophy of Socrates had produced a

host of learned men to give a wide range of deep metaphysical meanings to all his sayings, so the same thing was now done for Jesus, who in addition was given his miracles.

The most sublime mark of Paul's genius, however, was the abandonment of the radical message of denunciation of the rich and powerful. Instead, Paul emphasized the primacy of proper behavior by the individual convert, whatever his station in life, as the source of eternal life in the hereafter.

"The powers that be are ordained by God," wrote Paul, and after a few centuries, the tremendous value of a religion preaching such a doctrine came to be properly appreciated by the entrenched powers struggling to maintain themselves against an unruly populace in a world in upheaval. As long as the common people could be convinced that the religion demanded their remaining satisfied with their status, they were welcome to the belief that their very poverty and humility made them especially blessed and especially suitable candidates for the afterlife.

By the early fourth century, the new religion allegedly founded by Jesus and allegedly based on his teachings was made the state religion by an imperial convert. By this time, the new religion had drawn on all the ceremonies and creeds developed by many faiths of the Mediterranean and had become quite sophisticated in providing by its ceremonies psychological and cathartic satisfactions that made it acceptable to all but a small proportion of diehard pagans and devotees of other faiths. Especially pleased with it were the women who, by fervid devotion to its ceremonies, felt themselves provided with a weapon to assert moral superiority over their men in the eternal battle of the sexes.

With determined cooperation of the priest, the soldier and the politician, the forces opposing Christianity were rooted out in the succeeding centuries, and in the course of the conquests by the German tribes, satisfactory accommodations were made with the new warlords. By the fourteenth century, Christianity was the state religion of all European countries, though it had lost most of its Asiatic and African strongholds to the new Moslem faith after the seventh century. The fifteenth century saw the loss of southeastern Europe to the Moslems, but meanwhile Christianity was spread to the Western Hemisphere and to the Pacific.

The homosexuality of Jesus is a matter usually hinted at only with the most delicate hints about the "uranian elements in his feelings for John," "uranian" being a favored nineteenth century word for homosexual. Nonetheless, with the recent understanding of familiar patterns and types, Jesus is seen to fall readily into a quite familiar category. His loathing for matters sexual was based on his personal reaction to the only sexual pattern conceivable to him, intercourse with a woman. Interpreting his negative reaction to this as a sign of God-given superior chastity and morality, he was most receptive to the message of his cousin John, eventually being satisfied that he was himself its real subject.

As Jesus began collecting his disciples, the group showed great variance in age and social background, and finally it came to include a teenage youth named John. The reaction of Jesus to John is quite typical of a naively innocent and repressed homosexual who suddenly discovers, in his thirties, that a negative sexual reaction to women does not necessarily mean a completely negative sexual reaction to all—for instance, to an attractive and affectionate youth. John became the object of Jesus' unceasing special attentions, and even in the innocent words of the Gospels the extent to which John was noted as "the beloved disciple" became inescapably meaningful in more sophisticated times. King James I of England (q.v.), referring to his beloved Buckingham, was to say bluntly, "Christ had his John and I have my George."

While there is certainly nothing to support any belief that matters went beyond the platonic level, it is interesting to speculate whether there may have been an occasion of a vulgar Aramaic slang word having been contemptuously spat at Jesus, when noted by the speaker in affectionate intimacy with John, and whether this may not have led to a deep searching of his own heart by Jesus, with unbearable conclusions about his innate chastity and his feelings for John.

In such a case, the reckless actions of Jesus at the Temple, predictably certain to bring a fatal arrest and end to his career, would be comparable to those of the more familiar young homosexual of Puritan moral character who, upon discovering his homosexuality, is so horrified and disgusted that he joins an

army and throws himself into the most dangerous actions with the hope of getting himself killed and thereby putting an end to his insoluble problem.

The specific references to Jesus' feelings for John include the several references to John as the disciple beloved by Jesus, the commending of John to his mother at the Crucifixion (John 19:26-27) and the tradition, manifested in religious art, of John's head resting on Jesus' bosom during the Last Supper. It has even been suggested that Judas' primary motivation for his "betrayal" was jealousy at the loss of his own former favored position in the wake of the increasing attentions shown the future St. John the Divine.

Reference: Bulliet, 33-34; Masters, 140; Mayne, 259-60; Nash, 19-21; Wood, 169.



PONTIUS PILATE (c. 10 B.C.- c. 40 A.D.)

Roman statesman.

Little is known for certain of Pilate's background, but he is believed to have been the son or grandson of a freedman who became a follower of Sejanus, the ambitious and evil intriguer who tyrannized in the name of Tiberius (q.v.) in the latter part of Tiberius' reign and entertained thoughts of succeeding him. In any case, Sejanus got Tiberius to appoint Pilate governor of Judaea, Samaria and Idumea in 26 A.D. The ten years of his administration were filled with conflicts with his Jewish subjects, for whom he seemed to entertain a hearty dislike (as indeed did most Romans and others). Appeals over his head, to Tiberius, complaining about his actions, enraged him. He was described as "inflexible, merciless, and obstinate."

Although it is in connection with more substantial clashes with the Jews that Pilate finds mention in the historical accounts of Josephus and Philo, his principal claim to immortality has of course resulted from his slight connection with the relatively trivial, at the time, trial and crucifixion of Jesus (q.v.) rather early in his administration, when he was trying so hard to avoid trouble. Jesus having spoken at his trial before the Sanhedrin with the same arrogance displayed by Socrates (q.v.) at his trial, and having openly blasphemed by his claims of divinity, was condemned to death.

Since confirmation by the Roman governor was a prerequisite for a death sentence, Jesus was taken before Pilate. Apparently delighted with anyone making trouble for the pompous and insolent Jewish priesthood, Pilate asked Jesus questions to confirm that hostility to Rome and Tiberius was not part of his teaching. Pilate thereupon asserted that he found no fault with him, certainly nothing deserving of the death sentence. According to John's account, Pilate first tried, without success, to pass the buck to Herod Antipas, nominally Jesus' sovereign, since Jesus came from Galilee, which was not part of Pilate's domain. Failing this, he tried next to offer Jesus to the people as the one to be set free in commemoration of the Passover, in accordance with a custom of clemency at that time; but the mob, allegedly stirred up by the priesthood, demanded instead that Pilate set free the insurrectionary leader Barabbas. Unable to find any other course, and wanting to avoid unnecessary troubles with the priesthood and populace, Pilate yielded to the demand for crucifixion, ceremoniously washing his hands of personal responsibility.

Following the fall of Sejanus (31 A.D.), Tiberius began to give ear to complaints about Sejanus' favorites, which in the case of Pilate were becoming increasingly severe. In 36 A.D., Tiberius sent an order for Pilate's recall, but before he returned to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

The subsequent details of Pilate's life are uncertain, subject to various accounts. According to one version, he was exiled to Gaul and committed suicide at Vienne, which would be quite near the exile, by chance, of Herod Antipas and Herodias at Lyons. According to a popular version in the historical novel *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Pilate lived on until this disaster (79 A.D.), which would make him almost ninety when he died there. According to yet another version, Pilate and his wife Procula became Christian converts and were martyred by "Tiberius" (Caligula?) And in fact, Pilate became a saint in the Abyssinian Church (with June 25 his day) while Procula became a saint in the Greek Orthodox Church (with October 27 her day).

Reference: Viereck (IA), 249.

CALIGULA (12-41)

Roman emperor (37-41).

Properly named Gaius Caesar Germanicus, Caligula was the youngest son of the brilliant idol of the army, and in fact, of almost all the people of the Empire, Germanicus. His mother, Germanicus' adoring wife, was Agrippina, one of the children of the happy marriage of Augustus' (q.v.) daughter Julia and his lifelong friend and chief aide, Agrippa. He was brought up at his father's camp on the Rhine and received his name Caligula, meaning "little boot," from the soldiers for his fondness for wearing boots. When Germanicus was suddenly shifted by his jealous uncle Tiberius (q.v.) from the Rhine to the East, Caligula went along.

Then in 19, after a triumphant progress throughout the Roman East and a complete settlement of the Armenian troubles, Caligula's adored father died suddenly at 34, probably poisoned. The degree of mourning among all ranks and nationalities reached a degree never before seen, and perhaps never again equalled until the assassination of President Kennedy. Mobs stormed the temples of the gods who had either been so vicious or so impotent as to let die one so young, so noble, and so promising. And indeed these feelings so widely generated may have made the soil fertile for the disciples of Jesus (q.v.) a decade or so later.

Tiberius, who had been forced by Augustus to adopt as his heir Germanicus, was now able to make his own son Drusus his heir, though he loathed him. When Drusus died in 23, Tiberius adopted Caligula's two older brothers as his heirs, but they later were arrested along with their mother, being accused to Tiberius of plotting by Sejanus, and they died in confinement.

Finally, towards the end of his reign, Tiberius adopted as his co-heirs his grandson Tiberius Gemellus and Caligula, the last remaining son of Germanicus, who had been quietly brought up by his grandmother Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony (q.v.) and Augustus' sister Octavia. He reached Tiberius' court shortly after the fall of Sejanus, when he was 20, and skilfully flattered Tiberius, refusing to be tricked into a word against the old monster, despite his cruel treatment of Caligula's mother and brothers. In the vicious atmosphere of Tiberius' last days, Caligula's still latent bestialities began to develop.

After Tiberius' death, which he was alleged to have hastened, Caligula had little difficulty disposing of his supposed co-emperor, and he was joyously hailed as sole emperor by the army and the people, who thought of him only as the son and heir of Germanicus.

The 25-year-old emperor began his reign as though bent on being a model of liberality and rectitude. Political prisoners were freed, administration was improved, and public works, long suspended by the economy-minded Tiberius, were set in motion again. After ruling almost a year in this manner, Caligula became extremely ill. Upon his recovery, perhaps attributing his illness to poisoning, he became the imperial monster known to history. Rejoicing in escaping death, he indulged as never before his love of extravagant spectacles, in which he himself appeared more and more godlike each time. This led to ever greater contempt for his mortal subjects, and since he needed ever more money for his spectacles, death (often after torture) and confiscation of property followed for those who appeared critical of him.

Amongst the best known sayings of Caligula were that he would make his horse Incitatus consul, since he could perform present consular duties just as well as any human (according to one account, he actually did this); and that he wished that the whole Roman people had but one head, so that he might cut it off at one stroke.

His own relatives were among those persecuted and slaughtered, his apparently dim-witted uncle Claudius (q.v.) being an exception, allegedly kept as a butt for his jokes. Among his godlike acts was incest with his sisters. Senators were made to run alongside his coach and otherwise humiliated. In order to see how the common people would react to starvation, he'd close down the granaries for a period. He invented a truly modern assortment of new taxes and was interested in any revenue-producing business, for instance turning a wing of his palace into a brothel staffed with women and boys. Yet even with these new levies, Caligula squandered all of the twenty-seven million gold pieces left by Tiberius, whose vices were generally frugal and self-supporting. Caligula lamented that notwithstanding all his efforts to make it otherwise, his reign was generally prosperous, and in the absence

of a great military catastrophe, famine, plague, fire, or at least an earthquake, would probably not be remembered at all.

Although much of Caligula's sexual activity involved women (including his own sisters), he was also quite active with males of various ages, among those recorded being a young patrician named Marcus Lepidus, a priest whom he enjoyed raping during religious ceremonies; an actor named Mnester, whom he adored and kissed passionately in public; and one Valerius Catullus, who used to claim he and the emperor had a rivalry as to which could wear the other out first. Much like Elagabalus (q.v.) two centuries later, Caligula often wore women's clothes in public, appearing as Venus, etc.

Caligula was slain before his thirtieth birthday by the sword of an officer in his guards named Chaerea, whom he had constantly taunted for playing the less respected homosexual roles, such that Caligula would always stick out his middle finger for Chaerea to kiss when coming to him on business, or wagging it obscenely. Caligula was killed with sword and dagger by Chaerea with some assistance, and the Roman people were said to have reacted at first with reserve, unable to believe their good fortune, and thinking it was only a trick of Caligula's to provide new excuses for cruelty against those who rejoiced.

Reference: Bulliet, 74-77; Suetonius, 166, 177.



CLAUDIUS (10 B.C.-54 A.D.)

Roman emperor (41-54).

Properly Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, he was born the son of Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius (q.v.), and of Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony (q.v.) and Octavia, the sister of Augustus (q.v.). Thus, besides being the son of a distinguished general, Claudius was the brother of the idolized Germanicus. Yet in contrast to all his brilliant relatives, Claudius was what would now be called vulgarly "a mess" and politely "somewhat retarded."

Only a year old when his father died, Claudius spent most of his childhood fighting off diseases. His appearance and talk was such that his own mother called him "a monster: a man whom Nature had begun to work upon but then flung aside," and she

would often say of someone with whom she was annoyed, "He is a bigger fool even than my son Claudius." His grandmother, the empress Livia, scorned him, and Augustus accepted with reluctance the fact that he'd have to be kept out of public offices to avoid bringing disgrace on the family. Years were passed at one or another of his homes, sometimes in scholarly pursuits that earned him the respect of men of learning, at other times in drunkenness and gambling.

By the time Augustus died (14 A.D.), Claudius was 24. Tiberius treated him more or less as Augustus had, though some of the universal respect for his older brother rubbed off on Claudius after Germanicus' tragic premature death, and on his rare public appearances he was treated with respectful acclaim. By the time Tiberius had died, Claudius was 47. If his nephew Caligula (q.v.) treated him any differently from the way his predecessors had, it was only in making him the butt of practical jokes, which supposedly was the reason Caligula spared his life. Everyone knew that Uncle Claudius was an imbecile, even if he played at being a scholar and historian.

When Caligula was finally murdered (41 A.D.), Claudius was 51. He was proclaimed emperor by some praetorian guardsmen, who allegedly found him hiding behind a curtain in fear of his life, but visible by virtue of his feet projecting beneath. The Senate, which had had hopes of restoring the republic now, was obliged to acquiesce.

During most of his reign, Claudius remained very much under the domination of others, especially his freedman Narcissus and his nymphomaniac wife Messalina, at least until she was undone by her demented "marriage" with a handsome youth during an absence of Claudius. Although many acts of cruelty were perpetrated in his name by his advisers, his own kindness and desire for the welfare of the people did get through in humane welfare regulations concerning freedmen, slaves, widows and orphans.

Whether or not Claudius deserved the credit, his reign passed with remarkable success. Commerce was put on a sound footing, the police system was organized admirably, just government was established in the provinces, whose political rights were extended, and public works were continued on a large scale. Success in

warfare brought victories in the East and against the Germans, and the addition of Britain and Morocco to the Roman empire.

The powerful freedman Narcissus finally got Claudius wise to Messalina, who was put to death. Jumping out of the proverbial frying pan into the fire, Claudius married his intriguing niece Agrippina, one of those sisters with whom Caligula had had incestuous relations, and she prevailed upon him to adopt her son Nero (q.v.) and favor him over his own son by Messalina, Britannicus. In 54, having thoroughly secured Nero's position, Agrippina poisoned Claudius.

Claudius' historical works, on Carthage, Etruria and the last century of Rome, as well as his own autobiography, are lost, though Robert Graves was to make a notable attempt at the reconstruction of the autobiography in *I, Claudius*.

Although Suetonius specifically stated that Claudius was freakishly interested only in the female sex (and very unfortunately in his case), he has been included in lists of homosexuals apparently because of the ambiguity of the reference to his having had his son-in-law Pompey stabbed while in bed with *his* favorite slaveboy, from which it has been assumed that the boy was Claudius' favorite.

Reference: Bulliet, 73; Ellis, 24; Moll, 32.



NERO (37-68)

Roman emperor (54-68).

Originally named Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Nero came from the branch of the Domitian clan distinguished by reddish hair ("Ahenobarbus" meaning "bronzebeard") and by usually being on the losing side in Roman politics, i.e., against Caesar (q.v.), against Augustus (q.v.), etc. Nero's father was a wealthy bum and scoundrel who owed whatever position he enjoyed to being the son of another of those daughters of Mark Antony (q.v.) and Augustus' sister Octavia. Nero's mother, Agrippina, was the sister of Caligula (q.v.), whom he was eventually to make his model.

Nero was 2 when his mother was banished by Caligula on suspicion of treason and 3 when his father died. He was brought up by his aunt in poor circumstances. After Caligula was killed

(41), things began picking up. His mother Agrippina took advantage of her great appeal to her uncle, the new emperor Claudius. By the time Nero was 11, he had been taken into Claudius' palace and given the great Stoic philosopher and dramatist Seneca as his tutor. Nero survived the attempt by Claudius' nymphomaniac wife Messalina to kill him, fearful he might get the throne from her own son Britannicus, and instead Messalina herself was killed for her folly in going through a marriage ceremony with a handsome youth.

In 49 Agrippina married uncle Claudius, on condition of Nero being adopted as his son, which was duly done in 50, when Nero became Nero Claudius Caesar. He was steadily advanced in prominence by the skilful maneuvers of his mother, who had secured more and more control of both the emperor and the government in her own hands, while obtaining the removal of the supporters of Britannicus. With the command of the Praetorian Guard given to the reliable Afranius Burrus, and Nero married to Claudius' daughter Octavia in 53, everything was set for the removal of the now superfluous Claudius, who quietly passed away after eating some poisoned mushrooms.

Following the new procedure, Nero went first to the Praetorian camp, where the 17-year-old emperor was wildly acclaimed, then to the Senate house for confirmation. Like Caligula, Nero got off to a fine start. Modesty and humility accompanied every utterance, as befitted a pupil of Seneca, and Augustus was professed his model. Clemency, affability and liberal gifts characterized his earliest acts. The first five years of his reign were a virtual golden age, in which most of the actual government was conducted by Agrippina, Burrus and Seneca. Meanwhile, Nero began indulging his vanity to excel in all the arts, which was to prove the source of his downfall.

The first act in the turning of Nero from a paragon of virtue into the beast of the apocalypse occurred in 55 when, finding his mother becoming unattractive (their relations were generally assumed incestuous), Nero turned to a freedwoman named Acte, who was to be devoted to him until his last days. When neither her caresses nor her rages had any effect, his mother threatened to make Britannicus emperor if he didn't get back in line. Whereupon Nero promptly had Britannicus poisoned (by the same

expert lady, Locusta, who had taken care of his father Claudius). When Agrippina next tried to conspire with Nero's neglected wife Octavia, Nero put Agrippina under house arrest. For the next three years the beast was again held in check, Seneca and Burrus remaining influential with Nero.

In 58 Nero was completely captivated by Poppaea Sabina, a wealthy and sophisticated woman who decided she wanted to be empress rather than just imperial mistress. She persuaded Nero, as a first step, to kill his mother, resulting in a ghoulish burlesque for months. Three times Nero tried to poison her, but Mother was no amateur in these games and took the antidote in advance. Then he rigged up a machine in the ceiling of her bedroom to fall on her while she slept but, being tipped off, she escaped. Then he sent her on a trip in a boat specially constructed to collapse, but after the ship started sinking, Mother swam to safety. Finally, giving up hope in all these subtle methods, Nero just had her stabbed, giving out the story that she had committed suicide upon learning her conspiracy against Nero had failed. For the rest of his life, however, Nero was to be filled with remorse for the deed, not on moral grounds, but on superstitious grounds about the wrath of the gods.

In 62 Nero killed his wife Octavia and his military chief Burrus, giving the command of the Praetorian Guard to Poppaea's friend Tigellinus, who urged Nero to indulge his every whim. Developing a great passion for spectacles, Nero was soon emptying the treasury of Claudius, as Caligula had done with Tiberius. He staged contests in athletic games, dramatic singing and lyre-playing in which he himself was "only a contestant," and Nero capped this career by setting off for Greece in 67, accompanied by Tigellinus and a retinue of soldiers, dancers, musicians and courtiers. He entered all the competitions, humbly abided by the strict rules and received with surprised delight in each case the announcement that he had won.

Major disasters plagued his reign. The Britons rose under their Amazon queen Boadicea and almost wiped out a legion before being subdued. The Armenians, at the other end of the empire, expelled the Romans. An earthquake at Pompeii brought much destruction, however trivial compared with the disaster there a few years later. But greatest of all catastrophes was the fire

of 64, said to have been started by Nero and his henchmen so that a more beautiful city could be built from the ruins according to his plans. Charging the arson to the troublesome Jewish sect called Christians, followers of Jesus (q.v.), Nero is supposed to have played his lyre (not fiddle) while singing verses of his own composition on the fall of Troy, with the fire in the background. The punishment meted out to the Christians is believed to have extended to Peter and Paul.

Nero did provide energetically, however, food and shelter for the homeless, and he did indeed rebuild a Rome with broad avenues and magnificent structures, including the beginnings of a gigantic palace for himself, the Golden House. In order to provide funds for his project, officials and soldiers were sent out to plunder the provinces. Nero's growing unpopularity produced a conspiracy in 65, which was put down with great cruelty, the victims including Seneca and his nephew, the poet Lucan, author of the civil war epic *Pharsalia*. That same year Poppaea, whom Nero had married after killing Octavia, died after being kicked in the belly by Nero during her pregnancy. A plague seemed to climax the wrath of the gods.

After the death of Poppaea and the complete turning of his head by his "victories" in Greece and the success of a general in defeating the Armenians, whose king came to Rome to be crowned by Nero, Nero's homosexual side began to become more manifest. A beautiful youth named Sporus was castrated, renamed Sabina after the late empress, married to Nero with due ceremony and accompanied him as his empress, being fondly kissed in public. To keep things properly balanced, however, Nero made himself the wife of his virile freedman Doryphorus (or Pythagoras), again by a public ceremony. A game was devised for palace orgies in which Nero performed in various ways upon youths or maidens while Doryphorus brought forth from Nero "the cries and lamentations of a maiden being deflowered."

The final ruinous conspiracy against Nero began with the revolt of a Gallo-Roman leader, Julius Vindex, in Gaul. Nero thought to undo the revolt by appearing before the rebels and melting their hearts while he recited poetry to his own accompaniment. Though Vindex was crushed by loyal forces, a fellow rebel had emerged in P. Sulpicius Galba (q.v.), the governor of Spain,

who was saluted as emperor by his troops.

Nero began to be deserted by all—the Senate, the guards and the court. He fled to his country house, and upon learning that the Senate had proclaimed Galba emperor, sentenced himself to death and stabbed himself as his would-be executioners approached, traditionally saying as he was dying, “What an artist is lost in me!”

The mob, which had once adored him, broke his statues, erased his names and sacked his Golden House. Nero’s suicide ended the Julian-Claudian dynasty that had ruled Rome, in one form or another, for 117 years. In after years, something of the old fondness for the open-handed patron of the arts returned, and indeed in Greece he was recalled for his magnificence and enthusiasm for art. To the newly troublesome Jewish sect called Christians, on whom he’d blamed his fire and whom he’d persecuted, exiled from Rome and killed whenever possible, Nero became the mystic Antichrist. Several sections of *Revelation* are supposed to involve the myth, popular for two centuries, that Nero had fled to the Parthians and lived on, or would come back to life to lead the forces of evil in the final conflagration.

Reference: Bulliet, 74, 77-80; Hirschfeld, 654; Suetonius 223. 224, 229.



CAIUS PETRONIUS (c. 15- c. 66)

Roman statesman, satirist and novelist.

Little is known of Petronius’ birth or early life, though it was believed that he came from Marseilles in Gaul. Prior to his appearance at the luxurious court of Nero (q.v.) as its “Arbiter of Elegance,” which may perhaps be likened to Grand Chamberlain, he had been governor of Bithynia and even consul. The characterization of Petronius by Tacitus in his *Annals* is worth noting in full:

He spent his days in sleep, his nights in attending to his official duties or in amusement; by his dissolute life he had become as famous as other men by a life of energy, and he was regarded as no ordinary profligate, but as an accomplished voluptuary. His reckless freedom of speech, being regarded as frankness, procured him popularity.

Yet during his provincial governorship, and later when he held the office of consul, he had shown vigor and capacity for administration. Afterwards returning to his life of vicious indulgence, he became one of the chosen circle of Nero's intimates and was looked upon as an absolute authority on questions of taste in connection with the science of luxurious living.

Eventually Petronius incited the jealousy of Nero's chief henchman Tigellinus and was accused of disloyalty to Nero. Retiring to his villa near Naples, Petronius committed suicide in an elegant and leisurely manner, i.e., opening his veins, then closing them up for brief periods while wining, dining and conversing with friends.

Petronius is best known for his superlative novel, the *Satyricon*, of which only parts of the 15th and 16th books survive. It is apparently the world's first novel and it concerns, at least in the surviving parts, the adventures in southern Italy of a young homosexual itinerant lecturer and rogue named Encolpius, his companion Asclytos and the slave-boy named Giton, over whom they both quarrel. Giton's name came to be used by the French as a delicate way of referring to a "used" boy.

The best-known part of the novel concerns the dinner given by Trimalchio, a homosexual freedman of enormous wealth and ineffable vulgarity and pretension. Other subjects found for the brilliant satirical pen of Petronius include the debased standards of literature and rhetoric, organized fortune-hunting, quack nostrums and impotence. There are also two oft-quoted tales within the tale, one the story by a homosexual poet of the seduction by his tutor of a lad who ends up an insatiable male nymphomaniac. While all critics find only praise for the brilliantly drawn picture of contemporary behavior, on all levels of society, many are shocked by the completely amoral, cynical and sexually promiscuous and unrestrained character of the *Satyricon*.

Among the translations is one attributed to Oscar Wilde (q.v.) after serving his prison term. It includes efforts at imaginative filling up of the gaps in the original manuscript.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 654; Kiefer, 251.

AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS (34-62)

Roman satirical poet.

He was born at Volaterrae in Etruria, the son of a wealthy, middle-class Roman who left his family well provided for at his death, which occurred when Persius was six. Persius' mother, Fulvia Sisenna, became a widow for a second time after remarrying, and thereafter devoted herself to procuring the best possible education for Persius.

When Persius was 12, they moved from Volaterrae to Rome. Persius' attachment to his mother was very strong, and he remained under her wing for all of his short life, the household also including his sister and his aunt. At sixteen, however, Persius was put under the charge of a Stoic philosopher named Cornutus, and on him there was now poured some of the love previously reserved for Persius' mother. It was Cornutus who introduced Persius to the leading literary figures of Nero's Rome, including Seneca and Lucan, when Persius' great gifts became apparent.

When Persius died at 29 of a gastric ailment, his works were suppressed with the exception of his *Satires*, on which he had still been working at the time of his premature death. After some editing and correcting, the six satires of Persius were published and became a great success.

Only a bookish recluse, Persius drew the subjects of his Stoic ire from books, mostly those of Horace (q.v.), rather than from personal experiences, as was the case with Juvenal, the other great satirist. Persius' earnestness and moral purpose in referring to the corruption and folly of his day, within the confines of his carefully created verse, suggested to his readers a nostalgic throw-back to the "noble Roman" of earlier centuries.

Reference: Kiefer, 267-69.



SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA (5-69)

Roman emperor (68-69).

He was born at Terracina, south of Rome, of a noble and wealthy family. Showing himself capable and energetic in his early years, Galba rose rapidly under Tiberius (q.v.), first in the administrative posts, then as a general in Gaul, North Africa and Spain. Under Caligula (q.v.), Galba became governor of Germany (the Rhineland).

Upon the murder of Caligula (41), Galba was prodded to bid for the throne but declined, thereby earning the friendship of Claudius (q.v.). Galba's wife and two sons had meanwhile died, but he could not be persuaded to remarry, or even to respond to the advances of the empress Agrippina, mother of Nero (q.v.). Apparently around this time his latent homosexuality began to become less latent.

After a tour as governor of Africa, the quite affluent Galba decided to retire from public life. He seemed to have been one of the first men of prominence to appreciate the lethal madness of Nero and tried to avoid attracting his attention insofar as possible. However, in 61 Galba was ordered by Nero to become governor of Spain, where he remained eight years. While he had formerly had a reputation as a great disciplinarian, he now tried to avoid any kind of trouble and to have as much time as possible to enjoy the stud service of his virile freedman Icarus.

When the final revolt against Nero broke out in Gaul in 68, the rebel leaders turned to Galba as a widely respected senior general suitable to be their nominal leader and new emperor. He hesitated until word reached him that Nero had sent an order for his execution. Galba now accepted the leadership but still hesitated about going to Rome to claim the throne. He had almost lost all hope, following the news of the revolt's suppression in Gaul, when news arrived that Nero had killed himself and that Galba had been proclaimed emperor. To celebrate, Galba went right to bed with Icarus.

After Galba came to Rome to be recognized as emperor by the Praetorian Guard and by the Senate, which was still resentful of the idea that an emperor could be made elsewhere than in Rome, his prestige began to wane. Galba scorned wasteful and extravagant display, and his haughty qualities from the days of being a general in Germany began to return. The Praetorians were outraged when Galba refused to pay them the bonus promised in his name, saying, "It is my custom to levy troops, not to buy them." Further unpopularity accrued to Galba from the undue influence exercised over him by favorites like Icarus and even by the hated Tigellinus, still flourishing after a timely desertion of Nero.

Having become aware of his unpopularity, Galba decided to

eliminate it by adopting as his son and successor a handsome young man from one of Rome's great families, L. Calpurnius Piso. Although the choice was in every way a wise one, the populace interpreted it as a sign of fear, and the Praetorians were again outraged because no bribe had been offered them.

Accordingly, when M. Salvius Otho (q.v.), Nero's old friend and the jealous husband of Poppaea Sabina, offered himself to the Praetorians as emperor, with a worthy bribe, he was accepted and proclaimed emperor. While making an effort to move decisively against Otho, Galba was cut down in the streets of Rome by a cavalry troop. In the witty epitaph of Tacitus, "Galba would have been pronounced by all worthy of the emperorship if he had never been emperor."

Reference: Ellis, 24; Hirschfeld, 652; Suetonius, 254.



MARCUS SALVIUS OTHO (32-69)

Roman emperor (69).

Otho came of an ancient and noble Etruscan family of Ferentinum, north of Rome. His own branch of the family was of the middle class, his grandfather having risen through the favor of the empress Livia, wife of Augustus (q.v.). Otho's father, reputed a bastard of Tiberius' (q.v.), built for himself a reputation as a strict disciplinarian, both as a general and as an administrator, and was well thought of by Claudius (q.v.). But with his own son his discipline proved ineffective, and young Otho used to wander through the streets of Rome at night, attacking drunks or other safe targets.

The death of his father before he came of age removed the last traces of discipline from Otho. Interested in making his way to the court of Nero (q.v.), Otho pretended a passion for an aging but powerful freedwoman at the court, and once there soon came to Nero's attention. After establishing himself as the most powerful of Nero's circle of reckless and extravagant young nobles, he served Nero in such difficult assignments as the murder of his mother, and reputedly in passive sodomy.

Commanded by Nero to marry a sophisticated beauty named Poppaea Sabina whom Nero fancied for his mistress and wanted

to keep on hand till he could get rid of Octavia, Otho took a fancy to her himself and refused to divorce her after Nero had killed Octavia. Out of respect for their old friendship, Nero, instead of killing Otho, merely exiled him to Lusitania (Portugal) as its governor. He was only 26. After annulling her marriage to Otho, Nero married Poppaea, later killing her by kicking her in the belly during her pregnancy.

After ten fairly uneventful years as governor, Otho learned of the revolt against Nero and gave his support to his neighbor governor of Spain, Galba (q.v.). Otho followed Galba to Rome and had high hopes of being adopted as his heir by the childless old man. When at the beginning of 69 Galba adopted not Otho but L. Calpurnius Piso, Otho, already hopelessly in debt from passing out money to all whose support could be useful, became angry and desperate.

Bribing twenty-three Praetorians to pass the word around their camp, where there was already indignation at Galba's failure to offer the Praetorians a bribe for their consent to Calpurnius Piso, Otho got himself acclaimed emperor by the Praetorians, to whom he'd promised a large bribe. All support melted away from the unpopular old Galba, who was cut down in the streets. Calpurnius Piso was killed soon after. By now there was already some nostalgia for Nero, and Otho, with his effeminacy and dandified appearance, reminded many of Nero, whose statues Otho ordered set up again. Seeing no alternative, the Senate confirmed him as emperor.

Meanwhile, however, the troops in Germany had decided to declare their spineless old general, Vitellius, as emperor, and marched on Italy. Otho went forth to meet them in northern Italy. Though desiring to avoid a battle, Otho was forced into it by his colleagues and suffered a defeat. Although his situation was far from hopeless, Otho was suddenly seized by the noblest idea that had ever entered his generally vicious head. He bade good night to his staff, saying something about wanting to avoid the shedding of more Roman blood, slept the night through in his tent and stabbed himself in the heart the next morning. When Otho died at 37, having been emperor for but three months, it was said that nothing else in all his life became him so well as his manner of leaving it. Many who hated him when alive loved

him for the way he died, and they advanced the theory that Otho had killed Galba only with the intention of restoring Rome's liberties.

Reference: Burton, 219; Hirschfeld, 654; Moll, 32.



AULUS VITELLIUS (15-69)

Roman emperor (69).

He was born in Rome of a plebeian family that had started its rise under Augustus (q.v.). His father had risen to be consul, after which he was made governor of Syria by Tiberius (q.v.). On his return to Rome, he had skilfully flattered the new emperor Caligula (q.v.), treating him as a god. When Claudius (q.v.) became emperor, the older Vitellius had again adapted himself to the new era, flattering the nymphomaniac empress Messalina and the powerful freedman Narcissus. Claudius himself so highly valued the older Vitellius that he made him consul several times and left him as a virtual regent during the imperial expedition to Britain.

Young Vitellius had gotten his start by being sent to Capri to become one of Tiberius' little playmates, after which he followed his father's example in making himself as useful as possible to Caligula, Claudius, and Nero (q.v.), in turn. For Nero his first great responsibility was to run after the emperor during lute contests to demand, on behalf of the public, that the modest Nero should reconsider his modest departure and consent to play his lute in the contests.

Vitellius' corrupt life was an expensive one, and when he got his magistracies, he was soon hip-deep in embezzlement and pilfering of one sort or another. After Nero's downfall and suicide, Vitellius of course at once placed himself at the service of the new emperor Galba (q.v.), who inexplicably gave him command of the army in Lower Germany, whereby Vitellius at least escaped his droves of creditors and litigants.

At his new post, Vitellius distinguished himself by acting like a politician during a campaign. He granted every favor asked of him, greeted all privates and muleteers affably, even with an embrace, and cancelled all punishments. It was thus probably not too surprising that within a month, when the news reached

Germany of Galba's murder, Vitellius was proclaimed emperor by his troops. The army of Upper Germany having also declared in his favor, Vitellius set out for Italy with his army. A minor victory over his rival Otho in northern Italy, followed by Otho's surprising suicide, assured Vitellius the emperorship.

As emperor, Vitellius set out to honor and imitate Nero. Surrounded by company including gladiators, actors and his freedman lover Asiaticus, Vitellius spent most of his time in gluttony and debauchery, exercising great cruelty on any who gave him any trouble or criticism.

As the general contempt and loathing for Vitellius spread, the legions in the Balkans and Asia went over to the distinguished general commanding in Judaea, Vespasian. As the forces loyal to Vespasian began advancing on Rome, Vitellius shifted between abject fear, efforts to negotiate, and finally, forced to defiance by his adherents, to the treacherous murder of Vespasian's negotiators. As the enemy entered Rome, Vitellius fled first to his father's house, then to the janitor's room in his palace, where he barricaded himself. Discovered by looting soldiers, Vitellius was ignominiously dragged through the streets, then killed, dragged to the Tiber and thrown in.

The first emperor of a plebeian family (following the first one of an Etruscan family), Vitellius had been emperor for eight months, undoubtedly the most miserable specimen yet to sit on the throne.

Reference: Suetonius, 269.



TITUS (40-81)

Roman emperor (79-81)

Properly Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus, Titus was the son of the blunt, honest, capable and unpretentious old soldier of humble origin, Vespasian. With great energy and frugality, Vespasian (the first emperor not to be included among homosexuals) re-established army discipline and honest government and repaired the depredations to Rome's finances, public structures, and public morality alike. The "peace of Vespasian" had provided Rome's best decade in a half century. Gifted with a great sense of humor, Vespasian had said on his death-bed,

"Methinks I am becoming a god," many of his predecessors having been deified.

Titus, educated at the court of Nero (q.v.) in earlier and better days, had proven outstandingly talented: fluency in Greek, proficiency in music, law and short-hand were among his diverse abilities. He was also very well-built, handsome and athletic. Devoted to his father, Titus served him during his military career in Germany, Britain, and later, in Judaea in the suppression of the Jewish revolts. After his father went on to secure the imperial throne with the support of the legions in the Balkans, Asia and Africa, Titus was left behind to clean up the Jewish War, which was achieved by the capture and destruction of Jerusalem in 70.

On his return to Rome, Titus enjoyed with Vespasian a unique father-and-son triumph, in memory of which the Arch of Titus was built. It still stands in a restored state. Titus fell readily into the role of crown prince, which for the first time brought the title "Caesar," with "Augustus" reserved for the emperor. His finest example of devotion to his father was to take the unpopularity upon himself for necessary harsh measures. Public opinion became further unfavorable to him as a result of having as his mistress, and possibly fiancée, at his palace the Jewish princess Berenice, with her brother, Herod Agrippa II. Finally giving up all thoughts of marriage, Titus bowed to public opinion and sent them back to the east.

When Vespasian died, the forebodings that Titus would prove a cruel new Nero were agreeably disappointed. He proved the most liberal of emperors since Augustus, and to the oldtimers, he was like a reincarnation of the idolized Germanicus. Prosecutions for treason were ended, professional informers were scourged and expelled, and the vast public works program of Vespasian was continued. The Colosseum, of which the ruins still stand, was completed in 80, and splendid gladiatorial combats and other spectacles were presented there. New baths were made available for the people, Titus himself, according to one account, bathing there in order to keep in touch with public opinion. The only fighting during his reign was in Britain, where the able Agricola, father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, extended Roman sway into lowland Scotland.

In the face of the domestic tragedies that marked his reign—

the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum by an eruption of Vesuvius, and a three-day fire, followed by plague, at Rome—Titus acted energetically and generously. Towards his intriguing and vicious brother Domitian (q.v.), he behaved with great forbearance. Whether Titus would have continued as such a paragon could not be determined, since he died prematurely of some illness at 42, after reigning only about two years.

During his earlier period as crown prince, Titus had many homosexual affairs with boys, especially dancers, whom he sent away after he became emperor in respect for his august office. Some suspicions, however, remained in connection with the eunuchs at his court.

Reference: Ellis, 24; Hirschfeld, 657; Moll, 32; Suetonius, 290.



DOMITIAN (51-96)

Roman emperor (81-96).

Properly Titus Flavius Domitianus, he was born at Rome, eleven years younger than his brother Titus (q.v.). While his father and brother were achieving glory abroad, Domitian remained behind to be educated, apparently in rather poor circumstances. As a student in Nero's Rome, Domitian was said to have supplemented his meager means by male prostitution, one of his customers including a distinguished senator, Nerva (q.v.), who was to be his successor.

When his father was proclaimed emperor, in rebellion against Vitellius (q.v.), Domitian had to flee for his life in 69 from Vitellius' briefly loyal forces and narrowly escaped death. When his father's supporters won out at Rome, Domitian was briefly, at 18, a figure-head administrator until the arrival of Vespasian and Titus at Rome. Somehow he got the idea that he had surrendered to them power that was really his, and he was always to be very jealous of Titus.

During the years of the reigns of Vespasian and Titus (69-81), Domitian devoted himself to both literature and debauchery, occasionally getting himself involved in some ill-conceived intrigue against his brother, for which he was always forgiven. When Titus suddenly died at 42, many were suspicious that Domitian

might have in some way caused the death.

Considering his limited talents and dubious character, Domitian, like Tiberius (q.v.), Nero (q.v.), and Caligula (q.v.) before him, got off to a good start. He worked vigorously to reform morals and religion and to raise the standards of justice, both at home and in the provinces. His efforts at distinguishing himself in the field, however, were none too successful. He got Rome involved in her long struggle with the Dacians, in what is now Rumania, and concluded by buying peace with what amounted to a shameful annual subsidy to the Dacian King Decabalus. However, Domitian did get started on the incorporation into the Roman Empire of that southwestern corner of Germany between the Rhine and the Danube (modern Baden and Wurttemberg) by the construction of a series of connected forts to the north, with new colonists.

After the Dacian setback, Domitian suffered further ill will from his army by his jealous recall of the successful Agricola from Britain, then having him killed. A revolt by some German legions was swiftly crushed, but thereafter Domitian changed completely, suspecting everyone of conspiring against him and dealing out death cruelly all around him like a madman. All had to address him by his most favored title of "Lord God," the first case of the emperor being deified during his lifetime. Domitian wisely treated his local troops, the Praetorians, with great honor and generosity and thus remained popular with them.

When his energetic wife Domitia, whom he had once divorced and then remarried under public pressure, found her own life threatened, she launched a successful conspiracy against Domitian. He was stabbed in his bedroom by a freedman of his late cousin Clemens, who had been sentenced to death after apparently turning towards the foul new Jewish sect of Christians, the official charge being atheism.

Aside from the prostitution he is said to have practiced in his youth, Domitian's homosexuality is connected with the name of Paris, the beautiful young pantomimist with whom he fell in love and for whom he divorced Domitia (but later remarried her). The famous satirist Juvenal was sent into exile for daring to slip some references to Paris into a satire. Paris was later executed on suspicion of an affair with, of all people, Domitia.

Domitian's young cup-bearer Earines was also the subject of literary references, by Martial (q.v.) and Statius.

Reference: Bulliet, 73, 82; Ellis, 24; Suetonius, 295, 297.



MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS (MARTIAL)

(c. 40- c. 104)

Roman epigrammist.

He was born at Bilbilis in Spain, just east of the modern town of Calatayud, near Zaragoza. Based on what can be gleaned from his works, he came of prosperous Celtiberian stock, a family that enjoyed Roman citizenship. In this period when Spain was producing future leaders of the empire, it was also a thriving center of Greek and Roman scholarship and Martial apparently received an excellent education.

Although of limited means, he went to Rome and thought of practicing law, but he gave it up for just a pleasant bohemian existence, acting as a client to wealthy patrons. He passed untroubled through the closing days of Nero's (q.v.) reign, the fast reigns of Galba (q.v.), Otho (q.v.), and Vitellius (q.v.), and then saw the advent of the Flavian dynasty. The brothers Titus (q.v.) and Domitian (q.v.) both thought well of Martial and gave him various marks of status. His friends at Rome included Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Quintillian and the younger Pliny.

Not until 81 did Martial publish anything substantial, and then it was a rather sycophantic work about Domitian's spectacles at the Colosseum. His shameful flattery of the bestial Domitian, evident in many epigrams, has always led to doubts about Martial's sincerity and honesty. From 84 on, Martial began publishing the books of epigrams on which his fame rests, each containing eighty or ninety-odd epigrams. He turned out approximately one book every year, most of them written in Rome during Domitian's reign. By 94 Martial had been able to move from his garret room and had his own house in the city, as well as one in the country.

In 98, with some financial assistance from Pliny, Martial returned home to his native city in Spain, and there he wrote

his last book of epigrams. Homesick for Rome, he died in his middle sixties.

Martial's epigrams are mostly short, pungent, concise comments on the daily life and foibles of his fellow citizens. Included with them are some verses that are too long to be called epigrams, though they are similar. His subjects include fops, fortune-hunters and dinner-touters, dabblers and busybodies, orators and lawyers, schoolmasters, street hawkers, barbers, cobblers, jockeys, architects, bores, doctors, plagiarists, hypocritical philosophers, poisoners, jugglers and acrobats, the self-made man, the debauchee, the effeminate homosexual, fellators and cunnilinguists. In short, Martial put out year after year what might be called his own version of *Rome Confidential*.

Commenting on Martial's death, Piny wrote (*Epistles*, III, 21), "I hear that Valerius Martialis is dead, and I am sorry. He was a man of genius, of subtle, quick intelligence and one who in his writings showed the greatest amount of wit and pungency, and no less of fairness . . . But it may be said that his writings will not last. Perhaps they will not, but he wrote as if they would."

That Martial's promiscuous sexual life included a fair amount of homosexual activity is gathered from his verses, including especially I, 58; II, 51; IV, 7, 42; VIII, 46; IX, 25; X, 42; XI, 22, 26, 58, 71, 73, and 94, with most of them about various slave-boys he'd enjoyed, such as Cestus, Dindymus, Telesphorus, Lygdus, Hyllus and Galaesus. There is also the famous XI, 43, addressed to his wife (?) in reply to her reproaches and implications she could supply the same thing he found attractive in boys, in which the punch line is, "Therefore cease to give a masculine name to your things, wife/Or to think you have two c—ts."

Reference: Hirschfeld, 653; Kiefer, 282-86.



MARCUS COCCEIUS NERVA (c. 35-98)

Roman emperor (96-98)

He was born at Narnia, north of Rome, of a respected senatorial family. Both Nerva's father and grandfather had been

well-known jurists in the new imperial civil service, and Nerva was brought up to follow in their footsteps. He came to the favorable attention in 65 of Nero (q.v.), who made him praetor in 66. Nerva's advancement continued under Nero's successors. He was given the office of consul with Vespasian in 71 and with Domitian (q.v.) in 90.

After Domitian's assassination in 96, the name of one of Rome's most respected senators was on many lips as a likely choice for emperor, a choice agreeable to the senate, to the army and to the people alike, even though he was in his sixties, or perhaps *because* he was that old. Although older than any previous emperor at his accession, Nerva agreed to assume the imperial office.

Amongst Nerva's first actions was the recall of those exiled by Domitian, to whom he restored what remained of their confiscated property. A violent reaction setting in against all the henchmen and informers of Domitian's in his final tyrannous years, a hurricane of vengeful fury threatened to become as dangerous in its indiscriminate ravages as the system it attacked. Stung by the consul's remark that "bad as it was to have an emperor who allowed no one to do anything it was worse to have one who allowed everyone to do everything," the somewhat timid Nerva finally checked the excesses.

Next Nerva restored the privileges and immunities of the senators, giving them a greater share in the government. Among his many reforms were agrarian legislation, with large tracts bought up for allotment to the poorer citizens; the starting of new colonies in Italy and abroad; a program of state aid for orphans and for the children of poor parents; the placing of the maintenance of the postal system, roads and aqueducts on a sound basis, backed by the imperial treasury. At the same time, Nerva cut back on public extravagance and appointed a commission to consider the areas in which state expenditure could best be cut.

Fearful that Nerva's policy of retrenchment would affect them next, the Praetorian Guard committed several insolent acts, which Nerva feared to punish fittingly. This encouraged the Praetorians to the deliberately defiant gesture of murdering those responsible for the death of Domitian, for whose memory they held a great affection. Nerva, who had vainly tried to protect

them, was then obliged by the Praetorians to propose a vote of thanks for their deed.

Convinced that the government should be in younger and stronger hands, Nerva decided to pick the man he considered best qualified for the imperial office, adopt him as his son and associate him as his colleague. To this example of Nerva's, unlike Augustus' since the choice was not a relative, the Roman Empire was to owe a fine tradition which served it well for a century. Nerva was to be the first of a series of capable emperors known as "The Good Emperors."

After announcing as his choice M. Ulpius Trajanus (Trajan, q.v.), the commander of the legions on the Rhine, Nerva formally adopted him as his son late in 97, declared him his colleague in government and died three months later.

The name connected with Nerva's homosexuality was, curiously, his predecessor, for in the late 60's, when the adolescent Domitian was supplementing his means with some hustling, the very respectable senator Nerva was amongst his customers.

Reference: Bulliet, 73, 82; Ellis, 24; Hirschfeld, 654.



TRAJAN (c. 53-117)

Roman emperor (98-117).

The incredible and Hollywoodish career of this great Roman, who appeared as though from Central Casting, began with his birth in Spain, by then one of the empire's most flourishing parts. Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, as he was properly called, was the son of an Italian soldier who had worked his way up from the ranks to general, then had attained the consulship and become governor of Asia. Deciding to follow in the footsteps of his beloved father, Trajan spent his early years as a highly competent professional soldier, in all parts of the Roman Empire, well thought of by the Flavian emperors and adored by his officers and men. A sort of throwback to the oldtime republican types, tall, handsome, athletic, Trajan developed a reputation as both a firm disciplinarian and one scrupulously fair-dealing with all ranks. He would eat salt pork, cheese and sour wine with the ordinary soldiers, join them in fencing or military exercises and applaud any shrewd blow that landed on him. In warfare he was often in the thick of the fighting.

Although Trajan had loyally served Domitian (q.v.) and vigorously crushed a revolt against him, the reform-minded Nerva (q.v.) could not but be well disposed to the general who stood for the same principles in the army as Nerva did in civilian administration. Nerva conferred on Trajan one of the top assignments, governor and commander in Upper Germany. When Nerva decided on the need for an heir and colleague, a man who combined sterling character with unquestioned ability to control the Praetorians, Trajan was his immediate choice.

After some hesitation, Trajan accepted the post while still in Germany. He was still cautiously assuring himself of the support of other frontier legions, hesitating to go to Rome without it, when he received the news of Nerva's death. Although he was not to go to Rome for two years, Trajan assumed authority at once, as his first act ordering a mutinous section of the Praetorian Guard to the northern frontier, where they quietly submitted to being distributed among the legions.

For the first two years of his reign, Trajan set himself the task of strengthening the Rhine-Danube frontier with fortifications and east-bound roads. As he approached the empire's eastern limits, Trajan became ever more conscious of the power of the brilliant Dacian King Decabalus, who had created a Roman-type army after forcing on Domitian a humiliating peace, with an annual subsidy and Roman laborers and engineers loaned for the building of his fortifications. Trajan became convinced the subjugation of Decabalus would require immense preparation, and had this mainly on his mind as he made his long delayed entry into Rome in 100.

The affectation of soldierly simplicity that Trajan had made his trademark made a tremendous hit with the Roman people. He entered Rome on foot, mixed freely with the people and lived with the greatest simplicity. He continued Nerva's policy of rebuilding the privileges and prestige of the Senate, which was made more representative with additions from many parts of the empire. As Trajan put it, he was determined "to be to his subjects such a ruler as he had desired for himself when a subject." Frequently passing through the city unattended and paying unexpected visits to his friends, Trajan refused to tolerate any pomp or a court. However, less frugal than Nerva, he was

generous in the distribution of largesse and food and the staging of spectacles. In public works, especially the building of roads, Trajan was second to no other emperor.

Having entrenched himself solidly with the Senate, the army and the people, Trajan devoted himself to immense and careful preparations for the great war which he considered inevitable. In 101 he set forth for the Danube frontier, devoting a whole year to planning, training and building roads. Finally in 102 he moved into Dacia (modern Rumania), routed the well-trained troops of Decabalus and took his capital. Decabalus was permitted a negotiated peace whereby he agreed to raze all fortresses, surrender all weapons, prisoners and Roman deserters, and become a dependent and ally of Rome. Trajan then returned to Rome for a triumph.

The terms having proven too stringent for the proud Decabalus to live up to them, war broke out again in 105. This time the Romans under Trajan faced some of their toughest fighting in many a decade, the Dacians fighting valiantly and skilfully for every foot. But as Trajan's superb war machine drove relentlessly forward, resistance became hopeless. Decabalus killed himself and Dacia became an imperial province. Trajan's elaborate plans for the settlement of the country with Roman colonists became so successful that it remained forever an appendage of the Latin world in eastern Europe, its population speaking a language derived from the Latin of the colonists, even after becoming racially mixed in the wake of dozens of invading peoples. When in the nineteenth century the provinces formed a single nation, they went back to their traditions as a Roman colony with the name Rumania.

In 106 Trajan returned to Rome for a triumph believed to have been the most splendid in Roman history. Financed by the captured treasure, it included games that lasted four months. Congratulations poured in from all over the civilized world, even from as far as India. The Column of Trajan built to commemorate the event survives yet today.

During the succeeding seven years of peace, Trajan had the opportunity of indulging his great passion for building, meanwhile carrying on all the reforms begun by Nerva. Among Trajan's favored civil servants was the famous Pliny the Younger,

whose correspondence with Trajan has provided a treasure of information on the life and problems of the era. One of the most quoted exchanges involved the treatment of Christians toward whom, as it turned out, Trajan was fairly well disposed. The historians Tacitus and Suetonius also had great influence with Trajan.

In 113 war broke out again, this time on the southeastern frontier, where the Parthians, under their able King Chosroes, established their puppet on the Armenian throne. Hoping to make the Tigris as firmly Rome's eastern frontier as he had made the Danube its northern frontier, Trajan moved vast forces into the east. Though he did make some conquests, he began to suffer heavy losses at the hands of the Parthians and their Arab allies as he moved further inland. His position was further threatened by an intricately planned revolution called "the revolt of the Jews." It began when fanatical Jewish exiles in Cyrene, in North Africa, massacred their neighbors (220,000, it is claimed), and then did the same thing in Cyprus (240,000 claimed there). The Jews next tried the same thing at Alexandria, where they set up their own king, but here their enemies prevailed and massacred the Jews. Meanwhile, Jewish communities in the Mesopotamian territories newly conquered by Trajan took up the revolt, which spread to the non-Jewish population. Although the revolt was in the end ruthlessly suppressed by Trajan, with the same slaughter and cruelty that had distinguished the rebels, the energies required for the task diverted so much strength from the war that it proved the death blow to the plan to extend the eastern frontier to the Tigris.

Trajan was planning to make one more desperate effort to establish Roman power beyond the Euphrates when he suddenly fell ill and had to head homeward. He got no further than Selinus in Asia Minor, where he died in the fall of 117. Selinus was renamed Traianopolis.

Trajan's homosexuality was apparently a matter of common knowledge to his contemporaries. He was said to have performed some sort of religious rites represented as sacrifices to homosexual relations. According to Spartianus, one of the biographers of Hadrian (q.v.), Trajan took with him on his campaigns what he called his *paedagogium*, believed to have been a sort of harem

of boys, which would suggest the mobile harems of boy eunuchs of Philip of Macedonia (q.v.). On the other hand, Trajan has also been represented as having the same sort of sexual preferences as Otho (q.v.), which was understood to point to passive sodomy, and might or might not be at odds with the harem of boys. No particular name seems to have been cited as a beloved of Trajan, nor has it been specifically suggested that he had sexual relations with his homosexual protégé, adopted son and successor, Hadrian. Trajan was married to a mannish woman named Plotina, who proved a perfect helpmate for him, and had much to do with his adoption of Hadrian.

Reference: Bulliet, 73; Burton, 219; Ellis, 24; Hirschfeld, 657; Moll, 33.



HADRIAN (76-138)

Roman emperor (117-38).

Properly Publius Aelius Hadrianus, he was born in the Roman colony of Italica, near modern Seville, in Spain, of a wealthy Italian family long settled there. Upon the death of Hadrian's father in 86, the will provided for two guardians for the 10-year-old boy. One of them was his father's friend and neighbor, the professional soldier who was to become the emperor Trajan (q.v.). The austere general was disposed only to do his duty by the boy in a perfunctory way. It was Trajan's wife Plotina who, as the years went by, came to adore the bright and handsome Hadrian, who in turn adored his deep-voiced, bigboned, tremendously energetic mannish foster mother. Plotina kept constantly prodding Trajan to do more for the boy.

After five years of education in Rome, Hadrian returned to Spain in 91 to start his service in the army. As his foster father's position started to raise rapidly, first under Domitian (q.v.), then under Nerva (q.v.), Hadrian was given one post after another, civil or military, that marked the coming young man. In 97, when Trajan was adopted by Nerva, Hadrian was sent as military tribune of one of the Danubian legions to offer the congratulations and support of the area's troops. Plotina saw to it that Trajan kept Hadrian in Germany, and when a year later the news went out of Nerva's death, Hadrian first brought the news to Trajan, racing by chariot and then on foot when his chariot

broke down, allegedly sabotaged by a jealous rival anxious to get the news to Trajan first.

With Trajan now emperor, Plotina did everything she could to make sure her darling foster son would be Trajan's heir. He was married to Trajan's great-niece Sabina and was put in the highest offices. In Trajan's two Dacian wars, Hadrian served with distinction in both campaigns, receiving from Trajan in the second one, as a token of esteem, the ring Trajan had received from Nerva, which was taken to mean Hadrian stood as favored for the succession. It was Hadrian who took charge of all the arrangements for Trajan's super-colossal four-month celebration of his triumph over the Dacians in 106.

After 10 years of service in high posts at Rome and in the provinces, Hadrian joined Trajan on his final campaign against the Parthians. When Trajan was obliged by severe illness to head back for Rome, Hadrian was left as governor of Syria, in command of the eastern army. A few days after Hadrian received word that he had been formally adopted by Trajan, he received news of his foster father's death. Although many believed that Plotina had forged the adoption, no other candidates stepped forward to challenge Hadrian, who was supported by both the Senate and the army, the army's support as usual being influenced by a "donative" promised them.

As his first act, Hadrian had to acknowledge the hopelessness of having the Tigris as the eastern frontier. Mesopotamia and Assyria were abandoned to the Parthians, who in turn agreed to Armenia being an independent protectorate of Rome's. A barbarian invasion next drew Hadrian to the Balkans. While he was achieving a victory here, word reached him of the suppression of a conspiracy against him at Rome, involving the execution, at the Senate's behest, of the four alleged conspirators, all ex-consuls.

Hurrying back to Rome, Hadrian professed to be outraged by the executions, and to assure all that no new Domitian (q.v.) had come to the throne, swore never to punish any senator without the unanimous consent of his peers. Blaming his overzealous Prefect of the Praetorians, the man who along with Trajan had been his foster father and who had helped secure his succession, Hadrian removed him. To get general good will,

all arrears of taxation for the last fifteen years were cancelled and vast sums were spent on games, shows and welfare subsidies for poor children.

The process of rational consolidation and organization that marked Hadrian's first acts as emperor marked his entire reign, making it something of a golden age of the Roman Empire, if not of all human history. It was, as the great historian Gibbon put it, "the most happy and prosperous time in the history of the human race." The laws were codified definitively under the great jurist Salvius Julianus. Although all new laws were to originate with the emperor, with the advice of his experts, they were enacted by consent of the Senate. Taxation was reduced and made more equitable and more honestly administered. Humanitarian legislation ameliorated the lot of slaves, with ill treatment and sale for purposes of prostitution or gladiatorial contests prohibited. New towns, new streets, new baths, roads, aqueducts, temples and other public buildings began making rapid appearances. Even the traffic problem in the streets was dealt with.

Highly educated himself, Hadrian became a great patron of learned men, artists and poets, and he tried his own hand at sculpture, painting, music and poetry. He was as fluent in Greek as in Latin. Hadrian composed his own autobiography, as though written by his freedman Phlegon, and though it was lost, much use was made of it in the history of Dio Cassius. It also inspired a recent attempt at restoration called *Hadrian's Memoirs*. Towards the end of his reign, Hadrian built the Athenaeum, which lasted until the fall of the Roman Empire and served as something of a prototype of a state university, having staff scholars giving regular courses of instruction, especially for the providing of capable civil servants.

In order to consolidate his empire firmly, Hadrian, a natural cosmopolitan, was convinced that his presence must make itself felt throughout all his lands. Almost half of his twenty-one year reign was spent travelling around the empire. The first journey began in 121, four years after his accession, and took him through Gaul into the German provinces, then in 122 to Britain, where Hadrian's Wall marked the Scotch frontier. Returning through Gaul, he traversed his native Spain, then he crossed to North Africa and on to Asia for a summit conference with the Parthian

king in 123 to settle their differences. It was after Hadrian had moved northward into Asia Minor in 124 that he found in Bithynia the great love of his life, the beautiful youth Antinous (q.v.).

With Antinous always at his side now, Hadrian crossed over the Aegean isles into Greece in 125, and he remained there for two years, instituting many political and commercial reforms to the advantage of the Greeks. A great Hellenophile, Hadrian started the construction of many new buildings in his beloved Athens. He also founded a city which has since borne his name, Adrianopolis, and is still today a most important center. Proceeding via Sicily, Hadrian returned to Rome in 126.

After a little over a year at home, allowing all his people to get used to the sight of Antinous always at his side, Hadrian started out again in 128 on a second journey. He started in Athens, where the buildings previously started were now dedicated by him, then in 129 crossed to Asia Minor where he gathered all the kings and princes of the east to a conference on problems of common interest.

After passing the winter at Antioch, Hadrian headed south again in 130 and at Jerusalem gave orders for the construction of a Roman colony under the name Aelia Capitolina. Crossing Arabia, Hadrian next visited Egypt, where there took place the tragic and mysterious death of his beloved Antinous. When he had recovered from his grief and undertaken enough plans to immortalize the youth, Hadrian returned to Syria, where as his contribution to the final settlement of the Jewish problem, he outlawed circumcision and made plans for the recolonization of Jerusalem. This set off a bloody Jewish revolt led by the fanatic Simon Bar-Cocheba, who had himself proclaimed the Messiah. This revolt required four years to be suppressed, and although Hadrian himself started the campaigning, he subsequently turned over command to his generals. By the end of the bitter fighting, the Romans had dispersed most Jews and forbidden those who remained in Judaea to enter Jerusalem. Hadrian's denationalization of the Jews was to last until the present century.

The remaining five years of Hadrian's reign after his return to Rome in 134, grief-stricken by the death of Antinous and depressed by having the Jewish revolt mar the otherwise peaceful nature

of his reign, were marked by ill-health, mental as well as physical. Hadrian became less gentle and affable and more cruel, mistrustful and impulsive. He perpetrated his first political killings. Yet even in these declining days, he had the foresight to provide for the succession, not only immediately following himself, but for the next two or three reigns. After the death of his previous choice, Hadrian chose as his heir the 52-year-old Antoninus, a distinguished administrator who gave Rome another 23 years of able and peaceful rule. Antoninus, in turn, had to adopt two heirs, one of whom was Marcus Aurelius, the 17-year-old nephew of Hadrian's neglected wife Sabina, who as the Stoic emperor was to provide yet another twenty years of able, if less peaceful, rule.

Hadrian built a huge villa for himself, an aesthete's delight, with gardens and temples. He also built a mausoleum for himself and his successors which in succeeding centuries became the Castel Sant' Angelo, connected by secret passages to the Vatican, and used by Popes as both a refuge and a prison, whose guests included Cellini (q.v.). Hadrian's affections, after the death of Antinous, were allegedly fixed on Lucius Verus, who was to be co-heir with Marcus Aurelius to Antoninus.

Reference: Bulliet, 73, 84; Ellis, 24; Hirschfeld, 652.



ANTINOUS (c. 109-130)

Greco-Roman courtier.

The background of Antinous, prior to his being discovered by his imperial lover, Emperor Hadrian (q.v.) in 124, is totally obscure. Apparently a native of the city of Bithynium or Claudopolis (modern Turkish Bolu) in that province on the Asia Minor side of the Bosphorus called Bithynia, where Caesar (q.v.) had found his great homosexual love, Antinous seems to have come of humble stock. Possibly he was the illegitimate son of a courtesan by an aristocratic lover.

It was after the great Bithynian earthquake of 123, when Antinous seems to have lost whatever family he had, that Hadrian came across him towards the close of his first journey through the Roman empire. Antinous may have appeared in connection with the well-publicized imperial program of welfare subsidies for poor and orphaned children, or he may have been a male

courtesan who deliberately made himself known to Hadrian on the basis of certain rumors he'd heard. In any event, Hadrian was immediately smitten with the beautiful 15-year-old youth and attached him to his court and to his person with some such post as cup-bearer and/or chief page.

As Hadrian's next stops were to be the islands of the Aegean, then the mainland of Greece and then Greek-colonized Sicily and southern Italy, the presence of this beautiful youth so constantly at his side was expected to bring only admiration and approbation. And so it seemed to have turned out. After Hadrian's triumphant two-year sojourn in Greece, where he accomplished so many things, he returned via Sicily and southern Italy to Rome anticipating that the Romans would have had enough time to get over any surprise or shock they might have felt when news about Antinous first reached them.

All of the year 127 was spent by Hadrian in Rome, with Antinous usually in his presence or near at hand. The boy was apparently completely free of greed or ambition, unlike most female counterparts favored by royalty, and no particular episodes involving him were recorded. He received no titles, offices or distinctions except for the conspicuous affection of his imperial master.

Hadrian's second tour of the empire, which began in 128, took him via Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and Judaea to Egypt, with Antinous always at his side except when state business was involved. It was during a trip up the Nile in 130 that Antinous slipped away and was found drowned, apparently a suicide. Amongst the various theories to explain Antinous' mysterious death are:

- 1) That he gave his life that Hadrian might live, there having been a prophecy that Hadrian would die unless a voluntary human sacrifice was made in his place;
- 2) That having reached his twenty-first year, Antinous decided he'd rather die in his youthful beauty than see the emperor ever less appreciative of his declining boyish charms;
- 3) That as he grew to the estate of manhood, Antinous came to feel more humiliated by his shameful role as a mere pampered and adored he-mistress. (There have been works of fiction along this line, complete with fictitious maidens to arouse

the sleeping heterosexual beast.)

Grief-stricken by Antinous' death, Hadrian caused the most extravagant respect to be paid to his memory. A city called Antinoöpolis was founded in Egypt, and other cities were renamed after him. Medals were struck with Antinous' effigy and statues erected with his likeness in all parts of the empire. In the statues, busts, gems and coins, many of which survive, Antinous is represented as the ideal of youthful beauty, sometimes with the attributes of such conventional gods as Bacchus. And indeed, the Antinous cult finally reached the point where he was counted as a god, with temples built for his worship in Bithynia and Greece, and with festivals celebrated in his honor.

For a short period, the cult of Antinous, a beautiful Greek youth who had altruistically given his life, seemed to threaten the cult of a somewhat older and less attractive Jew who was alleged to have done the same thing. Accordingly, Antinous was the subject of a rather intensive smear campaign by some early Church Fathers and their poison pen propagandists, whereby he became the vicious and corrupted victim of a bloody monster and inhuman tyrant called Hadrian.

Busts or statues of Antinous are found in the Louvre, the Vatican Museum, the National Museum of Naples (said to be the truest one), and in other museums of Rome and Berlin, with copies in many more museums throughout the world.

Reference: Ish-Kishor; Hirschfeld, 652.



COMMODUS (161-192)

Roman emperor (180-92).

Properly Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, he was the son of the great Stoic philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius by his wife Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus Pius, the chosen successor of Hadrian (q.v.), whose adoption by Hadrian had been concomitant on his own adoption of Marcus Aurelius. From an early age Commodus showed himself to be a "bad one," and to be sure many Romans felt that the succession of "Good Emperors" couldn't last forever. In anticipating that a new Caligula (q.v.) or Nero (q.v.) or Domitian (q.v.) would be found in Commodus, they were not to be disappointed.

Despite being a Stoic philosopher, Marcus Aurelius reacted as a blind father and chose to overlook the low company and the low amusements toward which his son gravitated, notwithstanding his careful education. Unlike his predecessors as far back as Nerva (q.v.), Marcus Aurelius was not obliged by the lack of a son of his own to adopt a worthy heir, and so he took the first steps when Commodus was but 15 to ensure his succession by an important appointment. At 19 Commodus was accompanying his father on one of his many campaigns, this one in the Danubian region, when Marcus Aurelius died of a sudden illness at Vindobona (Vienna). The new emperor was the first to succeed by birth since Domitian, just under a hundred years back.

Commodus hastily concluded a peace with his father's German enemies and returned to Rome where for two years he allowed the able praetorian prefect to run the government uneventfully. However, after a conspiracy and an abortive attempt to assassinate him, in which some senators were involved, Commodus began his interference with the government by ceaseless attacks on the privileges of the senators. This was followed by a return to the system of informers and treason trials practiced by Domitian. Since the property of the guilty was subject to confiscation by the emperor, trials of the wealthy grew more frequent as Commodus' need for funds grew. He lavished money especially on gladiatorial and wild beast combats, and being a giant of a man himself, proud of his bodily strength and dexterity, Commodus personally fought gladiators and wild beasts. He came to demand worship as the Roman reincarnation of Hercules. Occasionally, by a perverse twist, Commodus fought in the semi-female garb of an Amazon.

Like Domitian, Commodus had the good sense to lavish money on the Praetorian Guards. However, after he executed their able prefect Perennis in 185 on suspicion of treason, the praetorians became less dependable. In 189 during riots over a grain shortage, the praetorians were worsted by a mob, to whom Commodus sacrificed their new prefect. Rebellious rumbles spread throughout the empire, and at one point there was even a daring plot by a bandit named Maternus to seize the throne. But it was to be from his sexual associates that Commodus met his end.

Aggressively bisexual, Commodus was reputed to have a harem

of 600, evenly divided between the sexes. A favorite boy, Philo-Commodus, discovered in his imperial lover's bedroom a sheet listing names marked for execution. The boy brought the list to his good friend, Commodus' favored girl of the time, who, finding her own name on the list, decided to move energetically to save her life. Conspiring with other slated victims, she gave Commodus a poisoned brew to drink. When this only caused the giant to vomit, a powerful wrestler named Narcissus was brought in to strangle him. He was only 31, about the same age at which Nero and Caligula met their respective ends.

Reference: Bulliet, 73, 85-87; Ellis, 24.



CARACALLA (186-217)

Roman emperor (211-17).

Properly Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, he was the son and heir of Septimus Severus, a general who fought his way successfully to the contested throne of the murdered Commodus (q.v.) in 193 and changed his son's name in 197 to one recalling the bygone dynasty. Caracalla derived his nickname, which became his familiar name, from the Gallic tunic he habitually wore, the *caracallus*, and he was in fact born, like Claudius (q.v.), at Lyons.

When Severus died in 211 in Britain at Eburacum (York), in the course of a protracted campaign against the Caledonians (Scots), Caracalla was supposed to rule jointly with his younger brother, whom he promptly murdered, supposedly in the arms of their mother. For good measure, Caracalla also had about 20,000 distinguished public figures put to death, anticipating opposition from them.

Following the now-familiar pattern of his bad predecessors, Caracalla lavished money on his army, raising the pay of his soldiers to unprecedented levels. To secure the funds needed for his soldiers and for his public works (notably the Baths of Caracalla, the ruins of which still survive), he resorted to new taxes and extortions of all kinds. In order to increase more than tenfold those who would have to pay the inheritance tax, limited to Roman citizens, Caracalla in 212 extended Roman citizenship to all free citizens of the empire, except Egypt, which was still an

imperial private estate. This Edict of Caracalla turned out to be the most notable event of his reign.

Supposedly driven by pangs of remorse for his murders, Caracalla handed over the reins of government to his mother in 213 and left Rome, devoting the remainder of his life to military campaigns, in which he did quite well. First Caracalla defeated some Germans in the Danubian region, and then some Goths in Dacia, perhaps Rome's first serious collision with the people who were to prove Rome's nemesis. In 215 he crossed to Asia Minor, and later in the year, having heard that sarcastic remarks against his mother and himself had been made in Egypt, he rushed there with a powerful force and ordered a general massacre in Alexandria of all youths capable of bearing arms.

By now a tremendous hero with the Roman army, who even if he had never won a battle would have loved him for his gigantic increase in their pay, Caracalla in 216 pressed deep into Asia. He ravaged Mesopotamia because the Parthian king had refused to give him his daughter in marriage. Having wintered at Edessa, Caracalla was just starting out on a new campaign in the spring of 217 when he was murdered at the instigation of the praetorian prefect, Macrinus, who succeeded him briefly as emperor, to be followed by Caracalla's supposed bastard son, Elagabalus (q.v.).

Reference: Bulliet, 73.



ELAGABALUS (205-222)

Roman emperor (218-222)

Properly Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, his original name was Varius Avitus Bassianus. He was born at Emesa (Homs) in Syria the grandson of an indomitable and energetic woman named Julia Maesa, whose sister was the mother of Caracalla (q.v.) and his regent during the campaigns that took up the final years of his reign. Returning to Emesa with her two grandsons, Varius and his cousin Alexander, after Caracalla's murder, Julia got the 12-year-old Varius appointed high priest of the sun-god Elagabalus (also Heliogabalus), who had at Emesa a principal seat of worship with which Julia's family had been associated. The effeminate and extremely beautiful boy, with a rare gift for the ceremonial, not only accomplished his religious duties success-

fully but became at the same time a great favorite of Roman troops stationed nearby. Julia spread the rumor that Varius was the illegitimate son of the army's beloved commander, the recently murdered Emperor Caracalla.

Thus it was that when these local troops in May, 218, on an impulse proclaimed the 13-year-old boy emperor as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the troops sent by Emperor Macrinus to quell the revolt did a surprising thing. Fascinated by the bold plea of a golden-haired, violet-eyed reincarnation of Antinous (q.v.) on horseback, they all went over to Varius and acknowledged him as their emperor. A few weeks later, the despised Macrinus, not only responsible for Caracalla's murder, but a penny-pincher who had given up Caracalla's conquests and cut the army pay, was murdered. The Senate, having been taught by Caracalla to know their place, immediately accepted the army's pretty young mascot as Rome's emperor.

Julia decided the boy should make his way to Rome only slowly, on the way perhaps unlearning his Syrian priestly patterns and trying to learn to act like a virile young Roman. Unfortunately, Julia chose as the place to tarry longest the homeland of the beloveds of Caesar (q.v.) and Hadrian (q.v.), apparently the empire's principal Sodom—Bithynia. And sure enough, for this emperor also Bithynia produced a great love, a handsome chariot-eer named Gordianus, whom Julia had hoped would use his influence beneficially. Though he failed to make Varius a bit more manly, his assigned task, he did make a sufficient impression of his own manliness to receive the title of "the empress' husband."

Finally arriving in Rome in 219, the new emperor wanted it made clear from the start that his reign would represent a partnership between himself and his god, represented by a large, black phallic-shaped stone. As the high priest of this god, who was to be worshipped by all loyal Romans, Varius took for himself the god's name, Elagabalus (or Heliogabalus). Although some of the stuffer senators found all this rather hard to take, the soldiers, kept well paid by Julia, thought it was all great fun.

With his grandmother Julia continuing the rule of her sister before her (on behalf of her son Caracalla), Elagabalus was left free to devote himself to instituting splendid ceremonies and

costumes for the worship of his god, including public dances in the nude. Such dances easily led to thoughts of temple prostitution, which in turn led to just plain thoughts of sex for a youth with piles of gold at his fingertips. Elagabalus' fertile imagination conceived of a great variety of sexual orgies, mostly at his palace grounds, but occasionally involving himself in a wig practicing prostitution in taverns and brothels, and then finally in a special room in the palace.

When his grandmother told him that though fun was fun, he should at least marry and beget an heir, Elagabalus obligingly went through a ceremony with a carefully chosen girl. Although he found it rather pointless, he did like the ceremony and afterwards went through it twice more, in one night in one case taking as his husband Gordianus and in the other case taking as his wife a teenage charioteer named Hierocles, who was soon to replace Gordianus. The weddings were consummated within the hearing, if not the sight, of the guests.

Hoping to be more successful with other females, Elagabalus' grandmother next tried on him a more mature woman, an aging Vestal Virgin. When this one didn't work either, Julia thought surely with enough choices one would be found to suit him and imported a whole harem of girls from Syria. This gave Elagabalus a splendid new idea for use of these girls. Putting a bit in a girl's mouth, he had her trot around on all fours pulling a cart to provide transportation on the palace grounds, with assurance of a piece of sugar for good trotting. To prove that he was not unsympathetic to the problems of women, Elagabalus assembled all the prostitutes of Rome and, dressed in female attire, addressed them in a speech beginning "Comrades . . ." and discussing the pros and cons of different positions. He also offered a large award for anyone able to perform on him that operation now associated with the surgeons of Denmark.

When Elagabalus began to try to take a hand at ruling Rome, his days were numbered. It was all very well to send his agents to scour all Italy for men with the biggest penises, but when sexual prowess became the basis for high civil and military appointments, at least ones that had not already been sold to the highest bidder, trouble began brewing. Many high dignitaries were already outraged by the practical jokes played on them, some of which,

involving wild animals, could be quite deadly.

To avoid total disaster for the whole family, Elagabalus' grandmother denounced his plan to adopt as Caesar or heir his charioteer friend and instead proposed that he adopt his young cousin Alexander, now growing up into a serious and conscientious little prig, as opposite to Elagabalus in all ways as could be. The result of this suggestion was only to fill Elagabalus with murderous jealousy, for he had already noted the increasing favor Alexander was finding with many influential persons in both the army and the administration. For even the jaded and sophisticated tastes of third-century Rome, Elagabalus was too much!

Elagabalus put into effect a plot to have Alexander killed, but it was betrayed to his grandmother by the third wife she had foisted on him, who was also working as Grandmother's special agent. As a result of Julia's counter-measures, this first attempt was frustrated quietly. Increasingly desperate, Elagabalus decided to make another effort, but this time his assassins were not only killed themselves but they so infuriated the Praetorian Guard that a mutiny broke out, in the course of which Elagabalus was himself killed. The fatal wound was supposed to have been a rectal sword-thrust accompanied by a dramatic cry that he should die as he had lived. Elagabalus' body was dragged through the streets and then, weighted down, hurled into the sewer leading to the Tiber.

Reference: Duggan; Hirschfeld, 653; Lampridius.



ST. AUGUSTINE (354-430)

Roman religious leader.

Aurelius Augustinus was born at Tagaste, about forty miles south of Hippo, in North Africa. He was brought up as a Christian by his mother, the future St. Monica, but gave up his religion when he went to school in Carthage. In Carthage Augustine became accomplished in rhetoric and led a rather wild life. He also became a convert to Manicheism, a religion founded by a Persian prophet in the previous century and representing a sort of gloomy mixture of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism.

After teaching for a few years at Tagaste, Augustine went to Rome in 376 for a post teaching rhetoric. In 384 he was sent by his Manichean superiors to Milan, by that time the principal city in Italy, where they hoped their impressive convert would have great influence. He was accompanied to Milan by his mistress, or at least the girl who was the mother of his bastard son and who refused to be shaken off. In Milan Augustine became increasingly distrustful of Manicheism, and under the influence of the works of Plato renounced it. Shortly afterward, he fell under a new influence, that of Milan's dynamic and highly educated Christian bishop, (St.) Ambrose. Greatly affected by Ambrose's preaching, Augustine at 33 became a Christian again.

After his baptism, Augustine returned to Tagaste to live a monastic life with like-minded friends, having finally succeeded in abandoning his son's mother. The son, Adeodatus, had died. In 391, during a visit to Hippo, Augustine was chosen by the Christians there to be their priest. In 395 he became auxiliary bishop and soon after Bishop of Hippo, which he was to remain for the rest of his long life.

Around 400 Augustine completed the work for which he is best known, the *Confessions*, both an autobiography and an apology for the Christian convert. About a dozen years later, he published his *City of God*, his view of society and its transformation by Christian ends into a new order. In this work Augustine was seen as especially anxious to disclaim Christianity's alleged responsibility for Rome's fall from greatness.

His other works, of a more dogmatic and theological nature, made Augustine second only to Paul in the shaping of Christianity, and in fact he is often considered the founder of Christian theology. *On the Trinity*, the main theological work, is a systemization of Christian doctrine. Most of his other influential works were polemical denunciations of rival religions and unorthodox sects, including *Against Faustus* (denunciation of Manicheism); *On Baptism and the Correction of The Donatists* (denunciation of the Donatists, who claimed abjuring Christians were unforgivable sinners who couldn't be absolved, though they could be rebaptized, apparently an extremely important distinction); various writings against the Pelagians (involving the importance of God's grace for salvation and the existence of original sin).

Among other works were a collection of sermons and letters and a discussion of monasticism.

After more than thirty years as Bishop of Hippo, Augustine died in his middle 80s of illness during the great siege by the Vandals.

Augustine's inclusion among homosexuals is based on some extensive passages in the *Confessions* (Book IV, Chapters 4 and 6) about his youthful passionate attachment to another youth, whose sudden death left him endlessly weeping and broken-hearted. He was kept from suicide only by a rather unusual premise: "I felt that his soul and mine were 'one soul in two bodies': and therefore life was to me horrible, because I hated to live as half of a life; and therefore perhaps I feared to die, lest he should wholly die whom I loved so greatly." The name of this great love of Augustine's life, which seemed to have greatly exceeded any feeling he had for the girl he subsequently got with child and deserted, does not seem to have been recorded.

Reference: Carpenter (I), 99-102; Hirschfeld, 659; Mayne, 78, 260-62.



THEODOSIUS II (401-450)

Roman emperor of the East (408-50).

With the death of Theodosius the Great in 395, the split between the eastern and western halves of the Roman empire became permanent. Arcadius, who had succeeded his father in the east, died in 408, leaving his 7-year-old son Theodosius as his heir. During the boy's minority, his able sister Pulcheria ruled the Eastern Empire with the help of her praetorian prefect. Christianity had been the state religion for almost a century.

While Theodosius was growing up into a rather amiable and weak young man in the fairly peaceful eastern Roman realm, many calamitous events were befalling his uncle Honorius in the Western Roman Empire: usurpation of power by Stilicho the Vandal, the struggle of Stilicho against Alaric the Goth, the murder of Stilicho by Honorius' order, the invasion of Italy and sack of Rome by Alaric's Goths, and their subsequent conquest of most of Gaul and Spain.

When Theodosius assumed authority in his own name, he was

fortunate in having able generals who made him seem initially effective. A usurper having seized Honorius' throne upon his death, Theodosius sent troops to expel and kill the usurper and place on the western throne Honorius' nephew, Valentinian III (q.v.). In 437 ties between the imperial cousins were cemented by the marriage of Valentinian to Theodosius' daughter Eudoxia.

Theodosius' generals also brought him success in wars against the Persians in 421 and 441. When the pressure of the Huns became strong, it seemed to be more than Theodosius' forces could cope with. However, the day was saved when Attila decided to move his army and people into Gaul rather than the Balkans.

Theodosius' homosexual attachments appear to have been conspicuous throughout his life. In his boyhood days he was enamored of a handsome young noble named Paulinus, whom he made his chamberlain, but later had killed on suspicion of treason. In later years, after he dutifully married and produced a daughter, Theodosius acquired a beautiful eunuch boy named Chrysaphius Tayuma, whose resemblance to Paulinus was so striking that he was believed to be his illegitimate son. This boy came to hold for him much the same place that Antinous had for Hadrian (q.v.).

Consoling himself as best he could during his final lonely years, Theodosius died in 450 from injuries sustained in a fall from his horse. He was succeeded by the able general who had married his sister.

Reference: Mahler.



VALENTINIAN III (419-455)

Roman Emperor of the West (425-55).

Succeeding to the western throne at the age of 6 with the death of his uncle, Honorius, Valentinian was to be inevitably dependent on others for most of his reign, which saw the most dramatic manifestations of the falling apart of the Roman Empire. First, his throne was restored to him by the troops of his cousin, the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II (q.v.) after it had been usurped. His mother, Galla Placidia, a daughter of Theodosius the Great, held actual power as regent. During the early part of his reign, the Vandals moved into North Africa, which they gradually

brought under their complete control, and incidentally provided for generations of blue-eyed, fair-skinned North Africans. During their siege of Hippo, the great Christian Church Father, St. Augustine (q.v.), died.

In 430 Aetius, a daring soldier of fortune with his own private army, secured from the empress-regent confirmation of his claim to supreme command in Gaul, and for more than twenty years he was to be the dominant figure in the western empire, either to save it or to ruin it. After clearing Gaul of miscellaneous barbarian bands, Aetius managed in 436 to expel even the mighty Visigoths, and in 437 he put down an uprising of peasants and slaves.

Meanwhile, the empire was falling apart elsewhere. By 439 all of North Africa, a traditional granary, had been lost to the Vandals, who had taken Carthage, which had become once again the area's chief city. They began to make piratical raids on Sicily and southern Italy, as the Arabs, Turks and Barbary pirates were to do from the same base in later centuries. By 446 Britain had to be abandoned. Most of Spain was lost and Gaul, lost previously to the Visigoths and other invaders, was now something of a private kingdom of Aetius. Desperate financial problems led the remnants of the Roman administration to seek to impose taxation schemes so outrageous that the barbarians were more and more widely welcomed as a lesser evil. Chaos and anarchy grew on all sides.

Out of what seemed to be the impending death blow, the invasion of the west by the omnipotent Huns, came suddenly a glimmer of hope. In 451 Aetius, in alliance with the Visigoth king, won a great victory near Troyes (called by misnomer the Battle of Chalons) over the Huns of Attila, who had aimed at making Gaul their new homeland. It was to be the last great victory in the name of the Roman empire. Although Attila was to provide yet another threat by invading Italy in 452, he turned back again, either because of the fearless opposition of Pope Leo, or because he was bribed, and died the following year, after which his people disappeared from history.

Hoping to claim from Valentinian as a reward for his spectacular success Valentinian's daughter for his wife (which would have made him heir-apparent), Aetius presented himself at the imperial court. The Christian emperor acted little differently than

his pagan predecessors when confronted by a powerful potential rival. Aetius was treacherously murdered, allegedly by Valentinian's own hand.

The following year, Valentinian was killed by two of Aetius' guards. In the ensuing struggle over the throne, Valentinian's widow asked for assistance from the Vandals in Africa. Their king Gaiseric obligingly answered the call and in the process sacked Rome with such thoroughness as to make the name Vandal a byword. Some twenty years later occurred the traditional Fall of the Roman Empire, actually a rather anticlimactic minor episode.

Reference: Rochester (V), II, 1.



PRISCIAN (c. 460- c. 520)

Latin grammarian.

He was born at Caesarea in Mauretania (Morocco) but apparently early in life took up abode in Constantinople, where he taught Latin grammar. His eighteen-book masterwork, *Commentarii grammatici*, or *Institutiones grammaticae*, remained the leading textbook of Latin grammar in the western world for considerably more than five hundred years. The texts of later grammarians were greatly influenced by Priscian.

The first sixteen books dealt mainly with sounds, word-formations and inflexions, the last two with syntax. Numerous fragments of otherwise lost classical works were preserved by virtue of being used by Priscian to illustrate a point. His style, although heavy, is considered clear and sensible. There are of course many errors in his work, such as wild etymologies and little or no understanding of phonetics, but it is largely due to Priscian that the study of Latin remained so constant through the schools of the Middle Ages.

Dante, through the mouth of Latini (q.v.), names Priscian as an outstanding example, in the portion of hell reserved for homosexuals, of

"Men of great learning and no less renown,
By one same sin polluted in the world."

Reference: Dante, 64.

ABU NUWAS (c. 756- c. 810)

Arabian poet.

He was born in Ahwaz, Persia, the son of a Syrian soldier married to a Persian woman, when the peoples who followed Mohammed (570-632) were at the peak of their greatness, the Mohammedan world stretching from southern France, through Spain and Portugal, and across all North Africa deep into the heart of Asia. Abu Nuwas studied at Basra under leading Arab scholars and thereafter was said to have spent a year in the desert in order to gain that purity of language in which the desert Arabs were considered preeminent.

In the 780s Abu Nuwas settled in Baghdad, where he soon became a great favorite and constant companion of the great Caliph Harun al-Rashid (785-809). Abu Nuwas' great literary talents earned him recognition as the greatest poet of his time and ever since he has been widely quoted by Arab scholars.

Collections of the verses of Abu Nuwas have attained totals of almost 5,000. A popular division of his verses has been under the following ten categories: 1) on wine; 2) on hunting; 3) eulogies; 4) satires; 5) on love of youths; 6) on love of women; 7) obscenities; 8) vilifications; 9) elegies; 10) on renunciation of the world. There is not yet any complete English translation of his verses.

An ardent homosexual, Abu Nuwas appears in the Arabian Nights collections in many places, usually in connection with homosexuality, his friend the Caliph being in no way prejudiced against these activities of Abu Nuwas. The best known of these tales is "Abu Nuwas and the Three Boys" (Nights 381/2).

Abu Nuwas was genial, cynically immoral and irreligious, and in his wine-songs and poems he drew on all the varied life of all classes of Baghdad. In his later days, however, Abu Nuwas affected great asceticism and moral reform.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 658.



JOHN XII (938-964)

Pope (955-64).

He was born in Rome, the son of Alberic II, a mercenary soldier's son who had exercised twenty-two years of energetic and just rule as *Patricius* over the so-called Republic of Rome,

though his influence extended to all parts of Italy not in the hands of his rival, Berengar of Ivrea, the self-proclaimed King of Italy. The family of Alberic's mother, noted for its ferocious and licentious women, had been providing for many years docile popes during this darkest part of the Dark Ages. However, one of these popes had been so little docile that after his election in 946 he had begun secret negotiations with Otto the Great of Germany and concluded by inviting him in 952 to come to Italy to be crowned Roman Emperor, a title that had lapsed upon the deaths of the heirs of Charlemagne (d. 814). It had taken all Alberic's adroitness to persuade Otto when he first entered Italy that the whole thing had been a big mistake and misunderstanding and that he should go back to Germany.

Alberic had first given his young son the name Octavian, for the period involved romantic yearnings about ancient Rome, and Alberic dreamed of founding a new dynasty that would recreate the Roman Empire. Toward his last years, however, Alberic decided it would be best to have the papacy in the family first, after which the temporal titles could be easily added. Accordingly, he began educating Octavian for the priesthood and made the Roman nobles swear to elect him pope when Agapetus II died.

Alberic himself died in 954, whereupon the 16-year-old Octavian was hailed as Prince of Rome. However, when Pope Agapetus II died the following year, the Roman nobles, delighted at the chance to make good their vow to Alberic and thereby rid themselves of a temporal ruler, saw to it that Octavian was elected pope. He took the apostolic name John, apparently the first time a different name was taken by a pope on his election. The new Pope John XII was seventeen.

Perhaps having discovered a biography of Elagabalus (q.v.) and taken him as a model, John turned the papal palace into the scene of gala homosexual orgies, and also of those pranks that had been so dear to the heart of Elagabalus. A child of 10 was made a bishop (if the pope was only 17, why not?), a deacon was consecrated in a stable, Venus and Jupiter were invoked by John for his special papal games, and drinks were downed to the devil's health.

All of these infamous acts of Pope John caused many nobles to

look to the powerful Berengar of Ivrea for assistance. Frightened by the imminent prospects of Berengar's advance on Rome, John sent a papal envoy to Otto the Great of Germany in 960, requesting his protection and promising him the imperial throne. Most anxious not to repeat the embarrassment of eight years earlier, of being invited to Rome by a pope and then being asked to go home by the temporal ruler, Otto could be reassured this time since they were both nominally the same person. Entering Italy again in 961, Otto vowed to defend the Church, restore her territories, and refrain from usurping the powers of the pope or of the so-called Roman Republic. On February 2, 962, Otto was crowned Roman Emperor and King of Italy by John, with pomp hitherto unseen by any living person. It was the beginning of the mediaeval Holy Roman Empire, generally of German dynasts.

John had taken an oath to Otto but soon began to regret the restrictions Otto's presence was imposing on his freedoms. He therefore joined his former enemy Berengar and many nobles in a patriotic conspiracy against Otto. As soon as Otto got word of the conspiracy, this papal treason, he returned to Rome and summoned a council which duly deposed John and replaced him by a hastily consecrated layman, who became Leo VIII. John went into hiding in Campania.

As soon as Otto left Rome, the Roman people forced Leo to flee, whereupon John, with a formidable company of friends and retainers, returned to Rome, convened a synod under his own presidency and formally deposed Leo, at the same time excommunicating Otto and his followers. Otto was hastening to Rome in anticipation of John restoring himself to the papal chair when he received news of John's sudden death, the cause of which was never clearly established.

In a short and licentious reign, John managed to introduce three developments of historic interest: 1) the restoration of the (Holy) Roman Empire, under German leadership; 2) the rivalry between emperor and pope as to which one had the ultimate right to depose the other and in fact the superior status; 3) the assumption of different names by newly elected Popes.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 665.

JOHN I (c. 925-976)

Byzantine emperor (969-76).

Born an Armenian, John was surnamed *Tzimiskes*, the Armenian word for the red boots by which he was distinguished after he embraced a military career. Since John's uncle was Nicephorus Phocas, who rose to be one of the most able of Byzantine generals, John was able to play a conspicuous role in his uncle's victorious campaigns against the Saracens in Crete, Cyprus, Asia Minor and Syria.

When the emperor Romanus II died in 963, Nicephorus Phocas married the widowed empress Theophano and usurped the throne from her infant sons, Basil II and Constantine VIII, the legal co-successors. At first John stood in high favor at his uncle's court, but as a result of an intrigue connected with his having allegedly become the lover of Theophano, he fell from favor in 969 and was deprived of his army command. A few months later, John took over the leadership of a conspiracy by some high officers and was successful. After inflicting on his dethroned uncle a slow and cruel death, John was proclaimed emperor, marrying Theodora, the daughter of Romanus II and Theophano, his alleged mistress. His infant brothers-in-law continued to be nominal co-emperors.

John endeared himself at once to the patriarch by repealing the repressive anti-clerical legislation of his uncle. In a series of brilliant campaigns, John proved himself one of the greatest of Byzantine generals. First in Europe he drove back the invading Russians beyond the Danube and annexed the eastern half of Bulgaria. Then in 974 in Asia John launched a massive attack on the Abbasid Caliphate, recovering most of Syria from the Saracens and reaching the gates of Jerusalem, where he was halted by forces brought up from Egypt. While massing his forces for a new campaign, John suddenly died at 51.

John was succeeded by the long-displaced Basil II, who took good advantage of John's energetic actions and, continuing his work, brought the Byzantine empire to one of its great peaks of grandeur, until at his death (1025) it extended from the Danube to the Euphrates.

Reference: Jahrbuch, 111.

OTTO III (980-1002)

German king (983-1002), Roman emperor (996-1002).

He was elected German king at the age of 3, a few days before the death of his father, Otto II. His able and energetic mother Theophano, sister-in-law of the Byzantine emperor John I (q.v.), served as regent until her death in 991. The equally able members of the succeeding regency council, including Otto's grandmother and some leading churchmen, provided for Otto the best of education, to which he responded so brilliantly as to be referred to as "the wonder of the world," an appellation usually reserved, however, for a successor some two centuries later, Frederick II (q.v.)

At 15 Otto was declared of age, after having accompanied his troops on expeditions against the Bohemians. In 996, at the invitation of the pope, Otto crossed the Alps and was elected King of the Lombards. When the pope suddenly died, Otto made his 24-year-old cousin Bruno the pope, as Gregory V. Bruno, or Gregory, responded by crowning Otto Holy Roman Emperor in 996, at the age of 16.

Shortly after Otto's return to Germany, his papal cousin was driven from the papal throne by an anti-German conspiracy. Otto returned to Italy in 998, stormed the defenses of the usurping pope, and restored his cousin to the papal throne. He then pushed into southern Italy to accept the homage of many princes. Cousin Bruno, or Pope Gregory, after having meanwhile achieved the great glory of bringing King Robert of France to his knees by the vigorous use of his power of excommunication, died suddenly, probably the victim of foul play.

Otto now made his brilliant ex-tutor, Gerbert of Aurillac, pope as Sylvester II, and settling in Rome, devoted himself to his dream of restoring the ancient Roman Empire. He built himself a splendid Roman palace and sought to revive many old ceremonies by a curious blend of the customs of ancient Rome, the contemporary Byzantine and German states, with a touch of Christian humility. Otto styled himself at various times "consul of the Roman senate and people," proposing restoration of the Senate and consulate, and at other times "the servant of Jesus Christ," and at yet other times used Byzantine titles.

Just to be of the safe side, since many people anticipated the end of the world with the year 1000, Otto affected a burst of

asceticism and did penance in various monasteries. In the summer of 1000 he made a pilgrimage to the tomb of his old friend Adalbert, a onetime Bishop of Prague who had become a missionary in Pomerania where he was killed by a pagan priest, and of course canonized, all only a few years previously. After this pilgrimage, Otto went to Aix (Aachen) to open the tomb of Charlemagne (d. 814) whom, according to the report, he found sitting upright on his throne, still wearing his crown and holding his sceptre.

Having decided the world was not after all coming to an end, Otto returned to Rome, where he was soon the target of more anti-German agitation by the Roman populace. For three days Otto was besieged in his palace; then, during a truce, he fled to a monastery near Ravenna. Shortly thereafter, having collected troops, Otto began a campaign against the ungrateful Romans. Suddenly in January, 1002, Otto died, probably a victim of poison by the widow of the rebellious pope-maker of 998 whom Otto had put to death.

By his own orders, Otto was buried at Aix (Aachen) beside Charlemagne. A few months later he was followed to the grave by his friend and partner in dreams of restored Roman grandeur, Pope Sylvester.

Reference, Jahrbuch, 111.



BENEDICT IX (1021- c. 1052)

Pope (1033-45; 1047-48).

The son of the Count of Tusculum, a city near Rome surviving from classical times, he was originally called Theophylactus. Following the death of the able and reforming French scholar installed by Otto III (q.v.) as Pope Sylvester II, the papacy had fallen into the hands of the Counts of Tusculum, who filled it with friends or relatives. Theophylactus, who had been preceded by one uncle as Benedict VIII and another as John XIX, was installed as pope at the age of 12 as Benedict IX.

Showing a remarkable resemblance to John XII (q.v.), and like him to Elagabalus (q.v.) of whom Benedict became a sort of Christian reincarnation, he devoted himself mainly to homosexual orgies, which might be considered a sort of variant of the general

jubilation and debauchery that swept the Christian world in the eleventh century upon discovery that the world was not to end after all in the year 1000.

Although hardly more prudish than the Romans of the third century, the Romans of the eleventh century found Benedict beyond tolerance and, after driving him out in 1044, installed a new pope. The people of Tusculum, however, were indignant at the insult offered to their boy, and after a few weeks forced his reinstatement. Deciding to make the most of his opportunities, which might be brief, Benedict began selling various rights and offices for cash, ultimately giving over his own rights, as though to a papal regent, to his godfather, the priest Johannes Gratianus, who took the papal name Gregory VI and had ambitions to reform the papacy.

In 1046 Emperor Henry III, disgusted with the whole mess, had a church council depose all three popes, installing instead a German bishop, who took the name Clement II. However, before the close of 1047, Clement II had died, probably from poison administered by Benedict IX, who once more ascended the papal throne. His debauchery and simony once more went beyond the extremes of tolerance and in 1048 he was again driven out of Rome, this time by the Marquis of Tuscany. He is believed to have died in obscurity several years later. He is perhaps the only pope of whom it can be said that nobody knew for sure what ever happened to him after his papal tenure.

It is believed that the actual cash handed to Benedict IX when he sold the papacy to his godfather came from England, according to new arrangements that had been made by the submissive King Canute when he visited Benedict's predecessor and uncle in Rome in 1027, while attending the imperial coronation (of Conrad II). This special English tax for the Church became known as Peter's Pence.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 659.



WILLIAM II (RUFUS) (c. 1056-1100)

King of England (1087-1100).

He was the second surviving son of William of Normandy, the bastard of Duke Robert of Normandy and a tanner's daughter

named Arletta. The older William, having survived a perilous childhood after his father's death (1035), had won his dukedom back from his turbulent barons in 1047, and in the 1050s routed the invading armies of King Henry of France, a former backer who had become suspicious of William's alliance with the rich Count of Flanders, whose daughter Matilda William married. Matilda was a descendant of the great English King Alfred the Great, and William's ambitions were made further clear when he extracted promises of the succession from his weak cousin, Edward the Confessor, King of England, and subsequently, in 1064, from the King's brother-in-law and strongman behind the throne, Harold of Essex.

In 1066, when Edward died and Harold reneged on his promise and seized the English throne himself, William persuaded his reluctant Norman barons to join him in the invasion of England. With the blessing of the pope, William landed in England on the very day that Harold was defeating his brother Tostig, William's ally, in the north. Having hastened south to meet William with his wearied troops, Harold was defeated and killed at Hastings, and William became William the Conqueror. After five or six years, all England had been subdued and William was able to devote his great abilities to reorganizing the administration of England, by an artful blend of the centralized Norman feudal system with the well-developed Anglo-Saxon local government system. William brought great prosperity to England and got his new Norman dynasty off to a fine start in England.

The younger William, called Rufus because of his bright red complexion, joined his father in England in his teens and became his favorite and constant companion. This helped to bring to a head the long-simmering bitterness between his father and his older brother, the future Duke Robert II (q.v.), bringing an actual civil war in Normandy in 1079, in the course of which single combat took place between father and son. On his deathbed, William the Conqueror forgave Robert to the extent of bequeathing him Normandy, leaving England to Rufus, who was crowned two weeks after his father's death.

William's first task was to suppress a rebellion led by his uncle, aimed at putting Robert on the English throne, as befitted the oldest son. Accomplishing this, William crossed to Normandy

to deal effectively with his weak-willed brother. After taking part of Normandy from him, he signed a treaty of peace, offering assistance in recovering parts seized by greedy neighbors. William then returned to England and moved north to force Malcolm III (the nemesis of Macbeth) to do him homage.

In 1093 William broke again with Robert and attacked him, having meanwhile bribed Robert's Norman barons to oppose him. King Philip of France was bribed to withdraw his support of Robert. All this bribery took a great deal of money, which William secured by exacting enormous sums from his British subjects on the flimsiest of excuses and selling church lands and church offices, over which he claimed power, to the highest bidder. More money was needed for the peace settlement, for William agreed to finance Robert's participation in the First Crusade, with Normandy pledged as security. William got the money by plundering English churches and seizing revenues such as those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm of Bec (who was to be canonized in 1494 by Alexander VI, q.v.). After Robert's departure, William seized Normandy.

In 1097 William returned to England and made an unsuccessful attempt to subdue the Welsh. He did better against the Scotch, forcing them after Malcolm's death to accept his own subservient candidate as their king, after dethroning Malcolm's brother. He also forced out of England his most fearless antagonist, Archbishop Anselm, who remained in Rome till after William's death. Seemingly more devoted to the ancestral Norman province than to England, William fought bitterly there in 1098-1099 to recover the adjoining province of Maine, which had recently rebelled from Norman suzerainty.

While hunting in the New Forest in England on August 2, 1100, William was assassinated by an arrow shot by unknown hands, the subject of Stevenson's novel *The Black Arrow*. At the time, William was negotiating with the Duke of Aquitaine to loan him money for joining the Crusade, with Aquitaine to be pledged as security. Doubtless, William would have raised the money by extortions from his English subjects surpassing all previous extortions.

An ardent and unapologetic homosexual, William was unwilling even to enter into a dutiful marriage. Somewhat in the

tradition of Nero (q.v.), Caligula, (q.v.), and Commodus (q.v.), he was violent, passionate, greedy and unscrupulous, but he also proved most energetic and able in his conflicts with his brother, with Anselm and with the Scotch. In seeming contrast to his behavior as a ruthless warrior, William also had another role which hardly won him more esteem. Dressed in the latest foppish fashions, his long locks framing a clean-shaven face, he would be found uttering alternately witty and blasphemous remarks surrounded by his giggling homosexual parasites, like a sort of feudal Oscar Wilde (q.v.), with no concessions to public decorum. His intimates included his nephew, Prince William, whose death in the sinking of the *White Ship* (1120) was viewed as a bit of tardy divine judgment, better late than never.

Under such royal inspiration, sodomy became quite fashionable in England and so widespread that the virtuous St. Anselm in 1102, soon after his return, urged an archdeacon not to try to be too harsh in dealing with sodomy since "hitherto this sin has been so public that hardly anyone has blushed for it, and many, therefore, have plunged into it without realizing its gravity." The virtuous St. Anselm himself, indeed, gave reasonable grounds for suspicion as a sublimated homosexual by some rather passionately affectionate letters to fellow monks in his younger days. So perhaps there may have been a scene one day in the course of the long and bitter feud between William and Anselm in which William said in effect, "Who do you think you're kidding, you old * * * ?"

William, dying a childless bachelor, was succeeded by his younger brother as Henry I, thus cheating Robert out of the English throne again. Both Henry's sons, at least one of them an intimate of William's, went down with the *White Ship* in 1120, so the throne went in turn to his sister's son Stephen, and then to his daughter's son, Henry II, the father of Richard the Lion-hearted (q.v.).

Reference: Ellis, 35, 40; Hirschfeld, 673.



ROBERT II (1054-1134)

Duke of Normandy (1087-1106).

The oldest son of William the Conqueror, and thus the older

brother of William II (q.v.), Robert was recognized in his boyhood as his father's successor in Normandy after William went off to England to become William the Conqueror. Dissatisfied with his seemingly subordinate status, Robert quarreled with his brothers in 1078 and revolted against his father. Obligated to flee into exile, he returned after a few months, raised some troops in civil war, harried the province, and in 1079 he slightly wounded his father in single combat at Gerberoi. However, he was quickly forgiven and passed several years in favor in England and Normandy.

Unfortunately for his future, Robert permitted himself to quarrel again with his brothers and his father shortly before the Conqueror's death (1087), so that William's deathbed forgiveness was limited to leaving Robert only Normandy. His younger brother William acted decisively in securing his grip on the English throne, getting himself crowned within two weeks and beating down a rebellion on Robert's behalf by their uncle.

Resigning himself to being just Robert II of Normandy, he proved rather ineffective even in that role, losing the province of Maine and quarreling with his younger brother Henry, whom he threw into prison. In 1089 William II invaded Normandy on Henry's behalf, but the homosexual brothers ended up by signing a treaty dividing up the lands of their heterosexual brother between them, and recognizing each other in their respective realms.

In 1093 and 1094, however, Robert again went to war with William, obtaining the backing of Philip I of France. William, however, managed to bribe Philip to withdraw his support, and he further bribed Robert's nobles to rebel against him, until another peace was arranged in 1096. By its terms, William loaned Robert 10,000 marks to finance his participation in the First Crusade, with Normandy pledged for security, William meanwhile acting as its regent. During the Crusade, Robert at last received recognition for both valor and chivalry. He participated in most of the famed actions, such as the Siege of Nicaea, the Battle of Dorylaeum (1097), the Battle of Antioch (1098) and the final epic Siege of Jerusalem (1099). Robert was even offered the throne of the new Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem but refused it.

Robert left Palestine for Normandy in 1100 and while en

route, William was assassinated by that Black Arrow. Although Robert was expected by all to claim the English throne, and was hailed in Italy as King of England, he found that his youngest brother Henry had seized it. Gathering an army, Robert invaded England in 1101 but on the eve of a battle, agreed to parlay with Henry at Alton. The result was that Robert allowed himself to be bought off by promises of a pension and a subsidy for wars on the continent, none of which was to be fulfilled by Henry.

The uneasy peace was shattered in 1102 when the English barons who had revolted against Henry, and suffered defeat, fled to Normandy, and with Robert's backing harried Henry's Norman domains. In 1105 Henry invaded Normandy and defeated Robert and his barons at Tinchebrai (1106). Robert was taken prisoner to England and confined for twenty-eight years, first in the Tower of London, then in the castles of Devizes and Cardiff. Robert Curthose, as he was known, died at the ripe old age of eighty in his comfortable captivity at Cardiff, only a year before Henry's death brought his long reign to an end.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 670.



MANUEL I (c. 1120-1180)

Byzantine emperor (1143-80).

The son of John II of the new Comnenus dynasty that had provided a degree of stability for the turbulent Byzantine Empire for the more than half a century, Manuel distinguished himself in his father's wars against the Seljuk Turks. Upon John's death, Manuel was chosen emperor in preference to his older brother. In the course of his long reign, Manuel proved himself to be one of the greatest of rulers in western history, though a far from lucky one. Of splendid physique and great courage, he was also an intellectual, a statesman and an idealist. During his reign, Constantinople became the virtual capital of the world and the center of its culture.

Aiming at reuniting the Western and Eastern Roman Empires as well as the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, Manuel gave high office to many Latin (i.e., Crusader) nobles and encouraged them to intermarry with the Greek aristocracy. Italian traders were

encouraged to establish their own communities in Constantinople.

Manuel began his reign with minor victories over the Turks and by the narrow avoidance of conflict with the arrogant leaders of the Second Crusade, whom he had allowed passage through his dominions. Their subsequent defeats made him none too unhappy. His first serious conflict was with the Normans of Sicily, who under Roger II spread their brilliant empire from central Italy and North Africa into Manuel's own domains, their fleet ravaging and raiding Greek islands and cities, including Athens, Thebes and Corinth. To deal with them, Manuel bought the support of the Venetian fleet and hired Italian mercenaries, with whom he attacked Sicily and southern Italy in 1151. Although he suffered some defeats, Manuel maintained his base there and combined his military activities with ardent intervention in Italian politics and papal elections. He used Byzantine wealth to provide support for the Italian cities against Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and made treaties with Pisa and Genoa against Venice, which had failed to give him the agreed support.

Manuel's Italian operations were interrupted between 1152 and 1154, when he offered stubborn opposition to the efforts of the Hungarians to establish control over the Balkan Slavs, and in the peace treaty, the Hungarians recognized Manuel's suzerainty rather than that of the German emperor. In 1161 the Seljuk Turks gave recognition to Manuel as *the* European emperor.

Another war with the Hungarians began in 1165, and during three years of fighting, Manuel drove them completely out of the Balkans, and by subsequent interference in Hungarian dynastic affairs, confirmed the vassalage of the Hungarian king.

In 1169 Manuel participated with the Latin King of Jerusalem in an unsuccessful expedition against Egypt, whose defenses were rallied by Saladin (q.v.). In 1170 Manuel's long anticipated war with the Venetians broke out in consequence of his assumption of increasing control over Dalmatia and part of Croatia. Manuel held his own until the Normans of Sicily gave their assistance to the Venetians; after that, the decline in his military fortunes was halted by the peace treaty (1176) which restored the status quo.

In the final war of his career against the Seljuks, the Byzantines suffered a serious defeat in 1176, but Manuel avenged it the

following year. However, his health began rapidly deteriorating, and demoralized by the realization of how small a part of his dreams he had accomplished with all his energetic actions, his military campaigns and his vast expenditures, a serious drain on the Byzantine state, Manuel died in 1180. He had been in a feverish and often delirious state for many months.

There is a striking resemblance between Manuel and Frederick II (q.v.) a few decades later, another tremendously impressive and outstandingly able ruler who by unfortunate circumstances and ill luck ended up by achieving little of consequence.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 667.



SALADIN (1138-1193)

Sultan of Egypt and Syria (1173-93).

Properly named Sala-ud-Din (Honoring the Faith), he was born at Tekrit in Mesopotamia. His father, a Kurd from Armenia, was in the service of the ruler of Mosul, and in the wake of his conquests was appointed governor of Damascus, a center of Moslem learning. Here young Saladin received the finest of education, both intellectual and practical.

Saladin's period was a particularly favorable one for empire-building in the Islamic world. Both the orthodox Caliphate of Bagdad and the heretical Sultanate of the Fatimites in Egypt were in decline, and the empire of the Seljuk Turks had also disintegrated. Even the Crusaders from the West, who had carved glorious states for themselves in the East after the capture of Jerusalem (1099), had become corrupt and weakened.

The enthusiasm of the Crusaders had brought a counter enthusiasm from the Moslems, for whom the Viceroy of Mosul had provided leadership in one "Holy War" after another. When Syria had been substantially unified, the Turks beaten and the Christian King of Jerusalem fought to a standstill, Saladin's master Nureddin was ready to try for the big prize, Egypt. He was further spurred in that direction by reports of the Christian King Amalric of Jerusalem having designs on it.

In 1164 Saladin accompanied his uncle, who commanded the expedition to Egypt. The intervention of the King of Jerusalem resulted in a series of duels between Saracens and Christians over

Egypt in 1164, 1167, 1168 and 1169, in the last of which the Byzantine Emperor Manuel (q.v.) participated. The Crusaders were generally worsted, and Saladin's uncle became the strong man of Egypt, the chief minister of the weak Sultan.

Upon his uncle's death in 1169, Saladin succeeded to his position in Egypt. Even after the death of the last Fatimite sultan in 1171, Saladin remained the tactful and loyal subordinate of Nureddin. However, when Nureddin himself died, supposedly on the point of moving against the too powerful Saladin in a fit of jealousy, Saladin at last made his bid for supreme power and proclaimed himself sultan (1173). Having defeated all opponents in Egypt, he marched on Damascus, at first in the name of Nureddin's heir. However, as stronghold after stronghold fell to Saladin, the heir was pushed into obscurity. In 1175 the Caliph of Baghdad, grateful for the restoration of hitherto heretical Egypt to the orthodox faith in the person of its new ruler, who practiced the orthodox faith, formally recognized Saladin as Sultan of Egypt, and informally of Syria.

After rounding out his conquests in Syria and Mesopotamia, leaving small pockets of Christian states, Saladin returned to Egypt in triumph in 1177 and commenced a great program of building everything from colleges to aqueducts to fortifications. For the next ten years he consolidated his power where it already was established, and extended it slowly into North Africa and Arabia. By 1186 Saladin was ready to strike for the great goal of his life, to drive all Christians out of the East.

A truce having been broken by one of the Christian leaders in 1187, Saladin attacked and won several minor victories and then inflicted a crushing defeat on the united Christian army at Hittin (1187), capturing Guy de Lusignan and Reginald de Chatillon. All Palestine was overrun by Saladin's forces, and by September Jerusalem was under siege. In October he negotiated a magnanimous peace, and after extending clemency to the Christians, entered Jerusalem in triumph, ending its eighty-eight years of Christian rule.

One city only was left to the Christians, Tyre, and it was to cost Saladin dearly that he failed to push on to subdue it. A force from Tyre set out to attack Acre, and this besieging Christian army was itself nearly surrounded by Saladin's forces. The siege

and countersiege before Acre continued two years.

Christendom was again roused, and the crusade that shares honors with the First Crusade as the best known and most glamorous crusade was launched. The Third Crusade was under the nominal leadership of far higher ranking personages than the First Crusade, i.e., Richard the Lion-hearted of England (q.v.), Philip Augustus of France and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The last one, Frederick, had started out with his German army and marched via Hungary and the Byzantine empire into Asia Minor where he was drowned in a freak accident while bathing in a river (1190), after which most of his Germans went home, except for the contingent under Leopold of Austria.

The two remaining leaders, Richard and Philip, both brought their forces by sea, and their personal rivalry and hostility, which had already manifested itself during winter quarters in Sicily, continued conspicuously at Acre, to Saladin's great advantage. Nevertheless, the gallant leadership of Richard was so effective that on July 12, 1191, just five weeks after his arrival on the scene, Acre fell after a two-year siege. But any hopes the Christians had of exploiting Richard's victory were shattered when the jealous Philip pulled his forces out and sailed back to France.

For more than a year, Saladin was obliged to keep his forces sparring with the energetic Richard, during which period their mutual esteem increased greatly. Although Richard won several victories, he finally saw the hopelessness of any further efforts to take Jerusalem. A treaty amicably negotiated between the two in September, 1192, left the Christians various coastal towns and allowed free access to Jerusalem. But by implication, it represented the death-blow to any further Christian hopes of restoring the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the triumph of Islam.

Richard returned to Europe (and his tragic imprisonment) and Saladin went back to Damascus, where he died within a year of illness, mourned by the whole Islamic world and admired by his former enemies in the West as a paragon of chivalry and honor.

Saladin's homosexuality was brought out in several episodes and references in the *Arabian Nights*, apparently indicating a venerable tradition. It is interesting to speculate to what extent

RICHARD I (THE LION-HEARTED) of ENGLAND 1180s

there may have been mutual homosexual recognition between Saladin and Richard and the part it may have played in their amicable negotiations, which at one point included a proposal of personal union by the marriage of Saladin's brother to Richard's sister.

Reference: Burton, 233; Edwardes, 247.



RICHARD I (the Lion-hearted) (1157-1199)

King of England (1189-99).

He was born the second son of the hot-blooded and dynamic Henry Plantagenet, who in 1154 had become Henry II of England. Richard's mother was an equally dynamic and colorful figure, Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine. After divorcing Louis VII of France, she married Henry in 1152 and thereby put him in possession of almost all western France. With his accession to the English throne two years later, Henry's empire was to extend from the western shores of Ireland to the heart of France.

The sons of Henry and Eleanor were each vested with nominal title to the chief parts of the empire, and Richard at 11 became Duke of Aquitaine, as befitted Eleanor's favorite son. At 15 he was formally installed and was soon asserting a great deal of independence of his father. In 1173 Richard joined his brothers in a rebellion against their father, instigated by Eleanor, who was now consumed with hatred for her two-timing husband. Two invasions by Henry were required before Richard submitted. He was promptly forgiven and reinstated, and in 1175 he crushed a feudal revolt of his own.

By the age of 18 Richard felt so powerful that he exacted homage from the Count of Toulouse, himself a great power in southern France. This inspired alarm from Richard's older brother Henry, who demanded that Richard do him homage. A fratricidal war broke out and Richard's vassals, long exasperated by his iron rule, rallied to the invading forces of his brother. Richard was saved by the intervention of their father. When young Henry suddenly died in 1183, Richard was heir apparent of the great empire.

In the light of his new position, Richard was called upon by his father to give up Aquitaine to his youngest brother, John. When Richard refused, war broke out again between father and

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son. Richard called on King Philip Augustus of France for aid, in return for which he did homage for all his continental possessions, a treasonable act from Henry's viewpoint. With Philip's aid, Richard succeeded in routing his father. Humiliated and forced to almost unconditional surrender by his son, Henry II survived only a few embittered months. On his death, Richard succeeded to the entire empire.

Richard's short-lived friendship with Philip Augustus came to an end when, after a number of quarrels, Richard refused to marry Philip's sister, his betrothed since childhood, on the grounds that his father had already had her. War almost resulted, but all such personal strife was put aside in the interests of the great project to which both Richard and Philip had committed themselves, along with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the liberation of Jerusalem from Saladin (q.v.). To raise money, Richard made one of his rare visits to England and by shamelessly selling offices and honors to the highest bidder (in some cases even withdrawing the grant but keeping the money), he raised the wherewithal for 100 transports and about 10,000 men. To raise some extra money, Richard agreed to marry Princess Berengaria of Navarre in return for the handsome dowry provided by her father.

Leaving his youngest brother John as his regent in England, Richard set off in 1190, heading first for winter quarters in Sicily, where his energies were divided between quarrels with Philip and trying to avoid marriage with the ardent Berengaria, who had followed him there and had his mother's support. In the spring of 1191 Richard left for Palestine, first stopping on the way to conquer Cyprus, which he promptly sold to the Lusignan family for more of that much-needed cash. Before leaving Cyprus, Richard gave up trying to put off Berengaria any longer and married her.

In June Richard finally debarked at Acre, which for two years had been besieged by the Christians, who in turn were nearly surrounded by Saladin's forces. Within five weeks, thanks largely to Richard's skill and energy, Acre surrendered. Two thousand Saracen prisoners were massacred by Richard, in marked contrast to the chivalrous treatment of Christian prisoners always extended by Saladin. Richard's arrogance gave great offence to both Philip

RICHARD I (THE LION-HEARTED) of ENGLAND 1180s

of France and Leopold of Austria, both of whom shortly withdrew. Emperor Frederick had died en route and most of his army had gone back to Germany.

Accepting the leadership of both the French and English forces, and the smaller miscellaneous contingents, Richard embarked on a series of brilliant campaigns, gaining several victories over Saladin's forces and coming within a few miles of Jerusalem. But due to both the strength of Saladin and the continual dissension among the Christians, it eventually became clear to Richard that the recapture of Jerusalem and the restoration of the Latin Kingdom were hopeless ambitions. After extensive amicable negotiation, favored by the mutual esteem between Saladin and himself (almost culminating in a marriage between Richard's sister and Saladin's brother), Richard signed a treaty with Saladin in September, 1192, whereby the Christians remained in possession of the coastal towns, with free access to Jerusalem. Richard had also solved another great problem when he finally persuaded Berengaria, who had followed him to Palestine, to get lost and go home.

Worried over reports that his brother John was negotiating a partition of his empire with Philip of France, Richard was anxious to get home as fast as possible but feared to take the natural route via Marseilles and Toulouse in view of Philip's enmity. Deciding to take a chance on crossing the domains of his lesser enemy, Leopold of Austria, Richard landed at Trieste in disguise and headed north. In December, 1192, however, while in Vienna, he fell into the hands of Leopold, who imprisoned him in the Castle of Dürenstein. According to a romantic chronicle that became popular in the thirteenth century, Richard's place of confinement was discovered by his faithful troubadour Blondel, who sang beneath castle after castle in Germany a song known only to himself and Richard, they being its joint composers. After Richard's answering refrain at Dürenstein made it possible for Blondel to reveal Leopold's secret, Emperor Henry VI forced Leopold to surrender Richard to him. Richard was forced to do homage to the Emperor for England and to agree to pay a huge ransom. England was taxed to the utmost for the first installments, some brand-new varieties of taxes being invented.

Finally released after two years of imprisonment, Richard

1180s *RICHARD I (THE LION-HEARTED) of ENGLAND*

appeared in England for a few weeks in March, 1194 (the presumable occasion of his appearance in *Robin Hood*), and after transferring all power from the hands of his villainous brother John to the capable and loyal Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard left England forever. It is estimated that this pride of Britain spent about a total of six months out of his ten-year reign in England, which really interested him only for its tax potential. From his great taciturnity of disposition, and perhaps his limited English vocabulary, Richard was nicknamed "Yea and Nay," a name apparently more familiar to his English subjects than Lionheart.

The remaining years of Richard's life were spent in typical petty feudal wars in which he defended his French domains with ever less success against rebellions of his vassals, financed by Philip of France. During this period he built the famous Château Gaillard, one of the finest examples of medieval military architecture, whose ruins still stand.

Richard died in 1199 from a wound in the shoulder from a crossbow bolt, which had festered after unskilful treatment. He had had only one more brief meeting with Berengaria, declining to live with her. She lived on for more than thirty years after Richard's death, founding a monastery. They of course had no children, and Richard was succeeded by his brother John, to be famous for granting the Magna Charta.

Something of a troubadour himself, Richard owes much of his lasting fame to the troubadours' romances about him. Although a brave soldier and an astute general, he did little or nothing to justify subsequent English pride in him, and was a total loss as a king of England, in marked contrast to the lasting contributions of his father.

As a homosexual, Richard was the original prototype, at least in Christian times, of the homosexual boxer, bullfighter, soldier of fortune type. The best-known homosexual attachment of Richard's was to Raife de Clermont, a young knight freed by him from Saracen captivity. As far as we've been able to determine, only one writer, a historical novelist, has unequivocally set down Richard as a homosexual. In her book she developed a most curious triangle: Blondel the Troubadour in vain loves Berengaria who vainly loves Richard who vainly loves Blondel.

Richard was the great-great-nephew of William II (q.v.), and Edward II (q.v.) bore the same relationship to himself, of possible genetic significance.

Reference: Lofts.



FREDERICK II (1194-1250)

Emperor (1220-50), King of Germany (1212-50), Sicily (1197-1250) and Jerusalem (1229-50).

He was born near Ancona in Italy, the son of Frederick Barbarossa's son, Henry VI. His mother, Constance, was the heiress of the Norman kingdom of Sicily (which included southern Italy). When Frederick was only 2, his father, the captor of Richard the Lion-hearted (q.v.), as part of his plan to make the German throne hereditary, had Frederick elected German king at Frankfurt. With Henry's sudden death in 1197 (allegedly poisoned in a conspiracy involving his wife and Pope Celestine III), his empire was thrown into a decade of civil war and chaos. Rivals for the royal and imperial thrones came and went, largely depending on the amount of support offered by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), who upon the death of Constance (1198) became Frederick's guardian and thereby regent of rich Sicily.

Frederick's early years were passed in the near-anarchy of Sicily, previously so orderly and prosperous. While his brilliant mind was absorbing abundantly the formal education bestowed on him, his relatively insignificant personal position and lack of any close supervision allowed him to assert a good deal of freedom of movement, which brought him into contact with all classes of the people, and indeed varied peoples of many languages and nationalities, for Sicily was then a very cosmopolitan country.

In 1208 Frederick was declared of age and crowned King of Sicily. A marriage was arranged for him by Pope Innocent with Constance of Aragon, widow of the King of Hungary. In 1211 Frederick's fortunes began rising further when a number of influential German princes, dissatisfied with Otto IV, met at Nuremberg, declared Otto deposed and invited the 17-year-old Frederick to bring the German and imperial thrones back to his Hohenstaufen family. Despite the opposition of the Sicilian nobles, Frederick received Pope Innocent's blessing as well as

his agreement to the election of Frederick's infant son Henry as King of Sicily, under papal suzerainty. After an adventurous journey, Frederick reached Germany in 1212. After being elected German king a second time and being crowned, Frederick continued to build up support in Germany by diplomatic charm and promises, avoiding a direct confrontation with Otto, who was finally dethroned in 1215 and then by his death in 1218 removed any need for bloodshed. By now Frederick had already begun to receive the nickname of *Stupor Mundi* (Wonder of the World).

After the death of Innocent III in 1216, Frederick was encouraged to a bold assumption of power, for the new pope, Honorius III, had been Frederick's own tutor. Looking beyond his own lifetime as his father had, Frederick brought his young son, already King of Sicily, to Frankfurt to be elected German king in the spring of 1220, violating his pledge to keep the two crowns separate. By the end of 1220 Frederick had been crowned Emperor at Rome.

Putting off for a time his promise to lead a crusade, he turned next to restoring order in Sicily. By stern and cruel measures he suppressed the anarchy of the barons, curbed the power of the cities and subdued the rebellious Saracens, who formed part of Sicily's population and became very devoted to the Arab-speaking Frederick. By 1225 Sicily was once more orderly and flourishing. Attempts by Frederick to bring the cities of northern Italy under imperial authority again were less successful, the Pope mediating in favor of the status quo.

Having meanwhile lost his first wife and married Isabelle of Brienne, the heiress of the titular Kingdom of Jerusalem, Frederick was given thereby a strong push towards his long-deferred crusade. Although it might have seemed more appropriate to direct any crusade at this time against the Mongols, who were pressing into central Europe, Frederick, calling himself King of Jerusalem, sailed for the East in 1227. Illness obliged him to return at once. Threatened with excommunication by an unfriendly pope, Frederick sailed again in 1228 on his "crusade," actually more like a state visit to the East. At Jaffa Frederick achieved by peaceful negotiation with Malik al-Kamil, Sultan of Egypt and nephew of Saladin (q.v.), a ten-year peace with the grant of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and a corridor from Jerusalem to the

sea. Opposed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Frederick had to crown himself King of Jerusalem in 1229. It was to remain in Christian hands but fifteen years, until 1244.

Frederick learned that meanwhile the hostile Pope Gregory IX, who had denounced his treaty, had taken advantage of his absence to initiate a crusade against Frederick's Sicilian Kingdom, with papal mercenaries ravaging the countryside. Frederick quickly expelled the papal forces and threatened to retaliate by invading the pope's own domains. A status quo peace was signed between Frederick and Pope Gregory in 1230.

Having subdued Sicily once again, Frederick imposed upon it by the Constitutions of Melfi (1231) a centralized, absolute monarchical system about four centuries ahead of its time. An expert royal bureaucracy was to exercise the rights and duties previously exercised by nobles and municipalities, justice being dispensed in royal courts, and taxes and customs, in fixed amounts, to be collected according to an efficient system. Provisions were made for the special training of royal officials at the University of Naples. The towns were given substantial self-government and were to send representatives to a periodic diet.

In Germany, however, which Frederick had largely left to his son Henry, the feudal privilege which he had encouraged in order to win support remained stronger than ever, with local princes virtually sovereign, and imperial authority limited to ever dwindling areas. Frederick was also faced with contempt for his authority in the imperial cities of northern Italy.

Seeing that he couldn't subdue both these areas at the same time, he applied himself first to winning over the Germans. When Frederick found the policies of his son diverging from his own, he gave his son stern warning. When Henry threw in his lot with the Italian cities, Frederick crushed their revolt (1235) and threw Henry into prison, where he committed suicide in 1244.

Now at the height of his power and prestige and on good terms with the pope and with the Kings of France and England (as his third wife Frederick had taken Isabella, daughter of King John of England), Frederick decided to finish up his relatively minor opponents. In 1237, interpreting some actions of the Duke of Austria as hostile, Frederick invaded and conquered his territories and then had his son Conrad, Duke of Swabia, elected

German king in Vienna (1237). That same year Frederick defeated and subdued the cities of northern Italy.

Alarmed by the growth of Frederick's power, and especially outraged by the seemingly insignificant fact of the marriage of Frederick's illegitimate son Enzo to the heiress of Sardinia, Pope Gregory began launching fulminations against Frederick, and when they were ignored, excommunicated him for a second time (1239), allied himself with the Lombard cities and began a battle of pamphlets in which Frederick was painted as a rake, heretic and anti-Christ. Frederick countered with a demand for the reform of the Church and appealed to the monarchs of Europe for a league of princes to keep the papacy in line. Gregory countered this in 1241 by calling for a synod to depose Frederick.

Reluctant to hold back any further against this extreme provocation, Frederick ravaged papal territory, almost capturing Rome. On the sea his naval forces captured a shipload of prelates on the way to the synod called by Gregory. All Frederick's troubles seemed to be suddenly over with the death of Pope Gregory. Frederick spent two years next trying to secure the election of a friendly pope. The eventual choice, Innocent IV, turned out to be much worse from Frederick's viewpoint than Gregory IX. Meanwhile, however, Europe had been saved from the Mongols who went home to elect a successor to Ogotai.

In 1244 Frederick, unable to get the new pope's support for his scheme to apply centralized absolutism to the Lombard cities of northern Italy, threatened to attack him on papal territory. Innocent fled to Lyons in France, where in 1245 he convened a synod which deposed Frederick as emperor and excommunicated him, calling on the Germans to revolt and elect a new king. The offers of conciliation by Frederick himself, by Saint-King Louis IX of France, and others were rebuffed by Pope Innocent. As a sort of last ace, Innocent now unleashed his Franciscan and Dominican orders in a propaganda war against Frederick. There was now a call for a crusade against Frederick.

Rival kings plunged into civil war in Germany, but the German clergy remained faithful to Frederick. His chief troubles were in Italy, where he punished a plot to assassinate him with ruthless vengeance and cruelty. He even suspected his closest intimate,

Piero della Vigna, of being implicated in the conspiracy. He was arrested, blinded, and in rags dragged in the emperor's train till he dashed out his brains and died a suicide (1249). Another great personal loss was the capture and imprisonment by his enemies of Frederick's beloved bastard son, Enzo.

In 1248 Frederick suffered a terrible defeat after a long siege of Parma. While he himself was hunting, a sortie from the city attained incredible successes: the capture of the imperial treasury, his ministers, and even of his crown, which was put on the head of a hunchback beggar.

Fighting valiantly to hold onto his remaining sources of power, Frederick died suddenly of illness. All his work was to be shortly undone, and his dynasty soon to end with the tragic death of his grandson Conradin (q.v.).

The astounding character of Frederick, brilliant genius and ruthless tyrant, genial and charming, pitiless and arrogant, and his amazing life story has made his career like a Greek tragedy. He knew six languages, mathematics and natural history, and took an interest in medicine and architecture. He had at his court Christian, Moslem and Jewish scholars. He himself wrote a treatise on falconry, collaborated with della Vigna on the first Italian poetry, and he gave Sicily in 1231 a code of laws referred to as "the fullest and the most adequate body of legislation promulgated by any western ruler since Charlemagne."

Frederick was married four times and had an oriental-type harem complete with eunuchs. He was also believed to have carried on for many years a homosexual relationship with his intimate friend Piero della Vigna, at least until his ill-tempered ruination of della Vigna. He was also partial to some Moorish slave-boys, notably one Johannes Maurus.

Reference: Deiss; Time, Mar. 8, 63: 105.



CONRADIN (1252-1268)

Titular King of Jerusalem and Sicily (1262-68).

The last of the great Hohenstaufen dynasty of kings and emperors, Conradin was born at Wolfstein in Bavaria, his mother's land. Conradin was the son of Conrad IV, the son and successor of the brilliant but unlucky Frederick II (q.v.), after whose death Conrad was obliged to continue the struggle to the

death between the Hohenstaufen dynasty and the papacy. Due to papal machinations, Conrad was driven out of Germany, where a rival king was set up in 1251. Leaving his pregnant wife Elizabeth behind at her native Bavarian court, Conrad went south to establish himself in the other part of his inheritance, Sicily and southern Italy. Unwilling to leave even this to the hated scion of the hated dynasty, Pope Innocent IV excommunicated him and invited in succession one or another of various foreign princes, English or French, to "crusade" against him and take over southern Italy and Sicily. Conrad was getting ready to repel such an invasion when he died in 1254.

Conrad's half-brother, Manfred, succeeded in reestablishing the family and was crowned King of Sicily in 1258. He was thought of as an Italian rather than a German and exercised great influence throughout Italy. Although Innocent IV had died in 1254, his successors continued much the same policy. Finally, Charles of Anjou, brother of Saint-King Louis IX of France, agreed to undertake a "crusade" and to accept Manfred's kingdom under papal suzerainty. In the ensuing struggle, Manfred was defeated and killed (1266).

Meanwhile Conradin, who had been only 2 when his father died, had been raised in Bavaria and was growing up "beautiful as Absalom." He was only 14 when his Uncle Manfred died, the victim of unrelenting papal hatred of his family. The pope had already forbidden Conradin's election as German king, and there seemed no hope of his getting the imperial title held by his forebears. But his guardians had already assumed for him the titles of King of Jerusalem and Sicily (though his uncle Manfred held Sicily firmly). and in 1262 he took possession of the original family domain, the duchy of Swabia in southwest Germany. After Manfred's death (1266) envoys came to Conradin from Italian cities asking the beautiful teenager to free Italy from the hated French invaders. He agreed.

After crossing the Alps at fifteen, Conradin issued a manifesto at Verona setting forth his claims in Italy and Sicily. Though deserted by his uncle Louis, Duke of Bavaria, and other Germans, and denounced by the pope, Conradin was welcomed by partisans all over Italy who took to arms successfully on his behalf. He was welcomed at Pavia and then at Pisa. A fleet acting on his

behalf defeated the fleet of Charles of Anjou. Although the pope excommunicated him in 1267, Conradin made a triumphant appearance even in Rome in July, 1268.

In August, his forces strengthened, Conradin marched against Charles, and when he encountered the enemy troops at Tagliacozzo, east of Rome, he seemed at first to have won. But his troops lost all order in their desire for plunder and victory thereby went to the French. Conradin had to flee.

He went first to Rome, but persuaded of the greater danger there arising from papal hatred, he moved on to the coastal town of Astura, accompanied at all times by his close friend and lover, Frederick of Baden. His refuge in the Castle of Frangipani was betrayed to Charles, who captured him, took him to Naples, tried him as a traitor, and to the horror of all Europe, had him beheaded on October 29. Conradin was sixteen and a half at the time of his execution. His lover, Frederick of Baden, titular Duke of Austria, accompanied Conradin voluntarily to the scaffold.

The remains of the two lovers rest in the church of the monastery of Santa Maria del Carmine at Naples, where a marble statue to Conradin's memory was executed by the great sculptor Thorwaldsen in 1847, on commission from the Crown Prince of Bavaria. Two songs written by Conradin were found extant in a collection at Heidelberg.

Reference: Eekhoud, 46; Mayne, 191, 238.



SADI (1184-1291)

Persian Sufic poet and writer.

He was born at Shiraz in Persia and, despite his extensive travels, spent much of his life at Shiraz, which contains his tomb, still a center of attraction for tourists. Quite young at the death of his father, Sadi was taken under the protection of the Regent of Fars, who sent him to study at Baghdad, where he remained thirty years (1196-1224). He early distinguished himself as a scholarly writer, and after mastering all the dogmas of Islam, studied philosophy and especially the mystical Sufic tenets.

Sadi was noted for his extensive travels, all in the interest of acquiring the greatest possible knowledge of the world. After leaving Bagdad, he ranged as far north as Kashgar in Turkestan,

as far east as Delhi in India, and as far south as Yemen in Arabia and Abyssinia in Africa. Some of his travels, especially to India, took the form of flight before the advancing Mongol hordes of Genghiz Khan, by which he was almost caught when visiting Isfahan. From Africa Sadi made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, then went to Syria, where he settled at Damascus for some time. Later he lived awhile at Baalbek, where he secured a reputation as an orator to match that as a writer. At last wearied of urban life, Sadi went to the desert near Jerusalem to try solitary life. Here he was taken captive by a troop of crusader soldiers, who brought him to Tripoli and made him dig trenches for their fortifications.

A rich friend in Aleppo having learned of Sadi's plight as a slave of the Christians, he was ransomed and subsequently married his host's daughter. Some years later, unable to stand his quarrelsome wife any longer, he abandoned her and set off on his travels again, this time throughout North Africa and then Asia Minor. Finally, around 1254, at the age of 70, Sadi returned from his adventurous travels to his native Shiraz, and except for more pilgrimages to Mecca, made it his home for his remaining years, which turned out to be yet quite a few. Devoting himself to both mystical contemplation and poetic composition, he lived on until he was 107.

The works for which Sadi is most renowned were composed in his seventies, shortly after his return to Shiraz, which narrowly escaped destruction by the Mongols, then at the peak of their terror in the Near East. As a result of his wide travels and his keen insight into human character that he observed in so many forms and in so many places, Sadi was able to turn out three masterworks. In 1257 he published his *Bustan* ("Fruit Garden"), a long didactic poem divided into ten chapters dealing with philosophic and religious questions and abounding in ethical maxims.

Sadi's most popular work, the *Gulistan* ("Rose Garden") appeared in 1258. Basically it is a prose work in eight chapters, interspersed with numerous verses, tales and anecdotes. Written in a lively and varied style and full of practical wisdom and *bon mots*, it has been perhaps the most perennially popular Persian literary work.

Also in 1257 Sadi published his *Divan*, a collection of lyrical verses called *ghazels* which have been the subject of embarrassment and false renderings by many translators, since his love poetry was mostly concerned with youths rather than maidens. Homosexual love is also dealt with in Chapter 5 ("Of Love and Youth") of the *Gulistan*, the tales however pointing to some moral.

Although Sadi's poetic talents have been considered as lacking the easy grace and melodious charm of Hafiz (q.v.) and the overpowering grandeur of Rumi (q.v.), the pathos and honesty of his work has made him a greater popular favorite than his two great rivals. Many additional less celebrated works in prose and verse occupied Sadi's final years.

At his death Sadi was said to have left his entire fortune to a beautiful boy he loved greatly.

Reference: Edwardes, 250; Mayne, 292; Moll, 38-39.



RUMI (1207-73)

Persian Sufic poet.

Properly Jalal ed-Din Rumi, he was born at Balkh in Khorasan, of a family claiming descent from Caliph Abu Bakr, Mohammed's father-in-law and successor as first caliph. In 1212, when Rumi was 5, his father, a scholar, left his native land to avoid impending trouble with its ruler, moving first to Armenia, then into Asia Minor, finally settling at Iconium (modern Konya), capital of the Seljuk Turk state of Rum (Roum), whence he derived his familiar name. Here Rumi received most of his very extensive education.

After his father's death (1231), Rumi went south to Aleppo and Damascus for further study, but, dissatisfied with the state of learning there, returned to Iconium, where he became a professor at its college, teaching a mystic theosophy, the first taste of which he had had from his father. Rumi came completely under the influence of a visiting mystic from Persia, devoted to the mystic Sufi sect of Islam. When this man became the victim of a popular insurrection and was killed, Rumi in disgust with the world went off to found a monastic order of dervishes.

Rumi's order, subsequently famed for its piety, its music and

its dances (which were tied in with its mystic philosophy about a personal union with Allah), continued with many cloisters into recent times, remaining under the leadership of Rumi's descendants.

In honor of his monastic order and its tenets, Rumi began writing poetry, and he was ultimately inspired to produce an immense collection of ethical and moral precepts in verse. The suggestion was said to have been made to him by his beloved disciple Hasan, who in 1258 became his chief assistant. In the remaining years of his life Rumi dictated his verse masterwork, *The Spiritual Mesnevi*, to Hasan. He died shortly after its completion, being succeeded by Hasan as grand master of the order.

Reference: Mayne, 292; Moll, 39.



BRUNETTO LATINI (c. 1230- c. 1294)

Italian philosopher, scholar and diplomat and tutor of Dante.

He was born and raised in Florence during the struggle to the death between the imperial Hohenstaufen dynasty (whose Italian adherents were known as Ghibellines) and their enemies, led by a succession of popes in Italy and the powerful Welf family in Germany (whose Italian adherents were known as Guelphs). Almost all of Italy was caught in the perpetual civil war between the two factions (probably including the originals of the families of Romeo and Juliet). Latini, although devoted to a life of scholarship, was committed to the Guelph faction.

When in 1260 Manfred of Sicily, uncle of Conradin (q.v.) and son of Frederick II (q.v.), with the aid of the Florentine Ghibellines and those of Siena inflicted a great defeat on the Florentine Guelphs at Montaperti, Latini had to flee for his life. He wound up as an exile in France until 1268, when the tragic death of Conradin brought a temporary collapse of the Ghibelline cause in Italy. During his French exile, the multilingual Latini wrote in Old French the major work of his life, an encyclopedia in three books called *Li Livres dou Tresor*, usually known by the name of its Italian translation as the *Tesoro*.

Book I of the *Tesoro* covered the origin of the world (Biblical history, foundations of states, geography and natural history). Book II covered morality, mainly the ethics of Aristotle (q.v.)

and later ethical philosophers. Book III, on politics, ranges from the views on rhetoric of Cicero down to the political systems of contemporary Italian states, and in the latter connection was believed to have greatly influenced Machiavelli (q.v.).

Also written by Latini during his French exile was a poem in Italian called the *Tesoretto*, of an allegorical and didactic nature. The author professes to be lost in the wilderness and to meet a lady, who is Nature, from whom he receives much instruction. This framework was of course to influence Latini's famous pupil.

Returning to Italy in 1268 with the triumph of his Guelph faction, Latini was given many high offices successively for twenty years, including the post of ambassador to the culture-minded Alfonso X of Castile. Some time early in the 1280s, Latini became tutor to the brilliant son of an eminent Florentine lawyer, Dante Alighieri. Latini infused in him a love and mastery of Virgil (q.v.), Horace (q.v.), Statius and other classic poets. Dante remained Latini's friend for the remainder of his life, but this did not prevent Dante from naming Latini in Canto 15 of his *Inferno* as the most distinguishable inhabitant of the homosexual area of Hell.

The finest tribute to Latini came from the Florentine historian Villani, who wrote, "He was a great philosopher and a consummate master of rhetoric, not only in knowing how to speak well, but how to write well . . . He both began and directed the growth of the Florentines, both in making them ready in speaking well and in knowing how to guide and direct our republic according to the rules of politics."

Reference: Dante, 62.



EDWARD II (1284-1327)

King of England (1307-27).

He was born at Carnarvon Castle, the son of one of England's great warrior-kings, Edward I. He became the first Prince of Wales, though at 17 and not at birth as a legend has it (Edward I, mocking the demands of the conquered Welsh for their own prince, holding up his baby and saying, "Here's your prince!"). In fact he was not heir presumptive at birth, having an older brother who died a few months later.

Despite all his father's efforts to make him into a tough young man, Edward grew up rather effeminate with a couldn't-care-less attitude about war and statecraft. In 1298, when Edward was only 14, his father gave him as a companion the orphaned son of a Gascon knight who had served the king well. King Edward's expectation that the handsome and virile 16-year-old youth named Piers Gaveston (q.v.), would exert a splendid influence on his son turned out to be one of the biggest mistakes of his life. As it turned out, the influence was to be much the same as that of Frederick of Baden on the Hohenstaufen heir, Conradin (q.v.), some twenty years before Edward's birth.

Increasingly disturbed to find that if young Edward had indeed become more interested in developing a fine, strong body, he had also become more extravagant and frivolous, and that there were strange rumors of his relations with Piers, Edward I banished Piers in 1307. A few months later, however, the old king died and as one of his first acts, Edward II recalled his beloved Piers from exile, gave him lands and wealth galore, created him Earl of Cornwall, and he even brought him into the royal family by marriage with Edward's niece. When early in 1308 Edward had to go to France to marry Princess Isabel, he left Piers behind as his regent, to the outrage of the English barons.

Under pressure from both his strong-willed wife and his barons, Edward consented later that year to a semi-banishment of Piers, by making him viceroy of Ireland. In 1309, however, Edward secured agreement to Gaveston's return as a *quid pro quo* for some baronial privileges. Shortly thereafter, as a result of Gaveston's continued arrogant behavior, the queen and the barons once more united against Edward. In 1310 he was forced to accept the supervision of a committee of twenty-one lords, whose reform ordinances, confirmed by Parliament in 1311, included the perpetual banishment of Gaveston. When after this supposedly final banishment Gaveston was persuaded, at Edward's urging, to return yet once more, the barons took to arms, gained the victory and beheaded Piers Gaveston in 1312.

The reform ordinances had included baronial consent to all royal appointments, and as the barons split into jealous rival factions, an increasing amount of anarchy developed. At just about this time Scotland, after much oppression by Edward's predeces-

sors, was being reunited by Robert Bruce, who had proceeded to get revenge for Scotland's wrongs by devastating northern England. To stop this, and to save England's last remaining fortress in Scotland, Edward was compelled to take the field. The confused state of affairs in England now told in the military arena also, and at Bannockburn (1314) Edward's English army was disastrously defeated.

Finding at last the justification for exerting royal authority against the barons, Edward turned to a new favorite, or rather a father-and-son pair of favorites, the sexual implications presumably applying only to the son. The elder Hugh le Despenser, a prominent jurist and soldier under Edward I, had loyally supported Gaveston and thereby earned a place as Edward's trusted adviser. The younger Hugh le Despenser (q.v.) had as his first major assignment to try to replace Piers Gaveston, though he appeared to lack Piers' physical charms. Young Hugh, as it happened, was married to Eleanor de Clare, the sister of Piers' widow, and thus also a niece of Edward II. With the competent new team, Edward's position was greatly strengthened. Although he yielded in 1322 to the demands of the barons, once more in arms, for the banishment of the Despensers, Edward recalled them the following year, defeated his enemies and executed their leader. The ordinances of 1311 were repealed by Parliament on the grounds that the Commons had not given their consent, which was to be a landmark in constitutional development.

In the course of Edward's triumph in 1323, he had imprisoned in the Tower of London his wife's lover, the Earl of Mortimer, and the course of England's history was now to be affected as greatly by this illicit heterosexual romance as it had been by the King's homosexual affairs. In 1324 Isabel secured the escape of Mortimer, and when he fled to France, all her thoughts were directed to joining him.

In 1325, with another war looming between France and England over the English possessions in the southwest third of France, Isabel secured Edward's consent to her going to France to try to smooth out the crisis. She took with her their son and heir, the future Edward III. After shamelessly renewing her affair with Mortimer in Paris, Isabel married her teenage son to a girl he was conveniently fond of, the daughter of the wealthy Duke

of Hainault and thereby secured money and troops for an invasion of England.

In 1326 Isabel, Mortimer and young Edward landed with their army and at once received the support of most of the powerful barons, who hated the Despensers as much as they had Gaveston, for the Despensers, besides being insatiably greedy for lands and wealth, had committed the further outrage of cultivating good relations with the Commons. Edward's followers deserted him. In October he fled London for the Despenser estates in the west of England. Isabel and Mortimer followed. After the Despensers were caught and executed, Edward was himself taken prisoner on November 16 and imprisoned in Kenilworth castle. In January, 1327 Parliament met at Westminster and, adapting itself to new masters, chose Edward's 14-year-old son as Edward III. Thereupon Edward II was persuaded to abdicate.

Isabel and Mortimer, however, who of course took over the actual government, still felt insecure. The liquidation of Edward II was left to trusted henchmen of Mortimer's. In April Edward was secretly removed from Kenilworth and taken as brutally as possible to Mortimer's castle at Berkeley. Despite all the willfull ill-treatment, that healthy body Edward had developed in his youth to please Gaveston stood up splendidly to all the punishment. Finally, Mortimer got Isabel to sign a document with the Latin wording *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*, which was supposed to mean, with the comma in the right place, "Edward kill not, to fear the deed is good." With a slight change in comma, it became "Edward to kill fear not, the deed is good." Such, in any case, was the rationalization for Isabel's apparent written consent to her husband's murder.

The method chosen for murdering Edward II, apparently intended as just retribution for his sins, was rather fantastic and also, until recent times, rather unprintable. On September 21, 1327 he was put on his back on a table, with his trousers removed and his legs pulled back to his chest, then held down by several sturdy men. A hollowed-out horn pipe was then inserted *per anum* and a red-hot poker inserted through the horn pipe. When the pipe was pulled back slightly, Edward died after a few moments of indescribable agony and screaming, but without a mark being left outside the body to indicate violence. It was announced that

Edward II had died of natural causes, and he was buried at Gloucester, where his son erected a magnificent tomb.

Three years later Edward was avenged by his young son. In October, 1330, Edward III, not yet 18 but already married and a father (of the Black Prince), entered Nottingham castle at night by a secret passage with picked followers, captured Mortimer, executed him the following month and put his mother into confinement for her remaining eighteen years.

Edward II, despite his homosexuality, unlike William II (q.v.) and Richard I (q.v.), faithfully performed his royal stud duties and was the father of two boys and two girls. Through his oldest son, Edward III, who had seven children with numerous progeny who intermarried with the gentry, he is an ancestor not only of all English kings and queens since his time (and inevitably of continental royalty as a result) but also of several million persons in the western world descended from the English gentry.

Reference: Bulliet, 101; Ellis, 35, 40; Hirschfeld, 661; Moll, 48.



PIERS GAVESTON (c. 1282-1312)

Franco-English courtier and statesman.

The orphaned son of a faithful Gascon knight in the French realm of Edward I, Gaveston was brought over to England in 1298 to become the companion of the king's effeminate 14-year-old son, the future Edward II (q.v.). It had been expected that the virile Gascon youth would exert a beneficial influence on the prince, but his influence turned out to be much the same as that of Gordianus on Elagabalus (q.v.). Edward fell madly in love with Gaveston, who came to dominate him completely. Although Edward was indeed persuaded to develop a manly body to please his lover, this appeared to be the only change in the direction of manliness. Endless extravagances and frivolities were committed by the pair until, in 1307, the enraged Edward I banished Gaveston.

A few months later, Edward I died and Gaveston's friend became Edward II. As one of his first acts, Edward recalled Gaveston, created him Earl of Cornwall and made him his chief adviser. The more opposition Edward's favor to Gaveston provoked, the more Edward sought to do for him. He showered

wealth and lands on his beloved and made him a relative of the royal family by marrying him to his niece, Margaret de Clare, an heiress of the Earl of Gloucester.

Gaveston, distinguished in every way, even in superior skill in tournaments, infuriated the jealous barons with his haughty and arrogant manners. The final outrage, from the viewpoint of the barons, occurred in 1308 when Edward left Gaveston as English regent while visiting France to get married. Shortly after Edward's return, the barons joined with Edward's new wife, the strong-willed Isabel, in demanding Gaveston's banishment. Edward settled for making Gaveston his viceroy in Ireland, where he remained about a year (and did very well).

In 1309 Edward secured the consent of the leading barons to Gaveston's return, in exchange for the grant of certain privileges. More arrogant than ever, Gaveston aroused the old jealousies and hatred. Led by Edward's wife Isabel and his nephew Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the barons finally determined to act conclusively against him much as their ancestors had against his great-grandfather, King John, in 1214. Edward was forced in 1310 to accept a committee of twenty-one lords whose reform ordinances, confirmed by Parliament in 1311, included the perpetual banishment of Piers Gaveston. He retired to Flanders.

In 1311, yielding to the pleas sent him by Edward, Gaveston returned to England, and the overjoyed Edward at once restored to his "brother Piers" all his lands, titles and offices. The barons at once took to arms for a showdown with the king. The royal forces had the worst of it and Gaveston surrendered to the Earl of Pembroke, from whom he was subsequently seized by the Earl of Warwick. Gaveston was taken to Warwick Castle and there beheaded in June, 1312.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 661; Moll, 48.



HUGH LE DESPENSER (THE YOUNGER) (c. 1285-1326)

English statesman.

Young Hugh's father, likewise named Hugh, had fought for Edward I in all his campaigns, and apparently always enjoying a warm relationship with the future Edward II (q.v.), loyally supported him and Piers Gaveston (q.v.) in their first trouble

with the barons in 1308. Young Hugh, who in 1306 married Eleanor de Clare, one of the heiresses of the Duke of Gloucester (whose sister Margaret was married to Piers Gaveston), had first thrown in his lot with the barons. In his greed and rapacity, which matched that of his bitchy wife and lasted his whole life, Hugh saw Piers only as a rival claimant for lands his wife might inherit.

Although his father had become Edward's chief adviser after Gaveston's execution (1312) and had increased his influence steadily after the disastrous Battle of Bannockburn (1314), young Hugh did not desert the baronial cause until 1318. It had apparently been noted that Edward seemed to see possibilities in Hugh as a personal successor to Piers, despite his apparent inferior physical charms. Young Hugh was urged by both his father and his wife to make the most of this, and in due course young Hugh apparently became Edward's lover.

Aside from jealousies arising over their undue influence with Edward, the Despensers were constantly embroiled in quarrels with the barons as a result of their rapacity for lands and wealth. The barons now united against the Despensers as they had against Gaveston and in 1321 forced Edward to banish them. But while his father left, young Hugh never did leave, and in 1322 he persuaded Edward to revoke the banishment. When the barons took to arms, they were defeated in 1322, and their leader executed.

From 1322 to 1326 Hugh and his father were the real rulers of England, and while their rule was commendably moderate and constitutional on the political level, with the Commons carefully consulted, their greed alienated more and more of the barons. When Isabel returned with her army in 1326, the Despensers were the first targets. Edward being deserted by his followers, the Despensers were seized. The younger Hugh was hanged in November, 1326, a month after his father suffered a like fate.

Reference: Moll, 48.

JOHN XXII (1249-1334)

Pope (1316-34).

Originally named Jacques Duèse, he was born at Cahors, France, of prosperous middle-class or petty nobility stock. After being educated by the Dominicans at Cahors, he studied law at Montpellier and at Paris both law and medicine. Subsequently, he spent a number of years teaching at Cahors, and later at Toulouse.

While at Toulouse Duèse became intimate with its bishop, Louis of Anjou, son of Charles II of Naples (of the Angevin dynasty that had seized the throne of Conradin, q.v.). Thanks to his influential friend, Duèse was made Bishop of Fréjus by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300, beginning in his fifties a church career that was to project him into the papal throne in less than a score of years.

Boniface VIII, an able but preposterously arrogant pope who aimed to put the Kings of England and France in their place, was completely undone by the rising tide of nationalism and the increasing contempt for the corruption of the Church. In 1303 Philip IV of France, who had defied Boniface with the backing of his people, sent an expedition to Rome whose leader actually arrested Boniface and was preparing to bring him to France to stand trial by a general council convened by Philip. However, after being forced to abdicate and being held prisoner, Boniface died. With Rome in anarchy, his successor, Benedict XI, tried to establish himself in Perugia, but was poisoned in 1304. The next pope to be elected, Clement V, was a French archbishop, and he decided, pending the end of anarchy in Italy, to establish the papacy temporarily at Avignon, a papal possession in southern France. As it turned out, there were to be Avignon popes for more than a century.

Duèse who was made Chancellor of Naples by its king in 1308, was summoned to Avignon by Pope Clement for advice on two matters about which Philip of France was pressing him. On Philip's intended suppression of the Templars, Duèse recommended Clement's support. On Philip's demand for the condemnation of Boniface, Duèse recommended refusal, as a sacrilegious affront to the church. Impressed by the advice, which he took, Clement made Duèse Cardinal-Bishop of Porto. Two years after

Clement's death (1314) Duèse, with the backing of his old friend and patron the King of Naples, was elected pope as John XXII.

More a lawyer than a theologian, John XXII defended the rights of the papacy with rigorous zeal and logic, thereby incurring increased hostility for the papacy from high and low. The ill will was further increased by his efforts at new varieties of taxation. For a period of many years, John was engaged in a duel with Louis of Bavaria, trying to void his election as German king. In 1324 he excommunicated Louis, who responded by calling for a general council to depose John as an enemy of peace and law and a heretic (because of his opposition to evangelical poverty, or more specifically to a radical Franciscan faction, the Spirituals, four of whom he burned). Supported by learned lawyers, Louis gained the upper hand, invaded Italy, had himself crowned in 1328 at Rome and then tried to set up his own pope. However, after Louis left Italy in 1329, the antipope submitted to John, who seemed to be reestablishing his prestige when he got carried away again by more senseless actions. After putting all Germany under interdict, John tried to detach Italy completely from imperial suzerainty and make it instead a fief of the Avignon papacy, with Robert of Anjou as his Vicar of Italy. Finally, in his last days John became involved in some abstruse theological theory so extreme that it drew universal condemnation and gave Louis high hopes of success this time in getting John condemned as a heretic. A few days before his death, Pope John retracted his theory.

Although John failed to distinguish himself in any military efforts, it was noted with interest by subsequent historians that in one year of his papacy 63.7 per cent of the papal budget was devoted to war.

Reference: Mayne, 267.



MAGNUS VII (the Effeminate) (1316-1373)

King of Norway (1319-43) and Sweden (1319-65).

Born the son of Prince Eric of Sweden (whence he was also known as Magnus Eriksson) and of Ingeburga, heiress of Norway, he became king of Norway at 3, on the death of his grandfather, Haakon V. Later that same year the Swedish nobles drove his

uncle Berger from the Swedish throne and elected the infant Magnus king of Sweden as well. While his mother served as regent of Norway, Magnus was educated in Sweden and from an early age became noted for his effeminacy, extravagance and dependence on favorites.

In 1332 Magnus was declared of age. He dutifully married Blanche of Namur and fathered three sons. Despite his efforts at good rule, he was soon overtaken by misfortune. The period was a most troubled one, with the turbulent nobility fretting under the impoverishment that followed the collapse of the Viking freebooting system. In addition, the Black Death brought ruin everywhere in Scandinavia as elsewhere in Europe. In 1343 the Norwegians, resentful of the union with Sweden and considering Magnus a Swedish prince who neglected Norway, revolted and forced him to recognize the independence of Norway. Magnus was to be nominal regent for his younger son until 1355, when the boy was declared of age and crowned as Haakon VI.

In Sweden Magnus had been forced by the unruliness of the aristocracy to rely greatly on the growing middle class. In 1356 his son Eric, putting himself at the head of the nobles, revolted against him and proclaimed himself King of Sweden. Only Eric's sudden death (1359) saved Sweden at least for Magnus. He convened the first meeting of the Swedish *Riksdag* or Parliament, with representatives of the towns appearing along with the nobles and clergy, a landmark in Swedish constitutional history.

The forces devoted to Magnus' ruin proved too strong for his own yielding nature to withstand, and in 1361 he was forced to accept his able son Haakon of Norway as his co-ruler in Sweden. This arrangement, however, proved unsatisfactory to the Swedish nobles, especially when Haakon became closely identified with the hated Danes by his marriage in 1365 to Margaret, the heiress of Denmark. The Swedish nobles deposed both Magnus and Haakon in favor of Magnus' nephew, Albert of Mecklenburg.

Magnus was imprisoned in Sweden from 1365 to 1371, passing his final years in Norway. His daughter-in-law, Margaret of Denmark, was to unite all three kingdoms under her rule in 1388.

Magnus' effeminacy and his dependence on the handsome youths who were his favorites were doubtless significant factors in the bitter opposition that arose against him. The Swedish

nobles especially resented the fact that Magnus had made a prince of his humbly born chief beloved, Bengt Algotsson.

Hirschfeld, 667.



HAFIZ (c. 1307- c. 1388)

Persian lyric poet.

Properly Shams-ud-Din Mohammed, he was born at Shiraz, the capital of the Persian province of Fars, not many years after the death (1291) of Shiraz' other famous poet, Sadi (q.v.). A deep student from an early age of poetry, theology and the mystic Sufi philosophy, Hafiz became a professor of Koranic exegesis in a college founded especially for him by his friend the vizier.

Despite this scholarly background and some efforts at asceticism after he joined an order of dervishes, Hafiz was inescapably drawn to the lighter things of life, especially wine and sex. Growing disapproval for his dissipated conduct undermined his professional career and led Hafiz to devote most of his time, at least the hours not devoted to pleasure, to poetry. Through his poetry, in which he satirized many of his tormentors, Hafiz became famous and in wide demand throughout the Islamic world.

Hafiz' principal work is the *Divan* (or *Diwan*), a collection of short odes or sonnets called *ghazels*. The *ghazels* are devoted to both the mystic Sufi philosophy and to sensuality, and the specimens of the latter type are noted for glowing imagery and tender descriptions of natural beauties. Most of Hafiz' love poetry was addressed to youths, but in English translation these verses, like the similar ones of Sadi, have generally ended up with the feminization of names and pronouns.

Like Sadi, Hafiz is buried in a splendid tomb at Shiraz, where he died a few years before the city was devastated by Tamerlane. This was perhaps fortunate for Hafiz, who had mocked the bloody conqueror in one of his *ghazels*.

Reference: Edwardes, 250; Mayne, 292; Moll, 39.



RICHARD II (1367-1400)

King of England (1377-99).

He was born at Bordeaux, from which his father, the Black

Prince, ruled as Duke of Aquitaine, ceaselessly at war with the French on behalf of Richard's grandfather, Edward III. The Hundred Years War had already lasted thirty years. Richard was brought back to England in 1371, and after his father's death in 1376, was created Prince of Wales.

The following year, Edward III, who had been in his dotage for almost a decade died, and at 10 Richard became king of an England in terrible turmoil. Laborers had become scarce and arrogant after the Black Death wiped out a large portion of the population. The newly wealthy, who had profited by the long war, were contemptuous of the old barons and hopeful of a strong government that would keep the barons in their place and force common men to work for time-honored wages. Landowners, unable to get farm help, began enclosing their lands and converting to sheep-raising, thereby outraging the free yeomanry whose pride was greatly inflated by their big part in the wars. Orgies of luxurious living amidst universal corruption brought a reaction from the moral-minded, as noted in the influential and widely circulated *Piers Plowman* (c. 1362) and the proto-Protestant preachings of John Wycliffe in the 1370's. Robin Hood also made his first appearance in legend around this time.

Upon Richard's accession, his uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, took over as *de facto* regent. An effective and very worldly politician, he undid the recent anti-corruption reforms of the Black Prince (when serving as virtual regent for his dotty father), but at the same time supported Wycliffe, apparently hoping to get the Church's property if Wycliffe forced the Church to give it up.

Against this setting of universal turmoil and upheaval, a revolution broke out in 1381, the so-called Peasants' Rebellion. A hundred thousand peasants from the south and east of England marched on London, demanding an end of servile dues and game laws and the disendowment of the Church. On their way they burned manors, destroyed records and murdered landlords and lawyers. Behaving in like manner after entering London, the rebels sacked and burned the Savoy Palace of John of Gaunt and seized the Tower of London.

All seemed lost when the effeminate, 14-year-old king made a sudden and dramatic appearance on horseback, perhaps reminis-

cent of that of Elagabalus (q.v.) before the army sent to slay him. Exhibiting a precocious sense of tact and self-confidence, Richard appeared before the rebels and temporized with them in discussions. When the rebel leader, Wat Tyler, was killed, Richard avoided the anticipated vengeance in a torrent of blood by calling on the rebels to accept him as their new leader. Richard told them he was granting their demands and sent them home cheering him. After they had broken up, the rebels were pursued with a terrible vengeance by the barons and landlords, with or without the connivance of Richard.

After his great success in dealing with the rebels, Richard decided to assert himself. In 1382 he married Anne of Bohemia, the daughter of Emperor Charles IV, and found in her a motherly and understanding woman, in fact a real pal to whom he remained devoted until her untimely death. In 1383 Richard high-handedly dismissed a revered adviser who displeased him, to leave no doubt as to who was now master.

When Richard created for his favorite, and presumed lover, Robert de Vere, the unheard-of titles of Marquess of Dublin and Duke of Ireland and started orgies of extravagant spending on clothes, furnishings, balls, etc., the opposition to allowing the youth too much power increased. In 1385 Richard was forced to submit to control by a council dominated by his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. When Richard's friends encouraged him to try a coup in 1388, they were executed or driven into exile.

Determined to prevail one way or another, Richard resorted again to the guile he had manifested so precociously against the rebels. Presenting himself as an advocate of moderate constitutional government, he began surrounding himself with highly esteemed lawyers and statesmen and gradually managed to discredit and dismiss his enemies. In the Parliament of 1390, Richard established amicable relations with the Commons. When John of Gaunt returned from his wars in Spain, Richard played him off against his brother, the Duke of Gloucester. England once again seemed to be becoming quiet and prosperous.

It was perhaps the death of Richard's dear Anne in 1394 that ended the period of duplicitous reform that had seemingly become habit. In July, 1397 Richard executed a cunning coup, apparently his long-planned revenge for his humiliation in 1387-88. Follow-

ing a move in Parliament for a financial accounting by the king, the mover was condemned for treason and executed. With the aid of his ambitious new friends, Richard dealt ruthlessly with Gloucester and those associates of his who had humiliated Richard. Those who were not, like Gloucester, murdered were thrown into the Tower or exiled. For those who gave complete support to Richard there were honors and new lands, and they included Edward of York (q.v.) and John of Gaunt's son, Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV.

By 1398 Richard considered his power absolute and limitless. A new Parliament, consisting of friendly Lords and packed Commons, voted Richard an income for life and delegated its powers to a committee friendly to him. But now, once again, Richard reverted to the wild extravagances of his youth and resorted to heavy taxation and ruthless exactions to support it. After banishing his former supporter, the bold and fearless adventurer Bolingbroke, in 1398 (merely for failing to resolve peacefully a quarrel with another great noble, planning instead to settle it by combat), Richard confiscated all his estates on the death of his father, John of Gaunt, in February, 1399.

In May, 1399, Richard took all his principal adherents on a visit to Ireland. During Richard's absence, Bolingbroke landed in England in July, with his own army, and met little resistance. When Richard returned from Ireland in August, it was too late. Abandoned by his friends, Richard surrendered to Bolingbroke, now Henry IV, on August 19, promising to abdicate if his life was spared.

Richard abdicated in September and was imprisoned in the Castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, where he died in February, 1400. It is still uncertain whether he was murdered or died as a result of the harshness of his winter imprisonment. He was quietly buried nearby, but in 1413 he was honorably reinterred at Westminster by his conqueror's famous son, Henry V.

Notwithstanding Shakespeare, Richard's second wife, Isabella of France, was not a beautiful young woman who grieved over his misfortunes, but a 10-year-old child (only 7 when Richard married her in 1396).

Although the tradition of Richard as a homosexual seems well-established (there are frequently even implications in the Shakes-

pearean portrayals), he has been unaccountably overlooked on all "lists."

Reference: Seton, 465, 550-51.



EDWARD, DUKE OF YORK (1373-1415)

English general and statesman.

He was born the elder son of Edmund, Duke of York, a younger son of Edward III. In 1390, while still in his teens, he became a favorite of his cousin, Richard II (q.v.), and after helping him in the wresting of power from the regency council, was created Earl of Rutland. Amongst the other close friends and faithful supporters of Richard at this time were the Michael de la Poles, Earls of Suffolk successively, father and son.

Edward continued to be shown his nephew's favor in such appointments as Admiral of the Fleet, Constable of the Tower of London and Warden of the Cinque Ports. In 1396 it was Edward who completed the negotiations for Richard's marriage to the 7-year-old Isabella, daughter of Charles VI of France. The following year he played a key role assisting Richard in his coup against the lords appellant, including the murder of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester.

By way of reward, Edward received the vast estates that had belonged to his murdered uncle and was made Constable of England, with the new title of Duke of Albemarle. However, in 1399, when the triumph of Henry IV over Richard became clear, Edward made a timely desertion of Richard. Accused by Henry's parliament of Gloucester's murder, he pleaded that he had acted under duress. His life was spared but he was deprived of Gloucester's lands and reduced to his former title of Earl of Rutland.

Although suspected of being involved in a conspiracy against King Henry in 1400, he apparently cleared himself completely enough to earn Henry's full confidence. Henry appointed him his lieutenant, successively, in Aquitaine and Wales, and placed no bar in the path of his succeeding his father as Duke of York in 1402. Although while serving as Henry's lieutenant in Wales he was again implicated in a plot against Henry in 1405, and even denounced by his own sister, he was released after only a few months in prison.

Around 1410 Edward apparently fell in love with the adolescent son of the second Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, with whom he had worked so closely on behalf of Richard II. The boy was also named Michael, like his father and grandfather. During the invasion of France under Henry IV's great son, Henry V, Edward led one division of the English army at Agincourt, giving a command close by him to Michael, now 21, who earlier in the year had become third Earl of Suffolk. During this glorious day of one of England's greatest victories, Michael was killed first close to Edward. Shortly after, Edward himself fell fatally wounded and was said to have died embracing Michael, in the best classic Theban traditions, as immortalized by Shakespeare in *Henry V* (IV, 6) in the form of Exeter's report:

EXETER: . . . Suffolk first died: and York, all haggled over,
 Comes to him, where in gore he lay insteep'd,
 And takes him by the beard; kisses the gashes
 That bloodily did yawn upon his face;
 And cries aloud, "Tarry, dear cousin Suffolk!
 My soul shall thine keep company to heaven;
 Tarry, sweet soul, for mine, then fly abreast,
 As in this glorious and well-foughten field
 We kept together in our chivalry!"
 Upon these words I came and cheer'd him up:
 He smiled me in the face, raught me his hand,
 And, with a feeble gripe, says, "Dear my lord,
 Commend my service to my sovereign."
 So did he turn and over Suffolk's neck
 He threw his wounded arm and kiss'd his lips;
 And so espoused to death, with blood he seal'd
 A testament of noble-ending love.
 The pretty and sweet manner of it forced
 Those waters from me which I would have stopp'd;
 But I had not so much of man in me,
 And all my mother came into mine eyes
 And gave me up to tears.

KING: I blame you not;
 For, hearing this, I must perforce compound
 With mistful eyes, or they will issue too.

All of this is strikingly similar to Philip of Macedon (q.v.)

surveying the remnants of the Sacred Band of Epaminondas (q.v.) and Pelopidas (q.v.) after the Battle of Chaeronea. More than likely, Shakespeare was inspired by Plutarch's account when he penned this.

Edward was unmarried and was succeeded as Duke of York by his nephew Richard, the leader of the Yorkists in the War of the Roses and the father of Edward IV and Richard III. Edward was also the author of an early hunting classic, *Maystre of the Game* (largely a translation of a French work).

Reference: Mayne, 349.



BAYAZID I (1347-1403)

Turkish sultan (1389-1403).

His name appearing variously also as Bajazet, Bajezet, Bajezid and Bayazit, Bayazid was surnamed Yilderim, or Lightning (like the father of Hannibal, q.v., Hamilcar Barca, q.v.). In 1389 Bayazid succeeded his father, Murad I, upon his assassination by a Serb on the battlefield of Kossovo, the scene of his great victory over a coalition of Serbs, Bulgars, Bosnians, Albanians and Wallachians. Bayazid began his reign by strangling his brother Yakub, who had gained too much fame by distinguishing himself at Kossovo.

Treating the conquered Serbs leniently, Bayazid crossed into Asia Minor in 1391 and established his Ottoman Turks in the southern portion, opposite Cyprus. Returning to Europe later in the year, he began a seven-year siege of Constantinople, in the course of which he exacted heavy tribute and had a hand in the making and unmaking of Byzantine emperors. Bayazid was the first Ottoman ruler to bear the title sultan, conferred on him by the now-titular caliph.

In 1396 a great crusade was undertaken against Bayazid. Led by King Sigismund of Hungary and backed by both popes (Avignon and Rome), it included Balkan rulers and knights galore from England, France and Germany. After assembling with great pomp at Buda, the crusaders proceeded along the Danube to Nicopolis, devoting themselves to pillage and slaughter as they

went. Just south of Nicopolis, the chivalry of Christendom, numbering about 20,000, met a like number of Bayazid's warriors. Disregarding all proper tactics, they pressed boldly forward and were all but totally exterminated by the Turks.

In 1397 Bayazid's forces invaded Greece and advanced to Corinth before turning back to try besieging Constantinople again. On the verge of taking the Byzantine capital, Bayazid allowed himself to be bought off by Emperor Michael Paleologus, who paid him a vast sum and became his virtual vassal.

Hearing of the advances against his Asiatic possessions of an upstart Mongol princeling named Timur, the proud Bayazid sent him arrogant messages and crossed over into Asia to meet him. At the Battle of Ankara, Bayazid was not only completely routed but fell captive into Tamerlane's hands. Oddly enough, he had been deserted by his own Turkish troops while only his European mercenaries remained loyal to the last, perhaps providing the foundation for the great reliance of the future Sultans on the Janissaries, the European-stock elite troops. Bayazid died during his captivity, which traditionally involved his being carried around in an iron cage.

Under the influence of his vizier, Ali Pasha, Bayazid took to wine and Christian boys from the Balkans, both procured in large quantities, beginning a tradition among the Turkish sultans that was to rival that of the Twelve Caesars of Rome.

Reference: Moll, 37; Stern, 269.



GILLES DE RAIZ (1404-1440)

French general and sex-criminal.

Properly Gilles de Montmorency-Laval, Seigneur de Rais (also written Raiz and Retz), he was born at Machecoul in Brittany, scion of an illustrious noble family. Orphaned very young, Gilles was brought up with a very loose hand by his wealthy maternal grandfather. Wealthy in his own right, he increased his fortune in 1420 by marriage to a rich heiress, Catherine de Thouars. Gilles grew accustomed from his earliest years to all the luxuries and pleasures that great wealth could buy. He had also managed to secure a fine education, was immensely interested

in the lore to be derived from books and developed a strong taste for music and art.

In the years Gilles was coming of age, France was moving out of a period of shattering defeat into one of her most glorious periods. The English, having declined after their successes early in the Hundred Years War, had scored another comeback in France under Henry V, climaxed by their great victory at Agincourt (1415), where 10,000 Englishmen defeated three times as many Frenchmen. By 1420, the English with their Burgundian allies had overrun most of France and the French king, passing over his own son, had adopted Henry V as his heir, made him regent and married him to his daughter. After Henry's death (1422) and that of the French king, Charles VI, the same year, the infant Henry VI was recognized as king of France in the north (and later was actually crowned in his teens).

Meanwhile, however, growing forces rallied to the late king's disowned son, the dauphin Charles. French resistance began to increase in the 1420s and in 1426 the wealthy young noble, Gilles de Raiz, raised at his own expense seven companies in Brittany. In the course of a year's fighting, Gilles made a fine reputation for himself. When in 1428 the English undertook the siege of Orleans, a great test of strength between the two sides was involved. It was at this point that there appeared that fantastic character, Joan of Arc, and when she finally attained her goal of leading a force to the relief of Orleans, Gilles was designated to accompany her, as commander of her special bodyguard.

Gilles and Joan became very close friends, one of the apparently rare such historical instances between male and female homosexuals both of masculine type. Gilles fought at Joan's side, not only at Orleans but during her subsequent campaigns. Twice he saved her life carrying her to safety after she was wounded. These campaigns having proved a turning-point, the dauphin was crowned Charles VII in 1429, and in gratitude for his services the new king made Gilles a Marshal of France at 25.

After spending some time in Normandy, possibly with a view to trying to save Joan, who had been captured by the English in 1430 and was to be burned as a witch the following year, Gilles returned to his castles in Brittany. Despite his great expenditures during the war, Gilles was still immensely wealthy, his fortune

being increased by the death of his grandfather in 1431.

Setting up what amounted to his own court in Brittany, Gilles sought to outshine Brittany's duke and France's king. He kept open house, was a munificent patron of art, literature and music, and he amassed a library of priceless books at great cost. His especial passion and extravagance, however, was the stage. At the great festivals he put on immensely costly performances of mystery plays and morality plays, including one about Joan of Arc said to have been partly written by himself.

Great as his fortune was, it proved insufficient for Gilles' splendiferous living. He ran deeply into debt and sold off estates to the Duke of Brittany, who thereby became his good friend. The duke made Gilles his lieutenant, and when his relatives persuaded the French king to forbid Gilles' sale of hereditary lands, the duke denied the right of such interference in Brittany.

Turning in his desperate need for money to any possible remedy, Gilles was persuaded to try alchemy. He obtained the services of unscrupulous alchemists, magicians, sorcerers and necromancers of various kinds and spent month after month in fruitless experiments to create gold. Finally, with an Italian adventurer named Prelati as his chief evil genius, Gilles was persuaded that human sacrifice to Satan would turn the trick. Agents of Gilles' began scouring the Breton countryside for children, mostly boys, who were lured to Gilles' castle. In the process of preparing his sacrifices for Satan, Gilles discovered the full extent of his homosexual tastes, and probably also the taste later to be called after Sade (q.v.). It appears that eventually his lust for boys for their own sake overshadowed his original interest in the contribution they might make indirectly towards the restoration of his shattered fortune.

Although the disappearance of so many boys into the castle, never to be seen again, aroused suspicions and angry rumors among the peasantry, the powerful position enjoyed by Gilles as a close friend of the duke and a generous donor to the Church enabled him to retain his immunity for several years. He was eventually undone by having in a fit of anger stormed into a church during Mass, sword in hand, to seize a minor cleric who had offended him, and then having imprisoned the wretch. This led not only to a break with his former protector, the Duke of Brit-

tany, but also brought forceful action from the Bishop of Nantes. Determined to find out all he could about the strange man, the bishop visited the countryside and began hearing from the peasants the fantastic stories about Gilles de Raiz.

Gilles was arrested and brought before the Bishop of Nantes on charges of heresy and before the civil authorities on a murder charge. At first arrogant and defiant, Gilles broke down under threat of excommunication and made a full confession. A more detailed confession followed under threat of torture. After Gilles was found guilty of apostasy and heresy by the inquisitor and of vice and sacrilege by the bishop, the civil authorities, represented by the Breton parliament, sentenced him to be hanged. And so he was.

Confessing to about 150 victims, Gilles testified that his sodomy went back only to the year of his grandfather's death, 1431, so he was apparently still at the latent stage during his comradeship with Joan of Arc, but this also meant that it preceded to some extent the sorcery experiments. Asked whom he held responsible for inducing him towards sodomy, he was recorded as answering: "No one. I was led to do them by my own will and imagination alone, for the pleasure and gratification of my senses, and to gratify my taste for debauchery."

Since the Bluebeard legend was oriented to Brittany, it has generally been thought to have been inspired by the deeds of Gilles. In fact, of course, Bluebeard had little in common with Gilles, who had only one wife, whom he saw as little as possible, and murdered boys rather than women.

Gilles had a daughter who married but died childless. His tomb, in the Church of the Carmelites at Nantes, was smashed in 1793 and his remains scattered. This took place during the reign of terror under Carrier the Tiger, whose mass murders, performed in the name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, greatly exceeded those of Gilles', even to several times as many children.

Reference: Mayne, 420-21; Wyndham-Lewis, 182.

FILIPPO MARIA VISCONTI (1392-1447)

Duke of Milan (1412-47).

He was born to the family that had ruled much of northern Italy, as agents for the German emperor, for more than a century. His father, the great Gian Galeazzo Visconti, had crowned a lifetime of achievements in war, administration, and patronage of the arts by securing the title of Duke of Milan in 1399 (by payment of 100,000 florins to Emperor Wenceslaus).

Upon the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402, Filippo Maria's older brother succeeded to the duchy, under their mother's regency, but being insanely cruel and thoroughly incapable, he lost most of the realm to various self-seeking generals by the time he was murdered (1412).

Succeeding his brother, Filippo Maria was deemed just as cruel, but far more capable. An astute politician, he used the vast wealth he had acquired by marriage to the widow of one of his mercenary leaders to buy able mercenaries. The lady's dowry was 500,000 florins, or five times what his father had paid the emperor for his ducal title and came from some especially lucky plundering by her late spouse. By use of his crack mercenary troops, Filippo Maria was able to regain most of his father's realm. He was also able to frighten those tempted to comment on his extreme ugliness, about which he was very sensitive.

Another of the great leaders of mercenary troops, Francesco Sforza, married the daughter and heiress of Filippo Maria and thereby was able to establish a new dynasty in Milan three years after the death of Filippo Maria. In the intervening three years, a popular revolt had produced a short-lived republic, oddly named after Milan's patron saint the Ambrosian Republic (1447-50).

Filippo Maria's principal recorded homosexual interest was Scaramuzza, the handsome young cook's assistant in his palace.

Reference: Mayne, 192.

**AMADEUS VIII (POPE FELIX V) (1383-1451)**

Count and Duke of Savoy (1391-1434); Pope (1439-49).

He was born at Chambéry in Savoy, the son of its count, whom he succeeded at the age of 8. When he reached manhood, Amadeus proved an outstanding military leader, adding many

new possessions to his realm. In 1416 Emperor Sigismund made Savoy a duchy, after which Piedmont was added to it. This was to be of great historic significance, since hitherto Savoy had been considered a petty French county, but by the addition of Piedmont its destiny was cast with that of Italy, till eventually it provided the nucleus for the creation of the modern united Italy.

Aside from being an able military leader, Amadeus provided government distinguished for wisdom and justice. In an effort to unify the historically diverse parts of his realm, Amadeus promulgated a general statute of laws for his entire realm in 1434, resulting in a great outcry against him by those who lost traditional privileges. Purporting to be deeply wounded by this reaction to his noble intentions, Amadeus, the great warrior and statesman, suddenly resigned (not abdicated) his office in favor of his son, retiring to a hermitage he founded on the shores of Lake Geneva.

While it was officially reported that Amadeus wished to devote himself to asceticism, persistent reports had it that he was devoting himself in his retreat to wild orgies, staged in the most extravagant of luxury. In any event, he continued actively to manipulate from behind the scenes both local and international affairs.

Meanwhile, the crisis that had torn the Church apart since wild and anarchic Rome had been abandoned by the popes for Avignon, had reached a new plateau of scandal after 1378, when popes were elected at *both* Rome and Avignon. The widespread demands for ending the disgrace of rival popes, the so-called Great Schism, produced several councils, each of which at once proclaimed its superiority to any pope and thus at once became embroiled in strife with the popes. Although the Schism was officially ended in 1417, these council vs. pope struggles continued, and in 1439 one such council, the Council of Basel, deposed Pope Eugenius IV and chose as the new pope none other than the retired Duke Amadeus of Savoy, who was not even in clerical orders but apparently had a lot of influential friends.

Amadeus now became Pope Felix V, but Eugenius refused to give up, so there were again two rival popes, and a number of councils appearing in efforts to reconcile them. After the death of Pope Eugenius in 1447, his direct successor managed to work out a series of deals and compromises with the remnants of the

respected Council of Basel. Amadeus-Felix obligingly resigned his papacy as he had his dukedom. His appreciative rival and now successor, Pope Nicholas V, made him a cardinal as well as apostolic vicar-general for Savoy and Piedmont. He died a few years later, ending what was surely a unique career. In official Church history, he now ranks as an antipope, rather than a certified pope.

Reference: Mayne, 192.



MOHAMMED II (1429-1481)

Turkish sultan (1451-81).

He was the son of Murad II, who had continued the success of the Ottoman Turks, inflicting heavy losses on the Hungarians, the Poles, the Venetians and the Balkan peoples, all of whom had made vain efforts to drive the Turks out of Europe. Mohammed was given an unusually thorough education for a Turkish prince and impressed his father so favorably that when he became 14, Murad abdicated in his favor. However, the Hungarians took this as the occasion to break their ten-year truce agreement and to launch another "crusade" against the Turks. Regretfully, Murad resumed the throne and in a few weeks decisively defeated the invaders. This time he decided he'd best retain the throne.

Just after Mohammed came of age, Murad died and Mohammed again became sultan, this time for the remainder of his life. After quelling the usual revolts accompanying the accession of a new sultan, Mohammed set as his goal the completion of the great dream of his forebears, the capture of Constantinople, which in Turkish eyes remained the capital of Christendom, though actually by now merely the capital of a third-class power. Mohammed made his preparations with great care, on a gigantic scale, including the casting of enormous cannon (under direction of a renegade Hungarian) and the construction of a pontoon-bridge system at the Bosphorus, to allow passage of his army from Asia, for which he employed 6,000 men working night and day for six weeks.

In February, 1453, Mohammed's enormous army of 150 to 200,000 men began moving on Constantinople, beginning the real siege in April. Thanks to its venerable system of tremendous

wall defenses, and the brilliant tactics of the soldier-of-fortune Justiniani, Constantinople withstood the siege, even the tremendous pounding of the huge cannons, for fifty-three days. It finally fell to a tremendous assault led by the elite Janissaries (captive Balkan youths trained by severe discipline) through a breach while the heroic Justiniani was attending his wounds, and by his absence causing panic.

By May 30 Mohammed was master of Constantinople. The last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI, who had been so desperate for help from the West that he had become a Roman Catholic and proclaimed union with Rome (1452), and thereby alienated his people, died fighting with his men. The 8,000 Greeks and Italians who under Justiniani had held off 200,000 Turks for two months died virtually to the last man. The niece of Constantine XI, Zoe (Sophia) who had been brought up a Catholic girl, was married, with the pope's blessing, to Grand Duke Ivan III of Muscovy, whom the pope hoped to convert. It was Zoe who brought with her to Russia all the ceremonies, emblems, intrigues and ambitions of the Byzantine court, which were to be merged with the heritage from Russia's recent Mongol masters. Zoe's grandson was to proclaim himself tsar (from the name Caesar) as legitimate successor to the Eastern Roman emperors, and as Constantinople had been deemed the second Rome, Moscow was to be the "third Rome."

The orgies of triumph celebrated by Mohammed, a "notorious lover of boys," were said to have included the rape of the beautiful 14-year-old son of the last patriarch. For three days Mohammed allowed his soldiers freedom to pillage the city, much of whose diminished population had escaped on Venetian and Genoese ships.

In the succeeding months, however, Mohammed found that he could not repopulate the city with Turks alone as planned, so he allowed Greeks from conquered towns, as well as Armenians, to settle there, with considerable autonomy under their own religious leaders. Constantinople now replaced Adrianople, the city founded by Hadrian (q.v.), as the Turkish capital, with an elaborate administrative system, much of it borrowed from the Byzantines. Such venerable cathedrals as that of Santa Sophia became mosques.

Most of Mohammed's reign was taken up by conquest, earning him the name Mohammed the Conqueror. Serbia was subdued in 1456-58, and by 1561 Mohammed had also subjugated Bosnia (where many of the upper classes accepted Islam), Morea (the Peloponnesian peninsula), and most of the Aegean islands. By 1467 Albania was conquered, after the death of its heroic and legendary resistance leader, Scanderbeg, a one-time Turkish-trained Muslim who had held off the Turks for twenty-five years, supposedly killing 3,000 of them with his own hand.

In 1463 Mohammed began a war with Venice that was to last sixteen years and saw the construction of a mighty Turkish fleet. The Venetians proved the toughest Turkish opponent yet, by diplomacy as well as by sea, for they persuaded the Persians to attack the Turks in Asia. After defeating the Persians (1473), Mohammed with his new fleet harried the Venetians out of their Aegean bases and pursued them to the outskirts of Venice itself. By the peace settlement of 1479, the Venetians surrendered most of their eastern possessions and agreed to pay an annual tribute for the right to trade in the Black Sea.

After extending Turkish power as far as the Crimea, whose Tartar Khan became his vassal, Mohammed began planning in 1480 his last great ambition, the conquest of Italy. Although a Turkish force actually occupied a part of southern Italy, around Otranto, the major attack was held up pending the securing of the Turkish rear by the reduction of the Christian island fortress of Rhodes, whose privateers preyed on Turkish commerce. In the Knights of St. John Mohammed found the same kind of heroic resistance that he had met with at the beginning of his reign in Justiniani and his men. This time, however, the Christians held out successfully and Mohammed finally gave up, signing with the Knights an armistice and treaty of commerce.

Having apparently decided that Christian resistance had stiffened too greatly for any further advances against the West, Mohammed embarked on preparations for a great campaign in the East, probably against Egypt or Syria, when he suddenly died.

Mohammed was said to have been of a merry and jocular disposition. He was a great patron of learning and did much to develop the Turkish legal system. A man of great learning

himself, he was, like Emperor Frederick II (q.v.), the master of six languages.

Reference: Stern, 269.



HENRY IV (1425-1474)

King of Castile and Leon (1454-74).

He was born at Valladolid, the son of John II of Castile and Leon. Anarchy spread throughout the realm during the reign of Henry's weak and indolent father, who was first dominated by Henry's mother Mary, the daughter of John of Gaunt, that English prince almost as influential in Spain as in the England of Richard II (q.v.), whose grandson was now ruling England. In his later years, Henry's father was dominated by Alvaro de Luna, his favorite, in this case apparently without any homosexual implication. The turbulent nobles were constantly at war with each other over the pettiest matters and completely disrespectful of royal authority.

Henry IV on his accession proved even weaker than his father and had an additional weakness that gave him the nickname of Henry the Impotent (though he was also called Henry the Extravagant). In 1453, at the age of 18, Henry divorced his first wife, Blanche of Navarre, on grounds of "mutual impotence." By the time he married his second wife, Joan of Portugal, in 1468, his life had become completely dominated by a handsome youth named Beltran de la Cueva. Beltran was the son of a petty noble at whose house Henry had stopped over during a journey. Beltran was brought to the Court as a page and before too many years had gone by, had been created Duke of Albuquerque (not to be confused with the nearly contemporaneous Portuguese empire-builder of the same name) and Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, a chivalric order.

Accordingly, when Henry's second wife bore a daughter about a year after their marriage, it was universally accepted that the daughter had been obligingly sired for Henry by his beloved Beltran. Perhaps in appreciation for Beltran's extraordinary services, Henry tried to arrange his marriage to Henry's half-sister Isabella. Outraged at the suggestion, the pious and iron-willed Isabella stubbornly refused, and without Henry's approval, married Ferdinand of Aragon.

Henry named his daughter, or Beltran's daughter, as the case may be, as his heir, but after his death, she was set aside because of her doubtful parentage. The throne of Leon and Castile went to Isabella, who by her marriage to Ferdinand now united Spain and went on to drive out the Jews and the Moors and sponsor Christopher Columbus.

Henry's supposed daughter, who was bluntly enough known as Juana la Beltraneja, was married, without Church recognition, to Alfonso V of Portugal, who waged war on her behalf for five years with Isabella, hoping to gain himself the Castilian throne. In 1479, badly beaten, he gave up and Isabella secured general recognition. Two years later Alfonso died and la Beltraneja retired to a nunnery, where she lived on until 1530.

A far more significant instance of an impotent homosexual king employing the stud services of his beloved may have occurred in the case of Louis XIII (q.v.), in which case the result was a figure not obscure like la Beltraneja but the dominant figure of his day, Louis XIV.

Reference: Allinson, 505.



CHARLES THE BOLD (1433-1477)

Duke of Burgundy (1467-77).

He was born at Dijon, the son of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Ruled by a branch of the French royal family, Burgundy by this time consisted of much of modern Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, eastern France, and a bit of Switzerland. Charles showed early aptness in both his studies and warfare. During his youth he was on familiar terms with the French dauphin, later Louis XI, who had fled to the court of Burgundy to escape the wrath of his father, Joan of Arc's Charles VII. In later years Charles and Louis were to be deadly enemies.

In 1465 Duke Philip, in failing health, gave the reins of government to Charles. Using his new authority, Charles at once entered into a conspiracy with various royal dukes against Louis, who had become King Louis XI in 1461. Charles' victories brought him a peace treaty whereby he and his fellow conspirators secured great territorial gains, but the crafty Louis set about evading the terms at once.

After Charles became Duke of Burgundy in name also, in 1467, he decided to devote himself in deadly earnest to his duel with Louis. To renew the English alliance of the Hundred Years War, Charles married a sister of Edward IV of England and began trying to persuade him to lead another English invasion of France.

In 1468, while engaged in a personal conference with Louis, Charles learned of a revolt against himself by Liège. Suspecting Louis of complicity, he had the audacity to arrest the King of France for treason. After some deliberation, Charles settled for forcing Louis to assist him in quelling the revolt by the Liègois, Louis' traditional ally.

In 1469 Charles' daughter and sole heiress Mary was married to the son of Emperor Sigismund, the future Emperor Maximilian I, and by the terms of the marriage treaty, Charles was given all the rights of sovereignty in Alsace and Lorraine.

As his fortunes seemingly rose ever higher, Charles' arrogance increased. In 1471, during another disagreement with Louis of France, he crossed the French border on a sort of punitive expedition and massacred the inhabitants of Nesle. By 1473 he had seemingly persuaded the emperor to come to Trier to crown him King of Burgundy, but the emperor became so annoyed at Charles' arrogance that he fled secretly by night from Trier to avoid having to go through with it.

Charles had put great effort into careful administration of his historically diverse empire and into the construction of a professional army, with professional English and Italian soldiers along with the feudal levies, and with extensive artillery. Despite all these seeming advantages, Charles' excessive ambition brought him to ruin, with considerable assistance from his mortal enemy, Louis XI.

The people of Alsace, chafing under the tyrannical rule of Charles' lieutenants, united with the Swiss and the Duke of Lorraine, all enraged by Charles for one reason or another. Louis XI provided them with every kind of assistance. Finally in 1477, at Nancy, Charles met his final defeat and death in battle. The victory of the coalition ended forever the menace of Burgundy, which soon passed into Hapsburg hands.

Reference: Mayne, 191.

PAUL II (1417-1471)

Pope (1464-71).

He was born Pietro Barbo in Venice and was educated for a business career. However, after his uncle became Pope Eugenius IV, Barbo was persuaded to take orders and rose rapidly. Starting as Archdeacon of Bologna, he was subsequently transferred to Rome and attached to various Roman churches, until by the 1440s he was a cardinal. While Eugenius was carrying on his struggle with his papal rival, Pope Felix V (q.v.), and with the Council of Basel, Cardinal Barbo was becoming well-known as a rich, handsome, worldly collector of carvings, jewels and handsome youths. He remained in high favor with the successors of his uncle, Nicholas V (1447-55), the founder of the Vatican Library, Calixtus III (1455-58) and the brilliant genius, Pius II (1458-64).

On the death of Pius II, Cardinal Barbo was unexpectedly but unanimously elected pope. As Paul II, he sought to everyone's surprise to be strong and forceful. In Rome he subdued those cardinals who had tried to bind his freedom of action by "capitulations." In Italy he worked actively to counter the dominance of the Venetians. He denounced King Louis XI of France for trying to limit the papal tax powers in France and the King of Bohemia for being too tolerant with heretics. All rulers were castigated for failing to respond to his demand for a new crusade against the Turks, of which nothing came. It seemed the only ruler he was on friendly terms with was Ivan III of Muscovy, hoping that he would become a Catholic and unite the Russian Church with Rome after his marriage to Zoe, the Catholic niece of the last Byzantine emperor, a marriage promoted by Paul.

Paul's love of luxurious living led him to embellish the costume of the cardinals and to provide food, games and carnivals for the people of Rome. His more serious accomplishments included the beautification of Rome, the creation of some new taxes, the revision of the Roman statutes and the introduction of printing into Rome.

The vanity of Paul II about his good looks was so colossal that he had originally intended to take the name Formosus, a Latin word for beautiful. Dressed in robes lined with gold and sparkling with diamonds, and noted for an effeminate tendency

to cry in public at the slightest provocation, he was nicknamed "Our Lady of Pity."

Reference: Bulliet, 101; Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 669; Moll, 50.



SIXTUS IV (1414-1484)

Pope (1471-84).

Originally Francesco della Rovere, he was born of a poor family near Savona. Entering the Franciscan order at an early age, he studied philosophy and theology at the Universities of Padua and Bologna. He soon acquired a reputation as a great and eloquent preacher. After filling high posts in his order with great ability, he was chosen general of the Franciscan order in 1464. To his great surprise he was made a cardinal in 1467 by Pope Paul II (q.v.). He was even more surprised to be elected pope on Paul's death in 1471.

He began by following Paul's various policies, including the struggle with Louis XI of France over taxation, the negotiations with Ivan III of Muscovy for union of his church with Rome and the preaching of a crusade against the Turks. He was expected to accomplish all these things, and to reform the Church also, but in the end he found all his energies consumed by domestic Italian politics and the advancement of his scheming nephews, one of whom became another homosexual pope, Julius II (q.v.).

A nephew having been involved in the plot against Lorenzo de' Medici in 1478, Sixtus IV got into a war with Florence, waged unsuccessfully. Reversing his predecessor's policy on Venice, he invited Venice to attack Ferrara in alliance with him, and then called on the Venetians to assist him in resisting an attack by Naples. Then Sixtus IV turned on Venice, inviting the Sforza duke of Milan to help him. By now all the rulers of Italy were sick of the machinations of this pope, of whom so much had been expected. They joined in forcing a peace on him, which was said to have hastened his death.

Sixtus IV consented to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, but when he tried to object to the illegal procedures that developed, he was ignored. He welcomed into the Papal States Jews who had fled from Spain. A great beautifier of Rome and patron of the arts, he founded the Sistine Chapel, organized the Sistine Choir and had the Sistine Bridge constructed, all being

named after him. He established and richly endowed the first foundling hospital. He commissioned paintings on a large scale, those of Botticelli among others, and gave pensions to men of learning. All of these activities required vast expenditures, as did the ambitions of his nephews, and in his efforts to obtain the needed funds, Sixtus IV devised new forms of taxation and succumbed to the temptations of various shameful forms of corruption.

Quite a few of the cardinals created by Sixtus IV were young and good-looking. His best-known erotic interest was his beautiful young nephew, Raphael Riario, whom he made Papal Chamberlain and Bishop of Ostia, and whose tomb is still to be seen in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome. While Sixtus IV was pope certain cardinals presented a petition for permission to practice sodomy during the warm season. The petition was said to have been under favorable consideration.

Reference: Bulliet, 101; Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 670; Moll, 50; Peyrefitte (Keys), 351.



POLITIAN (1454-1494)

Italian poet and humanist.

Properly Angelo Ambrogini, he was surnamed Poliziano (Politian being an anglicized form) from his birthplace, Montepulciano in Tuscany. His father, a jurist of distinguished family and great ability, was murdered by political antagonists for having espoused the cause of Piero de' Medici. As the murdered man's eldest son, Politian had a claim on the wealthy and powerful Medici.

After distinguishing himself as a brilliant child prodigy, a competent master of Greek and Latin and philosophy in his teens, Politian was taken into the household of Lorenzo de' Medici, the political boss of Florence better known as Lorenzo the Magnificent, as tutor to Lorenzo's children. Lorenzo, a great patron of learning, also secured for Politian an important post at the University of Florence.

Politian had already written some minor literary masterpieces in Latin and Greek in his youth, such as a translation he made at 16 of four books of Homer's *Iliad* into Latin hexameters. In his late twenties he now became the most brilliant lecturer on the

humanities in Florence, then the capital of western culture. Although ugly in appearance, his rich voice, his eloquence and his bottomless store of erudition produced an effect so striking that pupils came to him from all over Europe.

After turning out carefully prepared editions of the major works of many Greek and Roman literary figures, as well as translations of Greek works into Latin, Politian published in 1489 a very influential series of essays on philology and criticism under the title *Miscellanea*.

Being as much poet as scholar, Politian composed Greek and Latin poems considered only very slightly inferior to the best of classical times. After having used his classical linguistic knowledge in so many fields, as scholar, professor, critic, translator and poet, Politian made his most lasting contribution by composing verses in the contemporary vulgar Tuscan tongue, at the request of Lorenzo. The relatively minor *La Giostra* celebrates a Medici victory. However, his *Orfeo*, a lyrical drama with musical accompaniment, is considered an ancestor of both opera and the pastoral play. By showing how the genius of a learned classical scholar could make striking use of the vernacular for achieving lyrical verse of the highest order, Politian gave a new impetus to respect for Italian, or more specifically Tuscan, as a language for literature.

Politian was never married and was considered homosexual by his contemporaries. In *Orfeo* he puts into the mouth of his hero, Orpheus, saddened after his final separation from his wife, a eulogy on the superior attractions of boys over women and the much greater sense in loving them rather than women. "This love, I swear, is sweetest, softest, best," in the translation of John Addington Symonds (q.v.), given in his *Sketches and Studies in Italy*.

Reference: Ellis, 31; Hirschfeld, 669.



LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452-1519)

Italian painter, sculptor, architect, civil and military engineer, anatomist, botanist, astronomer, geologist, scientist, meteorologist and musician.

Probably the greatest genius in human history, Leonardo was born in the village of Vinci near Florence, the bastard son of

Piero da Vinci, a Florentine lawyer, and a peasant woman named Caterina. Shortly after Leonardo's birth, his father severed relations with Caterina and took Leonardo to be brought up with his eleven legitimate children, the product of four marriages.

From his earliest years, Leonardo showed great promise. With great beauty of person, enormous strength of body and a winning charm of temper and manners, he had also inexhaustible intellectual energy and curiosity. Seemingly talented in every field that aroused his interest, Leonardo first was drawn to music, drawing and modelling. When his father showed some of his drawings to the prominent painter and sculptor, Andrea del Verrocchio, he declared the artistic vocation unmistakable and young Leonardo became an apprentice at his shop.

Studying under Verrocchio from 1470 to 1477, Leonardo learned along with other pupils all that the master could teach. His fellow pupil Botticelli encouraged his interest in painting, and Leonardo is believed to have contributed to a painting attributed to Verrocchio, *The Baptism of Christ*. After leaving Verrocchio, Leonardo worked as an independent artist, under the patronage of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Florence's real ruler, who provided him with official commissions.

In 1482 Leonardo was invited to Milan by its duke, Ludovico Sforza, and he remained there sixteen years. In Milan, where he began keeping his famous notebooks, his many-sided genius found proper scope. As court artist, he organized elaborate festivals. Speculating about plagues, he got into town planning, became interested in architecture and worked on designs for new churches. This led to his interest in the engineering aspects of construction, and he established a new reputation as a consulting engineer. His interest in painting, of course, continued. Somewhere in this period he executed his huge fresco, *The Last Supper*, on the walls of the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. He also wrote an essay on painting.

In 1499, after the French invasion of Milan and the fall of Ludovico Sforza, Leonardo left Milan and, after brief sojourns in Mantua and Venice, returned to Florence in 1500. At the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, he pursued anatomical studies. He also devoted himself to theoretical mathematics around this time.

In 1502 Leonardo entered the service of Cesare Borgia (q.v.), the satanic bastard of Pope Alexander VI (q.v.), and became the consulting engineer of this terror of Italy. Leonardo was assigned to tour the newly conquered cities of the Romagna to report on possible projects, as well as the possibilities of reclaiming swamp land. While on this tour he met Cesare's great admirer, Niccolò Machiavelli (q.v.), who became his lifelong friend. With the death of the pope in 1503, and the fall from power of his son Cesare, Leonardo lost another master and returned to Florence. Here he received more artistic commissions, most notably his *Mona Lisa*.

In 1506 Leonardo returned to Milan, having been engaged as architect and engineer by its French governor in the name of Louis XII. Here he continued his scientific investigations concerning geology, botany, hydraulics and mechanics, and after 1510 anatomy, meanwhile filling his notebook with sketches. Far from losing his original interest in painting and sculpture, he opened his own school for painting and sculpture and had many pupils. Another well-known painting of his, *St. Anne, Mary and Child* (like the *Mona Lisa* in the Louvre) is attributed to this period.

In 1513 Leonardo went to Rome, which now had a Medici pope in the person of Leo X (q.v.), a son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Although the field was here dominated by Raphael (q.v.) and Michelangelo (q.v.), Leonardo did receive commissions for several Vatican paintings as well as various architectural and engineering projects. To this period is attributed *St. John the Baptist*, also in the Louvre.

In 1515 Leonardo left Rome in the household of Cardinal Medici, a brother of Leo X. Shortly after the cardinal died, Leonardo met Francis I of France at Bologna, and accepted his invitation to France. Settling at the Castle of St. Cloux near Amboise, Leonardo was a sort of "court painter, architect, engineer and mechanic in ordinary." Given a liberal pension, Leonardo was left alone during his final years to pursue his own researches, with which he continued to fill his notebooks. His sketches even included plans for a flying machine. Francis I, who delighted in his company, came often to visit him and to listen to his plans for a canal to join the Loire and Saone rivers.

In his will, Leonardo named his devoted assistant, Francesco Melzi, as his executor. Francesco had first come into his life as a handsome youth, replacing a previous favorite, Andrea Salaino. Other youths connected with Leonardo, who was twice arrested for sodomy but released on insufficient evidence, included Cesare da Sesto and Giuliano Boltraffio. Leonardo's first arrest had taken place while still an apprentice with Verrocchio, he and other young men having been accused of homosexual relations with "a boy of ill repute." After a brief imprisonment, he was acquitted. There are few details about the second case. Leonardo's homosexuality is the subject of a special study by Sigmund Freud, filled with Freudian jargon.

The enigmatic smile that distinguishes his *Mona Lisa* has been found in other works of Leonardo, and indeed of his master Verrocchio, and it has been speculated that many of Leonardo's females were made from young male models, possibly including even the *Mona Lisa*. An exact likeness of the *Mona Lisa* face, surrounded credibly by a boy's hair and clothing, appeared in the June, 1953 issue of *Sexology Magazine*.

It has been Leonardo's fate, somewhat similar to that of those royal geniuses in the political field, Emperors Frederick II (q.v.) and Manuel I (q.v.), that chance circumstances did not allow for many substantial and lasting contributions at all commensurate with his immense range of talents. In the end, it was mainly as a painter that he was remembered, and even in this field, his greatest masterpiece, *The Last Supper*, has largely disintegrated.

Reference: Bulliet, 284-91; Ellis, 32; Hirschfeld, 667.



GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE CORDOBA (1453-1515)

Spanish general and statesman.

Known to history as "the Great Captain," Cordoba was born near the Spanish city of Cordoba, the second son of the Count of Aguilar, a leading Castilian nobleman. His father having died when he was a boy, Cordoba was raised at the court of the homosexual Henry IV of Castile (q.v.), being attached to the household of the king's brother. After his death, Cordoba entered the service of the king's half-sister, Isabella, who in 1469 became completely alienated from Henry after her refusal to marry his favorite, Isabella marrying instead Ferdinand of Aragon.

Henry, having recognized as his heir his supposed daughter, assumed by all to be actually the daughter of his beloved Beltran de la Cueva, a struggle for the Castilian throne broke out after Henry's death in 1474. The dubious daughter, known as Juana la Beltraneja, was set aside in favor of Isabella, but Isabella's succession was disputed by Juana's husband, the King of Portugal. During the five-year civil war, Gonzalo de Cordoba had his first opportunity to distinguish himself before Isabella. He fought not only with reckless bravery but took great care to secure also a reputation for personal magnificence of appearance and the kind of free-handed generosity likely to win the devotion of soldiers.

After the beaten Portuguese forces withdrew in 1479 from Castile, leaving Isabella firmly on her throne, Cordoba continued to add to his mounting reputation during ten years of war against the Moors. In the capitulation of Granada, the last Moorish stronghold in Spain, Cordoba was one of the officers chosen to arrange the terms in 1492.

In 1495, when Ferdinand and Isabella decided to support their cousins in Naples against the French invasion, Cordoba was chosen over older officers, at Isabella's insistence, to head the expedition. With about 5,000 men he drove the French army of Charles VIII out of Italy, earned his own title of "the Great Captain" from his adoring soldiers and established Spain's great military reputation. After achieving a completely successful execution of his mission, Cordoba returned home in 1498. Shortly afterward, he fought against some Moors in revolt.

In 1501 Cordoba was sent back to Italy to command the Spanish forces serving in alliance with Louis XII of France according to a treaty made with him by Ferdinand for the division of the Kingdom of Naples. After a quarrel with the French broke out, Cordoba again defeated the French forces as decisively as he had the previous decade, and drove them again out of southern Italy. This time Cordoba remained in Italy, serving as Ferdinand's viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples.

The significant changes in the organization of the Spanish army effected by Cordoba, sometimes called the first modern general, especially the arming of foot soldiers with pikes so that they could withstand and repulse a cavalry charge, produced

the invincible legions that later made Alba the terror of Europe. To some extent, Cordoba's great innovation merely represented a reversion to the methods by which Philip of Macedon (q.v.) had produced his Macedonian war machine almost two thousand years previously, making possible the conquest of Asia by Alexander (q.v.).

After the death of Cordoba's great patron Isabella in 1504, Ferdinand's long-simmering jealousy of Cordoba's glory became more pronounced. Cordoba was recalled in 1507 and, although loaded with titles and honors, was kept without any further command until his death.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 661; Mayne, 78, 191.



ALEXANDER VI (1431-1503)

Pope (1492-1503).

He was born near Valencia in Spain and was originally Rodrigo Llançol. At an early age he went to Italy to study law at Bologna. When in 1455 his mother's brother, Alfonso de Borja, became Pope Calixtus III, he took the name, in Italian, of Rodrigo Borgia. In the usual fashion of the age, Rodrigo's uncle made him in succession a bishop, a cardinal (1456), and vice-chancellor of the Church (1457). After his uncle's death in 1458, Borgia's further advance was temporarily halted under the reform-minded Pius II (1458-64).

However, under the succeeding homosexual popes, Paul II (q.v.) and Sixtus IV (q.v.), Borgia's advance resumed. By 1476 he was dean of the Sacred College. That same year, by his Roman mistress Vannozza dei Cattani, thrice a widow, Cardinal Borgia became the father of the famous, or infamous, Cesare Borgia (q.v.), and four years later of the equally notorious Lucrezia. He also had two other sons by Vannozza, Giovanni (b. 1474) and Giuffrè (b. 1481). In addition, Cardinal Borgia had two other sons and two other daughters by other mistresses. However, even after his passion for Vannozza cooled, and she was replaced, his passion for her children remained undiminished. He was to lavish vast sums on them and to load them with honors.

After the death of Pope Innocent VIII in 1492, the election of a successor was accompanied by the largest-scale bribery in

papal history. Using the enormous fortune he had meanwhile acquired, Cardinal Borgia outbribed his rivals and was elected pope on August 10, 1492, a couple of months before another famous event.

As Pope Alexander VI he began by showing a great capacity for orderly administration. But almost at once he also manifested the passion that was to bring down on Italy turmoil, chaos and foreign domination that lasted over three centuries: endowing his children and relatives with states in central Italy at the expense of the Church and of his territorial neighbors. For his oldest son, Giovanni, Duke of Gandia, he proposed to carve out a state from the possessions of Ferdinand of Naples, a cousin of Isabella's Ferdinand. The latter refused to help his cousin of Naples, wanting to keep on good terms with Pope Alexander in order to get title to the newly discovered America. So Ferdinand of Naples allied himself with Florence, whereupon Alexander allied himself with Milan and Venice and, to be on the safe side, one of the pope's allies called in Charles VIII of France. He was easily prevailed upon to invade Italy and secure the throne of Naples once again for his cousins of Anjou, one-time rulers of Naples. Charles' invasion began in 1494, and by the following year, Naples had been captured, but nothing more was heard of it being held as a fief of the papacy, as Alexander had planned.

Thoroughly alarmed, Alexander now called for help against the French from all directions, even from the Turkish sultan! The French were finally driven out by the German forces of Emperor Maximilian in the north and by the Spanish forces under Cordoba (q.v.) in the south.

Meanwhile, Rome swarmed with Spanish adventurers, assassins and prostitutes. Murder and robbery were committed with impunity, and Pope Alexander spent much of his time in hunting, dancing, staging plays and miscellaneous orgies. Among his favorite companions was Jem, the brother of the Turkish sultan, supposedly detained as a hostage.

Following up the expulsion of the French, Pope Alexander set himself to break the power of the feudal lords in the Papal States. The papal army moved effectively under his oldest son, Giovanni, Duke of Gandia, until 1497, when his murdered body was found in the Tiber one June day. Cesare, his younger brother,

who had so far been only Archbishop of Valencia (at 16) and a cardinal (at 17) was widely known to have been involved in Giovanni's murder. Abandoning his clerical career, Cesare now replaced his murdered brother as the papal generalissimo and soon became the dominating personality of the papal realm, terrifying even his father.

In order to get money for their schemes, the pope and Cesare made accusations one after another against rich cardinals, officials or noblemen, who were swiftly arrested or murdered, all their property being confiscated. Offices were sold to the highest bidder, and anyone who raised his voice in protest was swiftly assassinated. The greatest voice in protest, that of Savonarola in Florence, could not be silenced in the usual way, but enough pressure was brought to bear on the Florentines, especially the threat of interdict, that they finally turned on Savonarola and condemned him to death.

To facilitate further advance of the family, alliances were made contracted by marriage of Alexander's children to the leading rulers of Italy and their daughters. Cesare, however, was sent as the papal legate to France, bearing Louis XII the happy gift of a bill of divorce. In appreciation, Louis made Cesare Duke of the Valentinois (his best known title thereafter) and married him to a princess of Navarre. In accordance with this new alliance, the French returned to Italy in 1499 to seize Milan and to move south on Naples again. Alexander had arranged for the division of the Kingdom of Naples between France and Spain, but soon after the two armies came into contact, violent disputes broke out, followed by hostilities in consequence of which the French were once again ignominiously driven out by Cordoba's Spanish forces. Alexander's entire plot had clearly miscarried, and the Spanish were now sole masters of Naples as well as Sicily.

Meanwhile, as the French were holding the eyes of most Italian rulers with their advances and retreats in Italy, their good friend Cesare, as papal generalissimo, was at last accomplishing the long-planned objective of subjugating all the petty despots of the Papal States. With that rare combination of imagination, diplomacy and violence that made him the idol of Machiavelli (q.v.), not to mention his 10,000 soldiers, he emerged from the

campaign triumphant. His proud father created for him the title of Duke of the Romagna.

His sister Lucrezia had also done well for herself. In the course of a succession of marriages to one Italian potentate after another, each being removed by virtue of a divorce granted by father or assassination provided by brother Cesare (her poisons were usually reserved for lesser enemies), Lucrezia at one time served as regent of the Holy See during an absence of her father from Rome.

While Pope Alexander was consolidating his power and bargaining for a good throne for Cesare, both father and son fell ill, either of malaria or of poisoning. Cesare recovered, but Pope Alexander died. With his death all his ambitious dynastic plans collapsed. Stripped of all his power under the succeeding Julius II (q.v.), Cesare had to flee.

Having brought the papacy to its lowest level of degradation, Alexander VI did much to bring on the Protestant Reformation a few years later. However, he was also a patron of Raphael (q.v.) and Michelangelo (q.v.). It was also Alexander VI who had to serve as Solomon in dividing up the New World, which he accomplished in such a way that Brazil fell to Portugal and almost all else to Spain, the land of his forefathers.

In view of the many mistresses of Pope Alexander VI and his well-demonstrated passion for women, to which his eight or more children bore witness, his alleged homosexuality must be looked upon with considerable skepticism. However, given his potent sexuality, there is probably no reason to doubt some bisexual experimentation with some handsome pages in the course of his many orgies.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 658; Mayne, 267.



CESARE BORGIA (1476-1507)

Italian cardinal, general and politician.

He was born the son of Cardinal Borgia, later Pope Alexander VI (q.v.), by his mistress, Vannozza dei Cattanei. The favorite son of Cardinal Borgia, Cesare was a 16-year-old student at Pisa when his father outbribed his rivals and became Pope Alexander VI in 1492. Cesare was promptly made Archbishop of Valencia, his father's home city, and the following year, at

17, he became a cardinal. Cesare's late teens were spent in riotous orgies at the Vatican.

When the invading Charles VIII of France moved into Rome on his way to Naples in 1494, he was induced to pull his forces out only when Cesare went along with him as a hostage for his papal father's good behavior. Cesare escaped and returned to Rome before Charles' humiliating expulsion from Italy by Cordoba (q.v.). Deciding to abandon his clerical career for a military one, Cesare perceived that his older brother Giovanni stood in the way of his dominance of the politico-military scene. A simple solution was apparently readily clear to Cesare, and Giovanni's corpse was found in the Tiber one June day in 1497.

After a mission in Naples in which Cesare as papal legate crowned Frederick of Aragon King of Naples, he returned to Rome to take command of the papal army, having effected the renunciation of his priesthood. After some display of his military talents, Cesare late in 1498 went to France as papal legate to the new king, Louis XII, bearing as a gift a bill of divorce enabling Louis to marry his predecessor's widow Anne, heiress of Brittany, and thus avoid losing the valuable province. In appreciation, Louis made Cesare Duke of the Valentinois in France and married him to Charlotte d'Albret, sister of the King of Navarre. Louis also gave Cesare an army of 5,000 mercenaries to use for his planned conquest of the Romagna.

Cesare's long-cherished plan to subjugate all of the Romagna, whose petty despots only vaguely acknowledged papal suzerainty, began in 1499. He carried one stronghold after another—Imola, Forli, Rimini, Pesaro. Faenza held out, its people devoted to their lord, Astorre Manfredi, a virtuous youth of 18. However, in April, 1501, Manfredi was induced to surrender on condition of his life being spared. After his surrender, Cesare sent him a prisoner to Rome where, after being raped, he was put to death. Cesare returned to Rome, completely triumphant, and was made Duke of the Romagna by his devoted father, Pope Alexander.

Well on the way to being complete master of central Italy, Cesare struck terror into all Italy by his cruelty, utter lack of scruples, violent temper and insatiable greed. In 1502 his many enemies joined in a confederation which spread rebellion against

him everywhere, and after his army was defeated, his end seemed near. However, when his enemies received a report that Louis XII of France was sending help to Cesare, they agreed to come to terms with him. Cesare met them at Senigallia to discuss peace terms, then had them all suddenly arrested. Several were strangled. It was at about this time that Cesare engaged as his military engineer Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.) and sent him to make a survey with respect to swamp reclamation and other possible projects in the Romagna.

In 1503 Pope Alexander was heavily engaged in various intrigues with foreign powers designed to make Cesare king of Sicily, and they were planning an expedition, when both father and son fell seriously ill, either of malaria or poison. Pope Alexander died. While Cesare began slowly to recover, his incapacity at the time of his father's death made it possible for all the surviving victims of the Borgias to rise up against their control everywhere.

The new pope, Julius II (q.v.), drove Cesare out of Rome and forced him to surrender all his possessions. Cesare fled to Naples where the Spanish viceroy, Gonzalo de Cordoba, had him arrested in 1504 as "a disturber of the peace of Italy." He was sent to Spain as a prisoner and held there for two years, apparently his first sight of the land of his forefathers. In November, 1506, he managed to escape to the court of his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, and while serving him in a petty feudal war, he was killed in a battle at Viana in Spanish Navarre.

Cesare was immortalized by Machiavelli (q.v.), who used him as the model for *The Prince*, in the firm opinion that while Cesare was cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous, these qualities were always subordinated to his superior intelligence and dictated by reason, never by passion. Machiavelli hoped that someone like Cesare would unite Italy into a single country. Among the most idealized portraits of Cesare is that by the eminent historical novelist Rafael Sabatini. While in his own day Cesare would have served well enough as a model for the Antichrist, pope's son or not, in more modern times he has been seen as the prototype of the Fascist leader.

Reference: Mayne, 192; Roscaud, 138.

VASCO DA GAMA (c. 1460-1524)

Portuguese admiral and explorer.

He was born at Sines, Portugal, of minor nobility. Little is known of his earlier years other than that he fought against Castile in the war over the succession to Henry IV (q.v.). Subsequently he became a mariner, and by 1597 he had gained sufficient reputation that King Manuel I chose him to command the long-deferred expedition to follow up the reports, some ten years earlier, by Diaz about a passage south of Africa to the riches of the East. The recent great successes of the Spanish in discovering new worlds doubtless acted as a spur.

His squadron of four ships, especially constructed for the expedition, left the Tagus on July 9, 1497. By the beginning of 1498 they had rounded the Cape without misadventure and sailed up the east coast of Africa to Malindi (in modern Kenya) where they erected a fort. Embarking again, da Gama sailed across the Indian Ocean and reached Calicut on the Malabar coast on May 20, 1498. After confirming the traditional reports of the riches of India, he sailed homeward and reached Portugal in September, 1499. The grateful King Manuel conferred on him titles, a pension and ample property.

Da Gama gave much direction to the expedition that sailed in 1500 under Cabral for India, accidentally discovering Brazil on the way. Cabral did finally get to India and set up a "factory," or colony, at Calicut. However, after he left, the Indian natives, incited by jealous Mohammedan merchants, murdered almost all those left behind. The few who escaped and returned to Portugal inflamed their countrymen to seek dreadful vengeance. Command of ten powerful ships, intended first for Cabral, was given to Vasco da Gama, with the title "Admiral of India." Joined by another ten ships, he sailed for India in 1502, and on reaching Calicut, bombarded the town with all cannons blazing. A landing party was then sent ashore and massacred with utmost savagery all the benighted heathen who could be found. Plundering up and down the coast, seizing every vessel he came across, Vasco da Gama was able to return to Portugal laden with spoils. He reached Lisbon in September, 1503, and received additional privileges and revenues.

Now one of the richest men in Portugal, da Gama went into

retirement and fathered more sons, ultimately having six. He continued to enjoy royal favor and to be the chief adviser of King Manuel on all matters concerning India. In 1519 he was made a count.

In 1524 affairs in India had developed into such a mess as a result of the incompetence of the Viceroy that Manuel's successor, John III, removed him and named the sexagenarian Vasco da Gama Viceroy of India in his place. Da Gama left Lisbon in April, 1524 and reached Goa in September. Setting himself vigorously to correct abuses and to institute reforms, he never lived to accomplish his final mission. In the middle of December he fell ill and died on Christmas Eve.

Reference: Mayne, 185.



JULIUS II (1443-1513)

Pope (1503-13).

Originally Giuliano della Rovere, he was born at Savona and intended for a commercial career. However, as his uncle began advancing in the Church, he assumed charge of Giuliano's education, which he entrusted to the Franciscans. After his uncle became Pope Sixtus IV (q.v.) in 1471, Giuliano began to advance rapidly in the Church: Bishop of Carpentras, Bishop of Bologna, Bishop of Vercelli, Archbishop of Avignon, and by the end of the decade a cardinal.

In 1480 Cardinal della Rovere was made papal legate to France, where he played a major part in the solution of the crisis resulting from the disintegration of the Burgundian state after the death of Charles the Bold (q.v.). France got back many clearly French parts of Burgundy, but most of the polyglot state passed through Charles' daughter Mary to her Hapsburg husband, the future Emperor Maximilian I, and their son Philip, the father of Charles V.

Cardinal della Rovere established so high a reputation for his abilities while helping to solve such problems during his two years in France that he became the dominant figure in the Holy See upon his return to Rome. This status outlasted his uncle's papacy and continued during that of the incompetent and corrupt Innocent VIII (1484-92).

Upon the death of Innocent VIII, Cardinal della Rovere was

the most eminent candidate for election, but he was outbribed by the far greater resources of Cardinal Borgia, who became Alexander VI (q.v.). Fearing for his safety at the hands of the unscrupulous Borgias, Cardinal della Rovere left Rome and in 1494 went back to France. Here he was influential in persuading Charles VIII of France to invade Italy and claim the throne of Naples for his relatives. Cardinal della Rovere accompanied the young king on his invasion, hoping to persuade him to summon a church council to unseat Pope Alexander VI. However, he was outfoxed by Alexander VI and returned to France, nominally in Alexander's service.

Upon the death of Alexander VI in 1503, Cardinal della Rovere returned to Rome and supported the election of the sickly Pius III. After his death a few weeks later, Cardinal della Rovere was unanimously elected pope, having the support even of his great enemy's powerful bastard, Cesare Borgia (q.v.), recuperating from his near fatal illness.

As Pope Julius II he at once set about repudiating the system of nepotism and favoritism that had flourished under the previous popes and set about energetically to clean up "the mess in Rome." By dexterous diplomacy he managed to get back all the papal possessions from Cesare, and after depriving him of all sources of power, forced him out of Italy. Julius II then pacified Rome and the surrounding countryside by pacifying the great rival houses of Colonna and Orsini, only temporarily eclipsed by the Borgias, and winning them to his cause.

In 1504 Julius II arbitrated a dispute between France and the Empire, and then secured their support for removing the Venetians from the possessions they had seized upon following the fall of the Borgias. Having freed Bologna and Perugia by 1506, Julius II formed the League of Cambrai against Venice in 1508, having as allies with himself the emperor and the kings of France and Spain, the latter now being the ruler of southern Italy. In 1509 Venice was placed under interdict. The Venetians were now forced to give up the struggle and disgorged Ravenna, Rimini, and Faenza. At this point, when the allies of Julius II wanted to partition the whole Venetian empire, Julius II joined with Venice against his quondam allies. In 1510 Julius absolved Venice from the interdict and now placed France under interdict.

He formed a new league, this time called the Holy League, against France.

Louis XII of France responded energetically, deciding to join with Emperor Maximilian in summoning a church council to depose Julius. Trying to win over Henry VIII of England to their cause, Emperor Maximilian wrote Henry a letter on September 9, 1510, in which he referred to Venice having been recently won over to Julius II by two "young minions" of the pope, and in case he still failed to get the point, told Henry that two French boys recently sent to Rome by Queen Anne of France had fallen victims to the homosexual lust of Julius II.

Accordingly, in November, 1511, a council met at Pisa to consider the deposition of Julius II. Its decree of deposition included a reference to Julius as "this sodomite, covered with shameful ulcers, who has infected the Church with his corruption." The council, however, failed to prevail against Julius, who called his own council, known as the Fifth Lateran, which was to deal not only with France but also to apply itself to reform of the Church and to organize war against the Turks. Convened in May, 1512, it was still in session when Julius died.

Aside from his capable administration, Julius II was a great patron of art and literature and did much to beautify Rome. In 1506 he laid the foundation-stone for St. Peter's. He founded the Vatican Museum. He was a friend and patron of Michelangelo (q.v.) and Raphael (q.v.), who did a portrait of him. Despite being one of the ablest of the Renaissance popes, Julius II was impelled by his need to replenish the papal treasury, exhausted by the self-serving depredations of Alexander VI, to increasing the corrupt traffic in indulgences.

Reference: Bulliet, 101; Ellis, 31, 35; Hirschfeld, 665; Moll, 50; Roscaud, 136-37.



NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527)

Italian statesman and writer.

He was born at Florence, the son of an affluent jurist. He apparently received an excellent education, becoming thoroughly familiar with the Greek and Latin classics. However, when he came to write himself, his style was to be distinguished by its freedom from the scholastic pedantry that marked the work of

most contemporary writers. This was in conformity with his consuming interest in the world of men and things as they really were, discussion of which was best served by idiomatic conciseness.

In 1494, the year that Charles VIII of France invaded Italy, the Medicis were driven out of Florence, and Machiavelli received a minor post in the republican administration. When his former tutor became the republic's chancellor in 1498, Machiavelli was made second chancellor and secretary, a post he retained till 1512. He was given especial supervision of the republic's military affairs and he devoted himself to organizing a citizen's militia, as opposed to the usual mercenaries. As part of his duties, Machiavelli also undertook a number of diplomatic assignments, including a mission to Louis XII of France in 1500. These embassies not only introduced him to the subtleties of Italian diplomacy but also extended his observation of races very different from the Italians. He began forming his political opinions and views about the relative strengths of different regimes.

1502 proved a crucial year for Machiavelli. First, he got married at last. Second, he became an intimate associate of Florence's new strong man, Soderini. Thirdly, he was sent as Florence's envoy to the infamous Cesare Borgia (q.v.), bastard of Pope Alexander VI (q.v.), conqueror of the Romagna and terror of Italy. At this the most brilliant period of Cesare's adventurous career, Machiavelli became entranced with Cesare's combination of audacity and political prudence, his adroit use of cruelty and fraud, his avoidance of half-measures and his firm methods of administration. He had found his political idol, and the political philosopher soon idealized him beyond reality. This was perhaps made easier by Cesare's sudden disappearance from the Italian political scene about a year after Machiavelli met him.

In 1506 Machiavelli, who had won over Soderini to his national militia scheme, became secretary of the new war ministry. He also accompanied Pope Julius II (q.v.) on his campaigns to subjugate the rebellious cities of the Papal States. In 1508, during a mission to Emperor Maximilian, Machiavelli had an opportunity to study German character and politics.

In 1509 Florence brought to a successful conclusion its long drawn-out war with Pisa by the capture of that city, with

Machiavelli's militia having acquitted itself creditably. He served on another mission to Louis XII, but was unable to do anything to halt the alarming developments produced by Julius II's struggle to humble the Venetians. France and Spain, drawn into Italy against Venice at the instigation of Julius II, refused to stop after Venice had submitted to Julius II and wanted to partition the Venetian empire, which now brought a struggle between Julius II and the leading powers of Europe. The position of Machiavelli's chief, Soderini, was undermined, and in 1512 a Spanish army, at the invitation of the exiled Medici, conquered Tuscany and in Florence overthrew the republic and brought back the Medici.

Machiavelli's citizens' militia had failed to save the republic. His overtures to the Medici having proven in vain, he was deprived of his offices. Implicated in a conspiracy in 1513, he was arrested and imprisoned for a year. After his release, Machiavelli retired to his farm, spending the rest of his life in modest circumstances, using his pen to turn to profit his lifelong experiences.

Before the end of 1513 he had completed his most famous work, *The Prince*. Based on the lessons learned from an idealized Cesare Borgia, it has remained forever the bible for coldly realistic and amoral political oneupmanship, and Machiavelli's name has thereby become a byword for political immorality. In *The Prince* he analyzed the methods by which an ambitious man may raise himself to power and, having gained it, hold that power. Aside from dealing with the qualities of the successful autocrat, Machiavelli also analyzed the nature of principalities.

The Prince had developed as an offshoot of another major work of his, *Commentaries on the First Ten Books of Livy's Roman History*, in which he likewise applied bold, new analysis to political history.

Both these works were, perhaps fortunately for him, published only posthumously. In the meantime he published less controversial works, such as *On the Art of War* (1521), involving military problems from a political viewpoint, and *Mandragola* (1524), a ribald comedy, of all things. Having effected a partial reconciliation with the Medici, he was put on a pension and assigned to write a *History of Florence*. This was also published

posthumously, and again showed, like his other works, a highly "modern" appearance.

He died of medicine taken during an illness and never lived to see the great fame brought him by *The Prince*.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 667.



DESIDERIUS ERASMUS (c. 1466-1536)

Dutch scholar and theologian.

He was born at either Gouda or Rotterdam, the bastard son of a Greek-loving pedant who christened him Herasmus Gerardus, the first being supposedly the Greek equivalent of the Dutch Gerard, the family name. When he grew up, Erasmus decided to carry the thing a little further, dropped his family name, made his original given name his surname, and he took as his first name the Latin word considered equivalent to his Dutch and Greek names, i.e., Desiderius, all meaning beloved.

His first schooling was at Gouda, where he met his longtime friend, William Herman. The two boys then went together from 1475 to 1484 to a school at Deventer, one of the first in northern Europe to feel the influence of the Renaissance. In 1483 he came under the influence of a brilliant new headmaster, who instilled in him his lifelong devotion to literature. Meanwhile, he also served as a choirboy in the Cathedral of Utrecht.

About 1484, already deprived of his mother, he now lost his father, and under the regime of his new guardians, he was not allowed to go to the university as he wanted but had to enter a religious school. Three years later, Erasmus, along with his brother Peter, also illegitimate, was pressured into entering a monastery. After prolonged resistance, he became an Augustinian canon in St. Gregory's at Steyn, near Gouda. Although he found little religion or elevation of any sort in the life, he had the consolation of being permitted without hindrance to pursue his studies of the classics. In that year of notable events, 1492, Erasmus was ordained a priest.

His superior learning coming to the attention of the Bishop of Cambrai, the leading prelate at the Brussels court, Erasmus was made his Latin secretary in 1494. Finding little to keep him busy, he followed the suggestion of an English friend, James

Batt, that he apply for leave to study at the University of Paris. Permission being granted, he studied there, despite several bouts of illness, until he had received his bachelor's degree in divinity. Thereafter, he remained for several years, supplementing his allowance from the bishop by tutoring pupils. One of these, William Blount, Baron Mountjoy, persuaded him to visit England in 1499 (and subsequently granted him a pension of twenty pounds a year for life). Drawn into a theological discussion at Oxford, Erasmus made such a favorable impression that he was asked to stay and teach there. However, he had now formed a burning desire to master Greek in order to better understand the original Scriptures, and Greek was not yet to be learned at Oxford.

In 1500 Erasmus returned to Paris. Though still unable to acquire satisfactory Greek instruction, he located texts and spent the following years teaching himself and supporting himself by his tutoring and by gifts from patrons, usually in return for a dedication of some minor writing. Plague caused him to leave Paris, and while at Louvain (1502-04), he became a friend of the university's vice chancellor, Adrian Florensz, for whom a brilliant career, ending with the papacy as Adrian VI (the last non-Italian pope), was to ensue as a result of becoming tutor to the future Emperor Charles V.

Having mastered Greek by 1504, Erasmus accepted another invitation to England from Lord Mountjoy and while there became acquainted with many of its leading figures. In 1506 a long dream was realized when, as tutor to the two sons of the English royal physician, he accompanied them to Italy to supervise their studies. While the boys were studying, Erasmus himself worked for a doctorate of divinity at Turin and later studied at Bologna. After making contact with the great Venetian printing firm of Manutius, he undertook to produce for them an enlarged edition of a little work of his dating from 1500, *Chiliades Adagiorum*, with over 3,000 adages and proverbs in Latin, with some references to Greek, accompanied by lively comments and anecdotes. The book proved a great popular success and made his name known all over Europe. Erasmus also had the distinction at this time of becoming tutor to Alexander Stewart, the bastard of James IV of Scotland, Henry VIII's brother-in-law.

With Alexander he spent many delightful months traveling around Italy.

In 1509 Henry VIII came to the English throne, and Lord Mountjoy, a longtime friend of the new king's, became a person of influence. Abandoning with reluctance all his learned friends in Rome, Erasmus accepted Mountjoy's pressing invitation to return to England, anticipating that at least he would enjoy greater freedom there for independent thinking. During his two years in England, apparently much of it spent residing at the home of Sir Thomas More, Erasmus continued his researches, did some teaching at Cambridge, wrote his editions of the New Testament, the Letters of St. Jerome, and of the Roman philosopher Seneca and supported himself from the sale of a benefice given him at Aldington in Kent. He also wrote a witty satire on clerical and secular powers, *Moriae Encomium*, which he had printed in Paris in 1511. In English it was to be known as *The Praise of Folly*.

Erasmus now began to devote himself more and more to the preparation of editions of scholarly works, carried away by thoughts of how many people could be reached now thanks to the development of printing. After traveling through various places in central Europe and receiving acclaim as the new guiding light of culture and learning, Erasmus decided to make his headquarters in the Swiss city of Basel. Soon pupils and disciples flocked to him from all corners of Europe. Popes, kings and dukes showered him with gifts of money and offers of posts, all of them anxious for the prestige to be derived from association with this lion of classical learning. In 1517 the pope gave him a dispensation from wearing his priestly garb, for he was still a priest. During an extended stay at Louvain, he served for a short time as a councillor to his nominal sovereign, Charles I of Spain, soon to be Emperor Charles V. He visited England again in 1516 and 1517.

Determined to retain his independence, Erasmus returned to Basel in 1521 to accept the position of general editor and literary adviser to his current printer and publisher, Johann Froben. The joint efforts of Froben and Erasmus made their press the greatest in Europe, both for its high technical quality and for its choice of literature. After the death of Froben in

1527, the undermining of learning by the religious disputes and the flooding of the market with the cheaper work from Frankfurt led to decline of the Basel house.

In 1529 Erasmus moved to Freiburg in Germany, where the authorities gave him the use of a residence that had been built for the late Emperor Maximilian. After buying his own home there, Erasmus remained for six years until, fearful of political developments, he returned to Basel in 1535. Poor health and fear of the loss of independence led him to decline an offer from the new Pope Paul III (in thanks for Erasmus' congratulatory letter) to make him Dean of Deventer, with a cardinal's hat to follow. He also refused to be drawn into the Reformation, which many people considered as inspired by his work ("Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it"). Confined almost constantly after the winter of 1535-36, he finally died of dysentery in his seventieth year.

Erasmus' will, disposing of his large fortune, left nothing to the Church. Most of his fortune went to his friend Bonifazius Amerbach, part for himself and part in trust for the benefit of the old, the infirm, for young girls without dowries and for scholarships for promising young men.

Sometime called "the Voltaire of the Renaissance," Erasmus had remarkable good luck in escaping persecution, or perhaps in dying just before it would have been sure to come. His adages included items like, "The people build cities, princes pull them down," "The industry of the citizens creates wealth for rapacious lords to plunder," "Plebeian magistrates pass good laws for kings to violate," and "The people love peace, and their rulers stir up war." As a rationalist, the exponent of common sense, he had little interest in fanatical dogma, and he was soon as disgusted with the Protestants as with the Catholics, earning the hatred of both by his refusal to support either. His voluminous writings included countless pamphlets on questions of the day, and his *Colloquies* (1516) put the discussion in the form of dialogues, like those of Plato (q.v.). His keen and often malicious humor stood out sharply beside his erudition.

His Latin editions of the Scriptures were considered none too good and his Greek editions were worse, but they were tremendously important as being subjected to criticism and cor-

rection like any other writings, and not treated as fixed, holy and unchangeable words.

Erasmus' collection of letters, totaling around 3,000, was among his most permanently influential works. These letters provide one of the best histories of his period, and linguistically are interesting specimens of the development of mediaeval Latin into its final development as a sort of living Latin.

It has been from some of those letters, especially the ones addressed in his youth to a fellow monk at Steyn, that Erasmus' homosexual disposition has been deduced. By his contemporaries he was generally considered as simply indifferent to women and sex. His being an ordained priest was not, of course, relevant in that period.

Reference: Ellis, 31; Mayne 78, 263.



MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (1475-1564)

Italian sculptor, painter, architect, engineer and poet.

He was born at Caprese, near Florence, the son of Ludovico Buonarroti, an impoverished Florentine aristocrat who boasted of his refusal to consider mercantile or mechanical pursuits no matter how meager the income from his estate. It was while he had temporary employment as a minor official, the resident magistrate of Caprese, that his renowned son was born. His mother's health being poor (she died in a few years, after bearing three more sons), Michelangelo was nursed and kept during his infancy by the wife of a marble-worker of Settignano.

Despite his father's opposition, Michelangelo was determined from his earliest years to become an artist, believing he had sucked in the passion with his foster-mother's milk. His stubborn will having finally overcome his father's aristocratic pride, Michelangelo was apprenticed at 13 to the brothers Ghirlandaio. Domenico Ghirlandaio, starting as a jeweler, had by this time (1488) become Florence's leading painter. Specializing at first in frescoes, Michelangelo soon achieved mastery of the form, many great examples of which he was able to observe in Florence. One day while making such a study tour with fellow-students, he got into a fight with one of them named Torrigiano, who broke his

nose, the results of which marked his face for the remainder of his long life.

Having developed a stronger leaning toward sculpture than painting, Michelangelo persuaded the generous Ghirlandaio to arrange for his transfer, before his term of apprenticeship was up, to the school of sculpture directed by Donatello's pupil Bertoldo, which was under the direct patronage of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the strong man of Florence. This school, aside from its technical instruction, offered the students humanistic studies in the classics, including even instruction from the brilliant Politian (q.v.). Michelangelo's keen mind and great talents in both these phases of the school's program secured for him, despite his unsociable and surly disposition, favor and encouragement. To his later student days, or earliest days after graduation, are attributed his *Head of a Faun* (now lost), his bronze *Madonna Seated on a Step* (Casa Buonarroti, Florence) and his marble *Centauro-machia* (Casa Buonarroti, Florence).

In 1492 the great Lorenzo died, and under his less talented son, Piero, discontent with the Medici increased, complicated by international developments. Fearing the worst, Michelangelo fled with two companions to Bologna in 1494. Though only 20, he received the patronage of the Aldovrandi family, and on their commission he executed *St. Petronius* and *St. Proculus Kneeling* for Bologna's Church of St. Petronius. Receiving no further commissions in Bologna, he returned to Florence in 1495, his name being included in the list of artists commissioned to decorate the new legislative building for the new Florentine republic. Florence now fell under the strange theocracy of the strange Savonarola, who cast some influence over Michelangelo. During this period he did his marble *St. John in the Wilderness*.

Michelangelo was persuaded to do a tinted marble Cupid in counterfeit of classical sculpture, the piece being intended for the powerful Cardinal Riario in Rome. The latter discovered the fraud but, far from bearing Michelangelo any ill will, offered to become his patron if he came to Rome. Michelangelo accepted the offer and spent over five years in Rome (1496-1501), receiving commissions for such works as another marble *Cupid*, a *Bacchus*, a *Young Faun*, and from a French cardinal, a *Pietà* and *Mary Lamenting over the Body of Christ* (now in St. Peter's).

Just when he was beginning to establish his name in Rome, he was obliged by family duty to return to Florence in 1501.

His father having lost his post in the customs during the turmoil following the overthrow of Savonarola and the French invasion, Michelangelo had to support his large family, it being apparently assumed that he could do this only by working in Florence. It was during this period that Michelangelo executed his most renowned work, *David*. This colossal statue was carved out of a huge block of marble that had been abandoned by another sculptor forty years before, after he had started to work on it. In 1504 *David* was completed and brought Michelangelo universal acclaim for the tremendous energy of expression shown by the frowning adolescent, tensely watchful and poised in preparation for his great action.

A smaller *David* in bronze, completed by a disciple, was sent to a French patron in 1508. For a merchant of Bruges he did at this time a *Madonna and Child* (Cathedral of Bruges). He also kept up his talents in painting, completing in this period a *Holy Family* (Uffizi, Florence). Other painting commissions, including a huge historic fresco for the Florentine legislative building, were left unfinished when he received an urgent call to Rome from the dynamic new reform pope, Julius II (q.v.).

Aspiring to a sepulchral monument to commemorate the glory that he felt sure he would earn, Julius II commissioned Michelangelo for the task in 1505. After superintending the selection and shipment of the marble from the quarries of Carrara, Michelangelo returned to Rome in 1506 to find that Bramante, a great rival of his, had been selected by Julius II to supervise the construction of St. Peter's. Bramante persuaded Julius II to take Michelangelo off his original commission and assign him to decorating the Sistine Chapel with frescoes. Hardly had Michelangelo been persuaded to go along with this when the pope, in dire need of all funds for his wars, stopped all his lesser enterprises and even refused to pay Michelangelo the money due him. Enraged, Michelangelo left Rome for Florence in 1506, but later in the year he was persuaded to make up with the pope and to execute, for a beggarly price, a colossal bronze statue of Julius II to be set at the entrance of the Church of St. Petronius in Bologna, to commemorate his recent conquest

of the city. Overcoming many problems, Michelangelo completed the job in 1508, only to have it hurled down by a mob three years later, during a revolt against the pope, the broken fragments being hurled into the furnace.

Returning to Rome in 1508, Michelangelo reluctantly undertook the painting job so maliciously secured for him by Bramante. As it turned out, his paintings of the Sistine Chapel proved among his greatest triumphs and form one of the world's greatest masterpieces of art. Going beyond the pope's original scheme, he decided to illustrate the Bible from the Creation to the Flood. Discovering that his Florentine assistants were unable to meet the standards he set, he undertook to complete the entire terrible task himself (except for the final mechanical details) and spent more than four months painting recumbent, face up, on the scaffold. His surly bad temper having previously caused him to reject the friendship of Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.), he was now moved to do likewise with the gentle Raphael (q.v.), of whom he had been made jealous by malicious mischief-makers. Between September, 1510 and January, 1511, Michelangelo went on strike, infuriated by the insufficiency of funds disbursed by Julius II. When Julius II paid up his arrears, and Michelangelo completed his great work, he had gone even beyond the Flood, with additional depictions involving the prophets, David and Goliath, Judith and Holofernes, etc.

After his triumphant completion of the Sistine Chapel paintings, a work in his minor sideline, Michelangelo was commissioned by Julius II to resume work in his real field, sculpture, returning to that sepulchral monument. Such a commission seemed more appropriate this time, for Julius II died four months later. His successor, Leo X (q.v.), fearing to alienate the great man, allowed Michelangelo to complete it on a somewhat more modest scale. Three of the figures that were to be part of the whole work have since assumed separate fame: *Moses* (Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome) and the two *Slaves* (Louvre, Paris).

When Cardinal Medici succeeded Julius II in 1513 as Leo X, the papal power was sufficient to bring about the downfall of the Florentine republic and the return of the Medici to power in Florence, in the wake of the Spanish army. As a former servant of the republic, despite the traditional loyalty of his family to

the Medici and their original sponsorship of him, Michelangelo was now somewhat suspect. For many years, the completion of his artistic works was complicated by the clashes resulting from Medici distrustfulness and intrigues on the one hand, and Michelangelo's short and violent temper on the other.

In 1518 he signed a contract to superintend the vast scheme for the adornment and enrichment of the façade of the Medici family's Church of San Lorenzo in Florence. Infuriated when his patrons insisted on obtaining the marble from a quarry other than Carrara's, the only place whose standards he considered high enough, Michelangelo tore up his contract after witnessing three months of hopeless incompetence at the newer quarry. Offers poured in to him from the king of France, from Bologna and from Genoa. Rejecting all these, he returned to Rome to do a few more *Slaves* for Julius' tomb and a *Christ* for a local church but never completed them.

He returned to Florence in 1522 and remained nominally in the service of the Medici until 1534. He again agreed to contribute to their monument. Various projects were started but then abandoned in the course of disputes. The availability of funds played its part. Leo X had been succeeded in 1521 by the austere Dutchman, Adrian VI, and funds dried up. After the death in 1523 of Adrian, amidst universal Italian rejoicing, another Medici, Leo X's nephew, became Clement VII. Once again funds were available. But in 1527 Rome was sacked by the troops of Charles V, the Medici pope was ruined and the Florentines decided this was a good time to get rid of the Medici again. They were expelled from Florence and another republic was established. Then the pope and the emperor were reconciled and the Florentine republic was under siege. A new career now opened up for Michelangelo as engineer-in-chief of Florence's fortifications. He was also used in diplomatic missions to Venice and Ferrara. In and out of Florence, undecided which side to cast his lot in with, he barely escaped the terrible vengeance of the Medici against their enemies, owing his life mainly to Pope Clement VII.

In gratitude, Michelangelo felt that he could hardly refuse any commissions suggested by Clement VII. The work he now did for the library of the Medici monument in Florence included

some of his greatest sculpture, such as the *Madonna and Child, Lorenzo de' Medici with Morning (f.) and Evening (m.) at His Feet, Giuliano de' Medici with Night (f.) and Day (m.) at His Feet and Victory*.

Considering his obligation over with the death of Clement VII in 1534, Michelangelo left Florence forever, returning to Rome. Although he had hoped to do more sculpture for the Julian monument, the new pope, Paul III, insisted on more work for the Sistine Chapel. For the next seven years, until 1541, Michelangelo, now in his sixties, worked on a painting for the great wall above the altar. The *Last Judgment* proved to be one of the most famous single pictures in the world. After that, Pope Paul had him undertake between 1541 and 1550 two huge frescoes for the new Pauline Chapel, *The Diversion of St. Paul* and *The Martyrdom of St. Peter*. Old age was at last beginning to tell. Both works, inferior to his best, have been hopelessly ruined by the passing of time, perhaps a favor from a kindly fate.

From these final years as a sculptor date also some minor pieces, such as the 1539 marble *Brutus* (National Museum, Florence) commemorating the tyrannicide by Lorenzino de' Medici of Alessandro, the mulatto bastard of Pope Clement VII who had ruled Florence under a reign of terror from 1531 to 1537.

It was apparently also in his sixties that Michelangelo developed both his latent homosexual tendencies and his genius for another branch of the arts, poetry. Both tendencies developed prodigiously, and coalesced, around the figure of the handsome and gifted young Roman noble, Tommaso Cavalieri. The latter became the object of Michelangelo's passionate affections and the inspiration for a collection of sonnets written around 1533-34 and notably rendered in English translation by John Addington Symonds (q.v.) in 1878. In Sonnet 53 Michelangelo contrasts high-minded and divine platonic love with the love for women, which "Ill befits a heart manly and wise," and in Sonnet 54 he addresses Tommaso as "my beloved lord," whose "fair face" inspires love and opening of his soul to God, "though the vulgar, vain, malignant horde attribute what their grosser wills obey." Other youths to whom Michelangelo was attached included Febo di Poggio, his servant Urbino, and Cechino Bracci, the

17-year-old subject of some of the sonnets.

Greatly embarrassed by all these homosexual implications which were also found in his collected letters, the proud Buonarroti family later declared that it was all misunderstood, and that the real inspiration for almost all the sonnets was Vittoria Colonna. And indeed Michelangelo did have a warm friendship, the subject of some of the sonnets, for Vittoria, a poetess herself and the widow of Ferrante de Avalos, one of the great generals of Charles V, and a woman whose marital devotion and generally beautiful life stood out preeminently in that corrupt age. Most of Michelangelo's religion-tinged sonnets were inspired by her. Her death in 1547 left him very distressed.

His final years found him broken in health and unhappy. Of his family, only his nephew Leonardo survived, the object of mixed devotion and ill will. Clearly the first citizen of Rome, Michelangelo was, much like Goethe (q.v.) almost three centuries later, the object of continual homage from aspiring artists and foreign visitors, diplomatic or otherwise. Scornful, scoffing and ill-tempered as always, he tried to ignore would-be visitors and devote himself to his final career, as an architect. Since 1546 he had been officially the chief architect of St. Peter's, whose dome was remodelled on his design. Michelangelo also took over the architectural designing for the Farnese Palace for the family of Pope Paul, for which huge blocks were taken from the ruins of the Colosseum of Titus (q.v.) and the theater of Marcellus. One of the most magnificent palaces in Rome, it became the French Embassy in 1874.

Of the hundreds of sketches and studies of Michelangelo, many destroyed, about 250 survive in public and private collections.

Michelangelo died just before his ninetieth birthday. A great genius, if not as great a one as Leonardo da Vinci, he could have the satisfaction of having left behind far more than Leonardo to bear lasting tribute to his greatness.

Reference: Bulliet, 56, 292-95; Ellis, 32; Hirschfeld, 668; Masters, 140; Moll, 51-52; Schrenck, 124.

RAPHAEL (1483-1520)

Italian painter.

Properly Raffaello Santi, he was born at Urbino, the son of Giovanni Santi, the court painter of the Lord of Urbino. By the age of 11, when he lost his father, Raphael was already interested in art and had apparently received some instruction. He was apprenticed to Timoteo Viti, and while at his shop in his teens painted *St. Michael*, *St. George and the Dragon*, and *Apollo and Marsyas*, all of them now in the Louvre, Paris.

Around 1500 Raphael entered the workshop of Perugino, who had been a fellow student of Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.) at Verrocchio's studio in Florence. During this first or Perugian period, lasting till 1504, he painted *The Crucifixion* (National Gallery, London); *The Knight's Dream* (National Gallery, London); *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Vatican); *The Three Graces* (Chantilly, France); and *The Connestabile Madonna* (Leningrad).

From 1504 to 1508 Raphael was at Florence, where he devoted more attention to the intricacies of anatomy, perspective and coloring. The most famed pictures from this period, most of them madonnas, include *Madonna del Gran Duca* (Pitti Palace, Florence); *Madonna del Giardino* (Vienna); *Madonna Ansidei* (National Gallery, London); *Madonna del Cardinello* (Uffizi, Florence); *Cowper Madonna* (National Gallery, Washington); *La Belle Jardinière* (Louvre); and *St. Catherine* (National Gallery, London).

In 1508 Raphael moved to Rome, summoned by Bramante, the rival of Michelangelo (q.v.), to participate in the decoration of the Vatican. Here he remained until his untimely death at 37 in 1520. By 1511 Raphael had completed his two largest wall decorations, *The School of Athens* (portraying the Greek philosophers, with the faces of many contemporaries, including his own) and *The Triumph of Religion*. Smaller side walls showed *The Flaying of Marsyas* and *The Temptation of Eve*. The ceiling of the room was devoted to allegorical figures of *Law*, *Philosophy*, *Poetry* and *Theology*.

Between 1511 and 1514, Raphael painted such wall panels as *The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple*; *The Miracle of Bolsena*; *The Repulse of Attila from Rome by Pope Leo I*;

and *The Deliverance of St. Peter*. Many other panels were designed by Raphael and executed by his pupils. This was the same period that Michelangelo was completing his gruelling task for the Sistine Chapel, for which Raphael would have been glad to offer assistance, had not the surly Michelangelo repulsed his offer.

Paintings during this period again included a large number of Madonnas, Raphael's specialty: *Garvagh Madonna* (National Gallery, London); *Madonna with the Fish* (Prado, Madrid); *Madonna di Foligno* (Vatican); *Madonna of the Chair* (Pitti, Florence); *Alba Madonna* (National Gallery, Washington); the *Sistine Madonna* (Dresden); *Galatea* (Farnesina, Rome); *St. Cecilia* (Bologna); *Christ Bearing His Cross* (Prado, Madrid); and *St. Michael and the Devil* (Louvre, Paris).

Raphael's portraits include those of *Pope Julius II*; *Baldassare Castiglione* (Louvre); *Tommaso Inghirami* (Gardner Museum, Boston); *Cardinal Bibbiena* (Prado); *Pope Leo X with Two Cardinals* (Pitti); *Donna Velata* (Pitti); *Bindo Altoviti* (Munich).

In 1514 Raphael succeeded Bramante as chief architect of the Vatican and designed a number of churches, palaces and mansions for Leo X (q.v.). In 1518, at the pope's behest, he made a survey of the monuments of classical Rome.

Raphael was a close friend of both Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.) and Michelangelo. He was an exceedingly beautiful young man, with a charming manner and a kindly heart that endeared him to all. Treated as an equal by princes of the church, scholars, foreign ambassadors and even princely warlords, he always retained a sincere modesty. He became quite wealthy and had several dozen pupils who formed an almost royal retinue about him. With his two favorite pupils, Giulio Romano (q.v.) and Gianfrancesco Penni, he lived in his palace near the steadily rising St. Peter's. When he died on his thirty-seventh birthday, from a fever, the grief was widespread. His body was laid out in his studio, and tens of thousands filed past for a last look at the "divine painter." He was buried in the Pantheon (Church of Santa Maria dei Martiri).

Reference: Mayne, 77.

IL SODOMA (1477-1549)

Italian painter.

Properly Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, he was born at Vercelli in Lombardy. Aside from the most obvious and prevailing explanation for the name by which he is known, certainly the most fitting one for a subject of this book, it has been alleged that the name is a corruption of Sodona, another name of his family, or that it was derived from his response "*So doma*" ("I am the trainer,") in reply to a query about the ownership of the winning horse at a Florentine racetrack.

He first studied locally under Spanzotto and Giovenone, and then in his early twenties, from 1498 to 1500, studied in Milan under the great Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.). He then moved to Siena, where he passed much of his life, though he was technically considered to be of the Lombard School. His earliest well-known work, completed in 1502, was a series of frescoes illustrating the life of St. Benedict, executed for the Benedictine monastery of Monte Oliveto, on the road from Siena to Rome. Into these frescoes Sodoma introduced a portrait of his own effeminate, foppish-looking person.

Shortly after completing this commission, Sodoma was invited to Rome by the famous Sieneese merchant and art patron, Agostino Chigi, and was commissioned to do some frescoes for the Signature Room at the Vatican. However, Sodoma's major works so displeased Pope Julius II (q.v.) that Raphael (q.v.) was employed to paint over them with his allegories of *Justice*, *Poetry* and *Theology*. Some minor paintings survived. For Chigi's palace, now the Farnesina, Sodoma painted some scenes from the life of Alexander the Great (q.v.), *Alexander in the Tent of Darius* and *Nuptials of the Conqueror with Roxana*.

In 1513, when Cardinal Medici became Leo X (q.v.), Sodoma presented him with a picture variously titled *Death of Cleopatra* or *Death of Lucretia*, and in appreciation was made a papal knight and given a pension. Sodoma left Rome and passed his remaining years seeking commissions in Siena, Lucca, Pisa and Volterra, and also apparently good-looking young men at the same time. The girl he married in his youth, by whom he had a daughter, separated from him several years after their marriage. His daughter Faustina married a disciple and apparently

former boy-friend of his, the minor painter Neroni (Riccio).

Sodoma dressed gaudily, acted excessively gay (for which he received from the monks of Monte Oliveto his first nickname, *Il Mattaccio*, the madcap or the maniac), and loved to crack jokes and sing bawdy verses composed by himself. Laughing at scandal, Sodoma was accompanied by a whole retinue of handsome boys wherever he went, until his money ran out, and when he accepted a commission, he stipulated for payment of "expenses of certain boys, color grinders and other assistants by whom he was attended." Sodoma squandered his money and property and is said to have died a pauper in Siena's hospital. It is believed that a portrait of Sodoma is included among the Greek philosophers in Raphael's *School of Athens* mural at the Vatican.

Although Sodoma had a natural talent for expression, motion and color, his composition, design and technical perfection are considered inferior, due to the laziness that became ever greater in his advancing years. His best-known paintings include the inevitable one of the beautiful, mostly nude youth killed by arrows, *St. Sebastian* (Uffizi, Florence), considered his best work; *Three Saints* (National Gallery, Washington); *Mars and Venus Trapped by Vulcan* (Metropolitan, New York); *Ascension* (Naples); *Leda and the Swan*; and *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*.

Sodoma's well-known frescoes include also two scenes from the life of St. Catherine, *The Ecstasy* and *The Swooning* (Church of S. Domenico, Siena); *The Flagellation of Christ* (Church of S. Francisco, Siena); *Deposition from the Cross* (Church of S. Francisco, Siena); and *The Sacrifice of Abraham* (Cathedral of Pisa).

Reference: Bulliet, 297-99; Ellis, 33; Hirschfeld, 659; Moll, 52-53.



LEO X (1475-1521)

Pope (1513-21).

Originally Giovanni de' Medici, he was born at Florence, the second son of the city's strong man, Lorenzo the Magnificent. Destined from birth for the Church, he received a careful education at Lorenzo's brilliant humanist court and began to receive

Church dignities while still a little boy. At 14 he was made a cardinal, although not allowed to share in the deliberations of the College of Cardinals till he became 17.

In 1492, that year of so many great events, the 17-year-old Cardinal Medici left for Rome after receiving from his father a Polonius-like letter of guidance considered a gem of its kind. Before the end of the year, his father had died, Columbus had discovered America, and in a monstrously corrupt election, Cardinal Borgia had become Alexander VI (q.v.). Cardinal Medici had voted against him, and, fearful of his future, he returned to Florence. There his brother Piero had proven incompetent and in 1495, in the wake of the French invasion of Italy by Charles VIII and the revolution brought on by Savonarola, the Medicis were expelled from Florence. While Piero went to Venice, Cardinal Giovanni went to Germany, the Netherlands and France. Finally, in 1500, he returned to Rome, where he was received with outward cordiality by Pope Alexander VI. Cardinal Medici kept himself immersed in art and literature.

In 1503, after the death of Alexander VI and his short-lived successor, Cardinal Medici gave his support to the election of Julius II (q.v.), for whom he had voted in 1492. That same year, with the death of Piero, he became head of the Medici family, which kept him too busy for any very responsible assignments from his friend the pope. In 1511, however, he accepted appointment as papal legate of Bologna and the Romagna. When the Florentine Republic supported Pisa against Pope Julius, Cardinal Medici marched against his native city at the head of the papal army. He achieved no military success, perhaps due to the excellent training of the republic's citizens' militia under the guidance of war minister Machiavelli (q.v.).

The following year, however, in the wake of the intrigues of the pope and the Medicis, a powerful Spanish army produced the overthrow of the Florentine Republic. The Medicis, in the person of Giovanni's younger brother Giuliano, were invited to return to power in Florence. Cardinal Medici kept his own hand on the reins of government during the uncertain months of transition and reprisals.

In 1513, following the death of Julius II, he was the unanimous choice of the younger cardinals as pope. Hastily ordained to

the priesthood for the first time on March 15, Cardinal Medici was consecrated a bishop on the seventeenth and enthroned as Pope Leo X on the nineteenth. His elevation was hailed with delight by the Romans on account of his reputation for kindness, love of peace and liberality.

An easy-going lover of luxurious living and the finer things of life, Leo X found all his years as pope troubled ones. He hoped to end foreign interference in Italy and unite all the forces of Christendom in a new crusade against the ever-increasing power of the Turks. Instead, wars and intrigues continued as French armies under Louis XII, and later under Francis I, invaded Italy every few years, whether victorious or beaten. All the European states, even the England of Henry VIII, used Italy as a chessboard for their great games.

Leo X's most lasting and positive contributions were as a patron of art, literature and culture in general. During his pontificate, Rome replaced Florence as the cultural capital of Christendom, and he spent lavishly to consolidate this development. However, his expenses in both the cultural and military fields, not to mention those for the consolidation of his family and the advancement of his nephews, produced a bankruptcy of the papal treasury, which had been carefully restored by Julius II. Deeply in debt for loan after loan, Leo X was driven to the most desperate expedients to secure money, selling many of the highest church offices and increasing every kind of revenue-producing corruption, notably the traffic in indulgences. All of these acts added fuel to the widespread discontent with the Church, especially in Germany, and helped to set off Martin Luther and the Reformation in 1517.

Not realizing the gravity of the situation, Leo X did little at first against Luther but try to bring pressure on him to back down. Only in 1521 did he excommunicate Luther. A few months later, Leo received with gratitude a scholarly work by Henry VIII (or more likely, his "ghosts"), in denunciation of Luther's heresies. In appreciation, Leo X conferred on Henry the title "Defender of the Faith," since borne by all Britain's sovereigns long after they rejected Rome's faith. A few months afterwards, Leo X was dead.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 666; Moll, 52.

SELIM I (1467-1520)

Turkish sultan (1512-20).

Known to history as Selim the Grim, he was a younger son of Bayazid II, but by his valor during the wars of his lethargic father against the Poles, the Hungarians and the Venetians, Selim became the favorite of the elite corps, the Janissaries. When his father failed to respond vigorously to the aggression of the young Persian Shah, Ismail, his ministers urged Bayazid to abdicate in favor of Selim. A timely and audacious attack by Selim on his father's troops, with the Janissaries behind him, provided the needed extra push. Bayazid abdicated in Selim's favor in 1512 and conveniently died a few days later.

His two older brothers at once disputing the succession, Selim defeated them and had them strangled. After extirpating the Persian Shia heresy in his own dominations by massacring 40,000 Shiites, Selim marched against the Persians and defeated them at the battle of Chaldiran in 1515, bringing Kurdistan into his empire and starting a long Turkish-Persian duel.

Continuing to make the fullest use of the relatively new weapon of artillery, Selim next turned against the Mameluke rulers of Egypt, defeating them first in Syria in 1516-17 and then entering Cairo in 1517 as Egypt's new conqueror. Having added Egypt and Syria to the Ottoman Empire, which now spanned three continents, Selim proclaimed himself caliph, making himself and his successors spiritual as well as temporal heads of the empire. He also added much of Arabia, including the holy places of Mecca and Medina. When he returned to Constantinople he brought back with him relics of Mohammed.

Toward the end of his reign, Selim put down with great ferocity a widespread revolt. He was preparing another invasion of Rhodes, to avenge the repulse suffered by his grandfather, Mohammed II (q.v.), when he died.

In his eight-year reign, Selim almost doubled the size of the Ottoman empire and brought it to the threshold of its period of greatest power under his son, Suleiman the Magnificent (q.v.). Despite his ferocious cruelty, Selim was also a great patron of literature and himself a poet, writing sometimes in Persian. Several poems attest to the sentiment that, ferocious as he might be to others, he was putty in the hands of a beautiful boy:

... I put down Syria and Egypt yet I am chained
In the curls upon a head perfumed with youth...

and

... I have slain lions and terrified captains; but now
I am the slave of a boy, glancing like a young deer.
If he shuts his eyes when we sit in the light of the sun,
I am plunged into darkness; his eyes indeed are
Two jewels of my kingdom.
As the song of a fountain woos away all memory of the
desert,
So his voice woos all my care away from me.
He is my fountain and my lute, the shadow where my
sleep is calm.
I would bow myself before him, if Allah existed not,
saying,
—You are my God!

Reference: Mathers, III, 159-60.



FERDINAND MAGELLAN (c. 1480-1521)

Portuguese-Spanish Admiral.

Properly Fernão de Magalhaes in Portuguese and Fernando Magallanes in Spanish, he was born at Sabrosa in Portugal of the minor nobility. He spent his youth as a page at the royal court, attached first to Queen Leonora, wife of John II, and then to John's successor, Manuel I.

In 1504 Magellan enlisted as a volunteer for the Indian voyage of the first Portuguese Viceroy of India, Francisco d'Almeida, following in the wake of Vasco da Gama (q.v.). He sailed in March, 1505, and for the next seven years passed a life full of fighting and adventures in India, Malaya and the East Indies, under d'Almeida and Albuquerque. Distinguishing himself for bravery and skillful leadership, Magellan rose to the rank of captain.

He returned to Portugal in 1512, and the following year he participated in an action against the Moslem ruler of Morocco. This minor action proved a turning point in his life. Wounded, he was made lame for life, and worse, he was disgraced by suspicions that he had been engaged in profitable dealings with

the Moors. In 1514 King Manuel informed Magellan he had no further use for his services.

Formally renouncing his Portuguese nationality, Magellan went off to Spain in 1517 to offer his services to the new young king, Charles I, shortly to be Emperor Charles V. Thanks to a number of valuable friends at court, Magellan succeeded in getting royal backing for his plan to reach the East Indies, his old stamping grounds, by sailing west through a strait south of South America. According to the agreement signed with Charles, Magellan and the astronomer Faleiro, another Portuguese exile, were to be joint captains-general, to get 5 per cent of the profits, and to have the government of any lands discovered for themselves and their descendants.

Sailing with five ships from Seville in the late summer of 1519, with a total in the expedition of about 280, including besides Spaniards and Portuguese a number of Frenchmen, Italians, and even an Englishman and a German, Magellan found himself in sole command. At the last moment Faleiro decided to stay behind, after having cast his own horoscope and found that the expedition would be fatal to him. Stopping at the Canary Islands in early October, the expedition crossed the Atlantic without misadventure, sighting the Brazilian bulge on November 29, then following down the coast to the La Plata estuary, which was explored for three weeks early in 1520, in hopes of having found the passage.

Having found their hope a vain one, the expedition moved further down the coast, reaching the southern tip in March. With winter approaching, Magellan gave orders for wintering in the bleak land whose natives, when he made contact with them, he called Patagonians ("Big Feet"). After quelling a mutiny in the course of this wintering, Magellan set out again in August, 1520. At the end of October he came to the eastern end of the strait that has since borne his name. One vessel having deserted, Magellan guided the remaining four through the narrow and tortuous passage, 360 miles long, for thirty-eight days. At one point, late in November, a council of pilots and captains was held to consider turning back. One ship was lost during the passage. But on November 28, the remaining three vessels at last reached the Pacific.

For ninety-eight more days the ships sailed the seemingly limitless Pacific, suffering from hunger and thirst, without any fresh provisions, having only bad water and putrid biscuit, and prizing rats as the greatest of delicacies. Finally, on March 5, 1521, Magellan put into Guam, where the crews at last found rest, water and food. On March 9 they set sail westward again, and on the sixteenth sighted the archipelago later named the Philippines after Charles' son and successor, Philip II.

On April 7, the squadron made a landing on Cebu Island in the Philippines, where Magellan made a convert to Christianity, as well as an ally, of its native ruler. On April 27, while exploring the neighboring island of Mactan, Magellan's group was suddenly attacked, and in the fighting, Magellan was killed.

The survivors, escaping from the treachery of Magellan's supposed friend, burned one of their vessels, and with the two remaining ships made their way to the East Indies, where the outposts of Europe were now established, and where their mission could be considered as successfully accomplished, of reaching the East by sailing west, as Columbus had been trying to do when he found America in the way. As it turned out, the distances proved too great to make the discovery of much practical use.

Another ship having been abandoned in the East Indies, the remaining vessel set sail again on December 21 and reached Seville on September 6, 1522, with thirty-one out of the 280 that had set out three years before.

The separate identity of America from Asia, and the roundness of the earth, were now proven beyond all doubt. And the flattering name given by Magellan to that Ocean formerly dubbed by Balboa the "Great South Sea" remained that, the Pacific Ocean.

Reference: Mayne, 185.



GIULIO ROMANO (1492-1546)

Italian painter, architect and engineer.

Properly Giulio de Pietro de Filippo de' Giannuzzi, he was known for some time as Giulio Pippi, but having been born at Rome, he became known ultimately as just Giulio Romano. At an early age he became the favorite pupil of Raphael (q.v.), with whom he lived. He did a considerable amount of architectural

planning for Raphael, and often completed his designs, notably the group of frescoes in the Loggia of the Vatican known as Raphael's Bible (*Creation of Adam and Eve; Noah's Ark; Moses in the Bulrushes*) and the Benefactors of the Church group in the Incendio del Borgo.

When Raphael died in 1520 he bequeathed jointly to Giulio and his other favorite pupil and permanent house-guest, Penni, his implements, his works of art, and supposedly most of his fortune (equivalent in current terms to about \$300,000). Both of them undertook to complete Raphael's fresco work for the Hall of Constantine in the Vatican. To Giulio fell *The Battle of Constantine* and *The Apparition of the Cross*, which took him until 1523 to complete in view of the limited support from the austere, frugal, and reform-minded Pope Adrian VI. The two friends also had to complete Raphael's *Coronation of the Virgin* and *Transfiguration* in the Vatican Gallery.

Romano's departure from Rome was speeded up after the scandal surrounding the discovery of some more art work that he had been persuaded to do in addition to his busy routine completing his beloved Raphael's commissions. These consisted of pornographic drawings to illustrate some verses about sexual positions by the infamous Aretino (q.v.). These drawings, published, republished, copied and recopied for centuries, became almost prototypes for all subsequent western pornographic drawings.

Anxious to get out of Rome now as soon as possible, Romano welcomed the suggestion of his friend Baldassar Castiglione, the famous courtier-writer, in 1524 that he enter the service of Duke Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua. Amply supplied with funds by the duke, who became his good friend, Romano painted at his Mantua palace a *History of Troy*, and in the duke's suburban residence, the Palazzo del Te, which Romano remodelled, he decorated the rooms with various masterpieces in oil and fresco paintings: *Psyche*, *Icarus* and *The Fall of the Titans*. His most lasting contribution to Mantua, however, was to superintend the reconstructions of its streets and buildings, including its cathedral, along more modern lines. Romano established a school of art at Mantua, and designed its Church of San Benedetto.

After Duke Federigo's death in 1540, his brother, Cardinal

Ercole Gonzaga, became regent. Being also a great patron of the arts, the cardinal retained Romano's services, but he failed to propose any worthy commissions. Accordingly, Romano went to Bologna and there was commissioned to construct a façade for its Church of S. Petronio. In 1546 Romano was offered the post of Architect of St. Peter's and was on the point of accepting it, contrary to the wishes of both his wife and the regent, when he died of a fever. Grown affluent in Mantua, he was buried there, leaving a daughter and a son named Raphael.

Romano's few easel works include *The Stoning of St. Stephen* (Church of S. Stefano, Genoa); *Adoration of the Kings* (Louvre); *Self-Portrait* (Louvre); and *Holy Family* (Dresden).

Like Raphael, whose heir he considered himself to be, Romano, the "prince of decorators," left the execution of many of his works to reliable assistants, his own genius being in his solid knowledge of design, especially human anatomy, and in the depicting of motion, both of these talents being, incidentally, useful in his creation of pornographic masterpieces.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 670.



PIETRO ARETINO (1492-1556)

Italian writer.

He was born at Arezzo in Tuscany, deriving his name from the town's original Latin form. Reputed to be the bastard son of a gentleman of the town named Luigi Bacci, Aretino received little formal education. He lived poor and neglected, picking up knowledge and experience as a boy of the streets. Doubtless male prostitution was amongst his early activities. Yet he developed early an affinity for literature and learned how to read and write.

His precocious literary talents got him into trouble early in life when he was banished from Arezzo for a satirical sonnet about the sale of indulgences. He went to Perugia and worked there a while as a bookbinder, learning all about the mechanics of the new industry that was to revolutionize learning and communication. After a few years, Aretino left Perugia and wandered all over Italy, adding to his knowledge of Renaissance life in the raw. Deciding to settle in Rome, he found that his wit, talents

and impudence brought him favor at the papal court of Leo X (q.v.).

In 1523 Aretino, just turned 30, pulled the stunt on which his fame principally rested. He applied his literary talents to a set of obscene sonnets, dealing with the varieties of positions for intercourse, and persuaded the great papal painter, Giulio Romano (q.v.), the disciple and heir of Raphael (q.v.), to provide the illustrations (a third person turning Romano's drawings into engravings). The project was apparently carried out with complete technical success, and Aretino's name was to be forever associated with the whole thing, especially the most memorable feature, the drawings which in numerous publishings and copies down through the centuries have served as prototypes for western pornographic art.

Despite the technical and presumably commercial success of the venture, the identities of its principal creators were soon known. Romano had to flee to Mantua, and Aretino went off to Milan, where he was welcomed by Giovanni de' Medici (Giovanni delle Bande Nere), the foremost professional Italian soldier of his day, who introduced Aretino to King Francis I of France. Francis was delighted with the impudent scoundrel and gave him handsome presents. The bastard street boy had come a long way.

After the death of Giovanni of a minor wound received in a skirmish in 1526, Aretino made his way to Venice, now the Italian publishing center, and made it his home for the rest of his days. He became one of the first of a new breed, the professional writer who did his writing as an end in itself. Aretino wrote sonnets, bawdy dialogues and comedies. In addition to these more conventional forms of writing, he was impelled by his need for large sums to finance his profligate life to a more unconventional type of writing that foreshadowed a recognition of the great power of the press.

Aretino wrote sycophantic letters to all the great nobles and princes he could think of, accompanied by specimens of satirical sonnets. The inference of the literary blackmail was generally clearly understood, and few princes being without embarrassing skeletons in their closets that they dreaded seeing immortalized in print, large sums began flowing steadily towards Aretino.

His pride puffed up. He began calling himself "the divine Aretino, scourge of princes." He was also a friend of the painter Titian, who did his portrait.

Aretino was said to have died during a fit of laughter caused by hearing a dirty story. Aside from his obscene sonnets, his fame rests on his satirical sonnets or burlesques, five comedies and a collection of letters considered to be of high literary quality.

Reference: Bulliet, 300-01; Ellis, 31.



CORREGGIO (1494-1534)

Italian painter.

Properly Antonio Allegri, he was born at Correggio near Modena, and from his birthplace, like so many painters, derived his familiar name. He was apparently the son of an affluent tradesman who, upon recognizing the boy's talent for art, saw to it that he had every sort of education and training likely to produce technical perfection. After receiving instruction in design from his uncle, Lorenzo Allegri, Correggio studied optics, perspective, architecture, sculpture and even anatomy (under Dr. Giovanni Lombardi, whom he immortalized in the painting *Correggio's Physician*). He pursued his more practical studies at the schools of Tignino and Frarè in Modena, and at the school at Mantua run by Mantegna's successors. At Mantua Correggio also worked as an apprentice in a school of sculpture. Meanwhile, his generous father placed ample funds at his disposal for the best of canvases and the most precious and costly of colors.

Although Correggio was to achieve little reputation in his lifetime, he never lacked for commissions from his teens on. At 19 or 20 he executed for the Franciscans at Capri an altarpiece considered by many critics superior to similar works by Raphael (q.v.), *The Madonna of St. Francis* (Dresden). Other early works included *The Arrest of Christ* and the triple altarpiece, *Repose in Egypt* (Church of the Conventuali, Correggio); *The Virgin and Child with Angels* (Uffizi, Florence); and *Diana Returning from the Chase*, which included sixteen oval compartments with exceptionally beautiful boys.

After 1514 Correggio was employed for many years on work for churches and convents in and around Parma, working for

very little money (from which he had to supply his costly paints) during a turbulent period of wars, alarms, tumults and plagues, when Parma was fought over by the forces of France, Spain, Germany and the papacy. In 1520 Correggio married a girl of 16 named Giroloma Merlino, a Mantuan girl who brought him a good dowry. They had four children, further increasing the burden of maintenance for Correggio, who would probably have been unable to survive on his small stipends from commissions.

Much of the 1520s was spent by Correggio in the execution of one of his most difficult and admired jobs, the fresco for the octangular cupola of the Cathedral of Parma, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, which was to have an influence on artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries almost as great as that of the works of Michelangelo.

Other famous paintings of this period included the inevitable one of the handsome, mostly nude, adolescent martyred by arrows, *St. Sebastian* (Dresden); *The Magdalene* (Dresden); *Ecce Homo* (National Gallery, London); *Night of the Nativity* (Dresden); and *Day* (Parma), a painting of St. Jerome with Madonna and Child, Mary Magdalene and two angels, which was apparently his best paid job ever, bringing him from one Briseida Bergonzi 400 gold imperials, a fat pig, several measures of wheat and some cartloads of firewood.

In the 1530's, during his final years as a painter, Correggio's work included *St. George* (Dresden); *Leda* (Berlin); *Jupiter and Antiope* (Louvre); *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (Louvre); *Madonna Reposing* (Naples), a work also known as *Madonna of the Rabbit* or *La Zingarella*, and believed to have been modelled by Correggio's wife.

The paintings of Correggio are admired for their joyousness, sentiment, skilful play of light and shadow and their general technical perfection. Correggio himself was known as a good citizen, an affectionate son, husband and father, a sincere and obliging friend, always modest, free from envy and tolerant of criticism. He lost his wife in 1529 and died himself in his fortieth year after a short illness, reportedly pleurisy brought on by trudging home from Parma carrying payment for a recent work in the form of a heavy bag of copper coins, an expression of his mercantile patron's contempt for artists.

The subsequent Parma School of Painting took Correggio as its founder.

Reference: Mayne, 392.



BENVENUTO CELLINI (1500-1571)

Italian sculptor, metalworker and writer.

He was born at Florence, the son of a musician who also made musical instruments. His father, intending for him to follow his own profession, tried to thwart his son's inclination for design and metalwork. However, like that of Michelangelo (q.v.), Cellini's determination was too strong to be resisted, and at 15 he was apprenticed to a goldsmith, where he showed marked talents. However, being implicated in the local version of a rumble, he was banished for six months to Siena, where he worked for another goldsmith, then moved on to Bologna, Pisa, and back again to Florence for a while.

In 1519 Cellini moved to Rome, determined to make his name there. He secured the favor of Pope Leo X (q.v.), and after his death in 1521, that of Pope Clement VII, receiving commissions from important ecclesiastics of the papal court, where Cellini himself served as a flutist with the court musicians. During the attack on Rome in 1527, culminating in the infamous sack of Rome by the emperor's Lutheran mercenaries, Cellini was among the defenders, and the later claimed that it was his hand that shot, fatally, the enemy leader, the Constable of Bourbon.

Having little hope of commissions in the immediate future in ravaged Rome, Cellini left it for a few years, finding commissions in Florence and Mantua. After returning to Rome to resume making jewelry and dies for private medals, he undertook an important new commission, making dies for the papal mint. Trouble with the law, first for killing the man who slew his brother, then for attacking a notary, forced Cellini to flee to Naples, but a friendly cardinal soon got him a pardon. In 1534 he was again accused of homicide, allegedly accidental, in the inter-regnum following the death of Clement VII, but he was pardoned and restored, thanks to the favor of the new pope, Paul III.

However much Pope Paul favored him, the pope's bastard, a sort of especially depraved reincarnation of Cesare Borgia (q.v.), Pierluigi Farnese (q.v.), hated Cellini, and as captain-general of the papal forces forced Cellini to flee Rome. After spending some time in Florence and Venice, Cellini went to the court of Francis I in France. When he was imprudent enough to return to Rome in 1537, Cellini was arrested on the charge of having embezzled gems from the papal tiara and was confined in the Castle of Sant'Angelo, originally the mausoleum of Hadrian (q.v.). He escaped, was recaptured and slated for execution. However, on the intercession of the wife of Pierluigi Farnese (the pope's daughter-in-law) and of Cardinal d'Este, Cellini was released and returned to the court of Francis I, and to Paris, where he stayed for five years. Finally, the ill will of the King's mistress and other courtiers, possibly connected with homosexual activities of his, induced Cellini to leave France and return to Italy.

Returning to Florence in 1545, Cellini received a number of commissions. However, he became engaged in a bitter feud with the sculptor Bandinelli, who finally in the presence of Duke Cosimo hurled sodomy charges against Cellini (based on an accusation by the mother of his young apprentice Cencio).

Nevertheless, Cellini continued to stay in Florence for most of his remaining years, and he continued to gain the admiration of its citizens for the magnificent works he produced. During Florence's war with Siena, Cellini was appointed an engineer to strengthen its defenses. He died at 71.

In addition to his familiar small works, such as two gold cups now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Cellini executed a few very big works, notably for Francis I a colossal *Mars* (Fontainebleau); *Nymph of Fontainebleau* (Louvre); *Crucifixion* (Escorial, Madrid); a bust of Cosimo de' Medici (Bargello, Florence); a bronze group, *Perseus Holding the Head of Medusa* (Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence).

Remembered perhaps better than any of his medals, jewel settings, caskets, vases, candlesticks, or ornaments is Cellini's *Autobiography*, begun in 1558. With the utmost energy, directness and racy animation, he described all his loves, hatreds, passions, delights and sorrows, he abused and praised, and

provided rich sociological material about the gullible acceptance of superstitions and the like.

Reference: Bulliet, 300; Ellis, 34; Hirschfeld, 660; Mayne, 392-93.



BABER (1483-1530)

Mogul Indian emperor (1527-30), conqueror.

Properly Zahir ud-din-Mohammed, he received his familiar name Baber (also Babar and Babur) as a nickname, the English for which is variously given as "lion" or "tiger." His father, Sheikh Omar, was King of Ferghana in Central Asia and a great-great-grandson of the mighty conqueror Tamerlane. Although only 12 when his father died, Baber succeeded to his throne, thwarting the efforts of his uncles to dislodge him.

In 1497, at 14, Baber started his empire-building by seizing Samarkand. However, while he was doing this, a rebellion of his nobles robbed him of his native Ferghana. While he was marching to recover Ferghana, his troops deserted him, so he now lost both realms. In 1501 he briefly recovered both, only to lose them again when defeated by the ruler of the Uzbek Turks.

After wandering about for three years looking vainly for a break that might enable him to recover his lost realms, Baber in 1504 gathered some fresh troops for a venture in a new direction. He crossed the Hindu Kush and besieged and captured Kabul, now the Afghan capital. By this one coup, Baber gained a new and wealthy kingdom and reestablished his fortunes. But his tenure proved uncertain. For a number of years his fortunes seesawed again, as he was driven out by revolts, recovered his kingdom, tried to conquer his old kingdom, was driven out again. Ultimately he began looking towards India as his best hope.

In 1521, called to Delhi by Afghan nobles who detested the aging Sultan Ibrahim of Delhi, Baber gathered an army of 12,000 and some of that relatively new weapon, artillery. He marched into India, and after some years of indecisive skirmishing, fought a great battle at Panipat in April, 1526, against the 100,000 men of Ibrahim, who was killed. Emerging a victorious conqueror, Baber had next to meet an army of 200,000 led by the local

prince who headed the Rajput confederacy. His own soldiers, loathing the hot climate and longing for a return to cool Kabul, were on the brink of mutiny, but by inspiring speeches and vigorous measures, Baber managed to hold his army together and won a great victory in March, 1527.

Now the master of northern India, Baber established the empire known as the Mogul empire, based on his descent from Tamerlane, who considered himself an heir of the Mongols (Moguls). The few remaining years of his life were spent improving his new capital, Agra, and arranging the administration and taxation of his new realm. Of great skill and strength with his sword, Baber was also noted for having a well-cultivated mind and for being kindly and generous. He wrote his own *Memoirs* in Turki, and it is apparently from them that his homosexuality has been deduced.

Baber's dynasty lasted until the nineteenth century, when it was replaced by British rule and ultimately by the British king as Indian emperor (until 1947/50). The Taj Mahal was built by Shah Jahan, his great-great-grandson (the same relation his father bore to Tamerlane).

Reference: Bulliet, 101; Ellis, 35.



SULEIMAN I (the Magnificent) (1494-1566)

Turkish sultan (1520-66).

He was born the only son of Selim I (q.v.), and thus he had no real rival to his inheritance of the well-organized empire, full treasury and disciplined armed forces, with talented generals and admirals, left him by his father. Suleiman (Turkish for Solomon), who was rated as the greatest of sultans, owed something also to his good fortune. In any event, the Ottoman Empire reached its height in his reign.

During the early years of his reign, Suleiman left administrative affairs largely in the hands of his beloved Greek vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, and devoted himself to gaining a military reputation. After suppressing a revolt of the Governor of Damascus, Suleiman declared war on Hungary in 1521 on the pretext that no congratulations had been sent on his accession. Belgrade, which had stood off his mighty great-grandfather, Mohammed II (q.v.), he besieged and captured. Temporarily diverted from the subjugation

tion of Hungary, he left troops to conduct periodic raids into Hungary, Austria and Italy, spreading panic in Europe. He set as his preeminent task in 1522 the siege of Rhodes, now become the headquarters for Christian pirates preying on Turkish commerce with Egypt. Rhodes was valiantly defended as before by the Knights of St. John, but when help from the west failed to materialize, the Knights surrendered on honorable terms (and subsequently, in 1530, were established by Charles V on Malta, becoming the Knights of Malta). Thus after only six months Suleiman achieved another great conquest that had eluded Mohammed the Conqueror.

Turning back now to Europe, Suleiman gathered a tremendous army and advanced on Hungary. After capturing the strong frontier posts, he was met at Mohacs in 1526 by a miserable force of about 25,000 ill-trained and undisciplined Hungarian troops, all that could be raised by young King Louis II of Hungary in the face of the opposition of his arrogant, rebellious, and selfish nobles. In a few hours of fighting, the entire Hungarian army was wiped out and the king killed. Buda fell quickly, but having no thought at the time of the annexation of Hungary, Suleiman in 1528 simply appointed the Transylvanian warlord, John Zapolya, king. The Hungarian crown was, however, also claimed by Charles V's brother and deputy for Germany, Ferdinand of Hapsburg, in accordance with the terms of a double marriage treaty with the defunct dynasty (Ferdinand and his sister married Louis II and his sister). Being doubly brother-in-law to the late King Louis, Ferdinand, as his heir, attacked Buda and drove out the forces of Suleiman's puppet, Zapolya, who appealed for help to Suleiman. Delighted by this selfish intrigue of the Christian princes which seemed to preclude any possibility of their uniting against him, Suleiman marched north again in 1529 and, joined by Zapolya's forces on the field of Mohacs, marched against Buda. After a five-day siege the Germans were driven out and Zapolya reinstated.

Deciding to press on to the Hapsburg capital itself, Suleiman laid siege to Vienna in September. However, after only about three weeks, the Turks withdrew, partly because of the valiant defense encountered, and partly because the rains made it impossible to bring up heavy artillery. Suleiman tried next to lure

Charles V into a showdown battle in Germany, but Charles refused to fight. Meanwhile, Suleiman rejected Ferdinand's offer to pay tribute for Hungary in return for recognition as king.

After two more years of desultory fighting, consisting mostly of the ravaging of Slavonia and Styria by the Turks, Suleiman again attacked the Austrian positions in western Hungary in 1531. Because the defenses proved strong, and because of a dangerous threat on the Persian front at the other end of his empire, Suleiman now agreed to a truce by which John Zapolya kept eastern Hungary and the royal title and Ferdinand kept the western part, for which he paid tribute to the Turks. This deference of Christian princes to Suleiman was far from unique, for at this very time France's Most Christian King, Francis I, was seeking the alliance of Suleiman against Emperor Charles V.

Moving as swiftly as possible to put down the attack of the Persians, Suleiman met them with great force, compelling them to withdraw from his dominions. In the wake of this fighting, Suleiman reincorporated Armenia and Mesopotamia into his empire.

Meanwhile, despite the truce in Hungary, Suleiman's great duel with Emperor Charles V continued by sea. In 1529 Algiers was taken in Suleiman's name by his admiral, Khairreddin Pasha, familiarly known to Europeans as Barbarossa, from his red beard. From this base, the cornerstone of the future Barbary pirate realm, Barbarossa conducted naval attacks against Charles' fleet, under Andrea Doria of Genoa, and raids on coastal towns of Sicily, southern Italy, and adjacent islands. These activities prompted Charles V to raise a great expedition which resulted in 1535 in the capture of Tunis and the defeat of Barbarossa by Doria. By this turn of events Suleiman was now induced to respond favorably to the advances of Francis I, and now the informal Franco-Turkish entente that began in 1525 was formalized by an alliance.

Temporarily reconciled to a setback in the western Mediterranean, Suleiman now turned all his naval power against the Venetians, fought many actions against them from 1537 to 1540, and forced them to abandon their outposts in the East and pay a large indemnity. Turkish naval might was also prominently displayed in 1538 when a naval expedition sent out by

Suleiman sailed through the Red Sea on the way to India, taking over the entire Arabian coast for Suleiman on the way.

When John Zapolya died in 1539, Ferdinand, who was supposed to have been his heir, besieged Buda with a large force. Suleiman decided to recognize Zapolya's infant son as John II, and with this pretext moved into Hungary again in 1541. Buda was now occupied by Suleiman, who refused all offers of settlement. Further misfortune befell the Hapsburg cause that year when a great expedition, bent on taking Algiers as Tunis had been taken, was destroyed in a storm. In 1543, in accordance with the Franco-Turkish alliance, a Turkish fleet cooperated with the French army in besieging Nice on the Riviera.

In 1547 the bitter fighting in Hungary was terminated by a five-year truce which confirmed Turkish annexation of most of Hungary, leaving Ferdinand only a little strip of western Hungary, for which he still paid tribute, and little John II only Transylvania.

Free to move back to his second front, Suleiman undertook in 1548 a second great expedition against the Persians, conquering more of Armenia, annexing Georgia (the future native province of Stalin) and occupying Tabriz in Persia. After a brief truce on this front, fighting broke out again in 1552, as it did in Europe. After ravaging western Persia in 1553, Suleiman secured a peace in 1555 which involved Persian confirmation of his recent conquests.

In Europe meanwhile continuous desultory fighting took place between Suleiman's forces and those of Ferdinand, with no real change in the status quo of 1547. At the same time in North Africa the successors of Barbarossa were successfully cleaning up all the Hapsburg strongholds in this region. The fighting with the Christians, as with the Persians, began to peter off on all fronts, with Suleiman recognized in firm control of all his conquests. Only in 1565 did Suleiman make one last mighty effort, the siege of Malta. Unlike his earlier campaigns, this one was not successful, Suleiman's old foes from the beginning of his reign, the Knights of St. John, now the Knights of Malta, presenting him with unshakeable resistance. The Turks withdrew. While training troops to avenge this humiliation by a vigorous attack on the Hungarian front, the 72-year-old sultan, still leading his troops in person, died.

Suleiman's last years had been embittered by family strife. His Russian wife Roxelana and her son-in-law had so poisoned his mind against his son Mustafa that he had him strangled in 1553. Thereafter a vicious struggle ensued between Roxelana's two sons, Selim and Bayazid. In 1559 Bayazid took up arms and, being defeated, fled to Persia, where he and his sons were executed in return for a large payment by Suleiman.

In his later years, when there was less fighting to be done, Suleiman was able to devote his great abilities to instituting administrative reforms that proved of lasting value, especially in the administration of justice. He was considered by the Turks as one of their great lawgivers.

Two persons were principally recorded as the objects of Suleiman's homosexual passions. Ibrahim, the son of a Greek sailor, had been captured by corsairs and passed into the hands of Prince Suleiman when he was still governor of Magnesia in Selim's lifetime. Suleiman grew to value and love him so that he kept him as his constant companion. He shared his room and meals with Suleiman and read to him from works in Persian, Greek, and Italian. After Suleiman became sultan, he married Ibrahim to his sister, made him Grand Vizier in 1523, and left him virtually ruling the country as co-sultan while Suleiman devoted himself to conquest.

The second favorite, after Ibrahim's passing, was a Croatian youth named Rustem, said to have been a page who by virtue of his sexual services to Suleiman worked his way up to posts of greater responsibility. Rustem finally married a daughter of Suleiman, and conspiring with Suleiman's Russian wife Roxana, persuaded him to execute his oldest son, Mustafa.

Reference: Carpenter (I), 114-15; Stern, 271-72.



PIERLUIGI FARNESE (1503-1547)

Duke of Parma (1545-47).

He was born at Rome, the bastard son of Alessandro Farnese, who advanced rapidly in the Church towards a cardinal's hat after his sister Giulia became the mistress of Pope Alexander VI (q.v.). Cardinal Farnese having retained the favor of successive popes due to his great ability, he was elected pope in 1534 in

succession to Clement VII, virtually without opposition, taking the name Paul III.

Pierluigi, apparently taking as his idol and model Cesare Borgia (q.v.), who fell from power the year of his birth, patterned his behavior as much as possible on Cesare's. He commanded several papal forces during his military career and in 1527 participated in the sack of Rome on the side of Emperor Charles V, with his Lutheran mercenaries. When in 1534 Pierluigi's father became Pope Paul III, Pierluigi like Cesare, was appointed captain-general of the papal armies. Like Alexander VI, Paul III alienated a large tract of papal territory to create a secular state for Pierluigi as Duke of Castro.

Of the most depraved and debauched habits, Pierluigi also had an uncontrollable temper, which made Cesare seem by contrast almost a saint. In consolidating his domain, and repressing rebellions against himself and his father, Pierluigi operated with the greatest ferocity. His most famous act in this line was a general massacre in 1540 of all persons of the rebellious city of Perugia, regardless of age or sex.

In 1545 Paul III conferred on Pierluigi the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza. Cruel and tyrannical, he deprived the nobles of their privileges, indeed thereby improving conditions of the common people somewhat. He had by now aroused the hostility of Charles V and his Italian viceroy, the governor of Milan. They also wanted Piacenza and accordingly, when Pierluigi built a citadel at Piacenza to awe its people into submission, a plot by the nobles, aided by the emperor's agents, achieved success. Pierluigi was assassinated in 1547, his corpse flung into the street.

Pierluigi's son Ottavio married the emperor's illegitimate daughter Margaret, widow of the mulatto tyrant of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici, and by her became the father of the third Farnese Duke of Parma, who as a general of Philip II of Spain played a large part in the Revolt of the Netherlands. Margaret herself served as regent of the Netherlands for almost ten years.

Pierluigi's homosexual passions were satisfied in a manner comparable to his other behavior. He had a bodyguard of hoodlums under command of one Michelotto who would kidnap the

most beautiful boys (maidens also on occasion for variety) during the capture of towns, or even during inspection trips, and then bring them to Pierluigi, the more fight shown the better. When visiting monasteries, Pierluigi did not hesitate to point to a handsome young novice for his bed from among those ordered to parade before him.

His most famous deed in this field took place when he entered Faenza, being met by a procession headed by its beautiful 20-year-old bishop, Cosimo Gheri. Greatly smitten, Pierluigi dropped a few hints to the young bishop which the latter pretended not to understand. Pierluigi then conferred with the Governor of Faenza, a renegade monk. It was agreed that the governor, walking at the bishop's side, would make the procession go to the episcopal palace instead of to the church as planned. As soon as the bishop entered, Pierluigi followed, and the governor closed the door, leaving them alone. When the chaste bishop still resisted his advances, Pierluigi called some of his *sbirris*, his hoodlums, who bound and gagged the bishop. Thereupon Pierluigi tore off the youth's clothes with his dagger and raped him. The young bishop died six or seven weeks later from the effects of the rape, and possibly also from syphilis.

Being inevitably apprised of the crime, Pope Paul III sent his dear son a fatherly bull, "to preserve him from the prejudice and pains to which his want of reflection or incontinence so natural to humanity might expose him in future."

Reference: Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 662; Roscaud, 137-42.



GIOVANNI DELLA CASA (1503-1556)

Italian poet, writer and churchman.

He was born at Mugillo in Tuscany. After a humanist education at Bologna and Florence, he went to Rome where his learning and charm attracted the attention of Cardinal Farnese, who became his patron. When in 1534 the cardinal became Pope Paul III, he made della Casa his nuncio at Florence, where he was elected a member of the Academy.

A few years later, della Casa became papal nuncio at Naples, where he so distinguished himself with his oratorical abilities on the pope's behalf that he was given the archbishopric of Benevento. Della Casa was slated to become a Cardinal shortly, when two

things proved his undoing. One was that he enjoyed the support of the French, who came into great disfavor in inner papal circles. The other was the discovery of della Casa's authorship of the licentious poem *Capitolo del Forno*, and of another one, considered even more scandalous, entitled *In Laudem Sodomiae* (*In Praise of Sodomy*).

The more respectable works of della Casa included lyric poems with a majestic style that was in sharp distinction to the prevailing Petrarchian elegance of most poetry. Among his prose works were *Il Galateo*, a treatise on manners, and a biography of his recently deceased literary patron, Cardinal Bembo. Della Casa also did translations of Thucydides (q.v.), Plato (q.v.), and Aristotle (q.v.).

Reference: Hirschfeld, 660.



IL BRONZINO (1502-1572)

Italian painter.

Properly Agnolo di Cosimo Allori, he was born at Florence. Little is known of his background before he came to study under Jacopo da Pontormo, whose favorite pupil he became.

After Bronzino had mastered his craft, he became the court painter to Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany. He did portraits of many of the most famed men and women of his day and of earlier days, including *Cosimo I* (Metropolitan, New York); Cosimo's wife, *Eleanor of Toledo* (Uffizi, Florence), and another *Eleanor of Toledo* (Wallace Collection, London,); *Dante*; *Petrarch*; and *Boccaccio*. Of his sacred paintings, a notable one is his *Descent of Christ in Limbo* (Uffizi).

Minor works of Bronzino are found in many museums, including those of Florence, London, Boston and New York. A perennial crowd-puller at the Frick Museum, New York, is Bronzino's *Portrait of a Young Man*, featuring an unusual item of contemporary male attire simulating an erection.

Reference: Mayne, 392.



JOHN FREDERICK I (the Magnanimous) (1503-1554)

Elector of Saxony (1532-47).

He was born at Torgau, the eldest son of Elector John the Steadfast. Educated in the new doctrines of Luther embraced

by his family, John Frederick took some part in imperial politics even before succeeding as elector upon his father's death in 1532. The most notable event in the earlier part of his reign was his surrendering in 1542 some of his lands to his brother John Ernest, from which cession was derived the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg.

John Frederick, an ardent Lutheran with a high personal regard for Luther, was a member of the Schmalkaldic League that since 1531 had bound the Protestant princes and the imperial free cities. Nevertheless, out of loyalty to Emperor Charles V, in whom he had great faith, John Frederick tried to use all his influence to prevent conflict and to reconcile the zealously Lutheran Ulrich of Württemberg and Philip of Hesse with the German king, Ferdinand I, the emperor's brother.

By 1546, however, Charles had decided to crush the recently asserted independence of the German states and to restore the unity of the Church. As one of the nominal leaders of the Schmalkaldic League, despite his personal loyalty, John Frederick faced the brunt of the imperial attack. He was placed under the ban of the empire, and his realm was invaded by his treacherous cousin Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who had been promised by Charles V the electoral dignity.

John Frederick succeeded in driving Maurice out and went on to invade Maurice's own realm until checked by the arrival of Charles V, who had meanwhile been victorious over John Frederick's confederates in southern Germany. Defeated at the Battle of Mühlberg and taken prisoner by Charles V, John Frederick saw a determined siege set around his capital of Wittenberg, the scene of Luther's opening of the Reformation. In return for John Frederick's agreement to surrender Wittenberg, his life was spared, but he had to renounce the electoral dignity in favor of Maurice and to give him lands in addition.

Refusing to make any concessions on religious matters, John Frederick was kept prisoner until 1552. After his release, he returned to his realm to be greeted with wild enthusiasm by his adoring subjects. However, he was unable to reverse the loss of leadership of his dynasty, and to a large extent, of the whole German Protestant movement, to Maurice, who had by now double-crossed Charles V, made an alliance with Henry II of

France, and become undisputed Protestant leader until his death (1553).

John Frederick was noted for his hunting and for his prodigious drinking. He was also a patron of learning and founded the University of Jena, which around 1800 was to become the cultural heart of Germany.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 665.



MICHAEL SERVETUS (1511-1553)

Spanish physician and theologian.

He was born at Tudela in Spanish Navarre, the son of a prosperous Aragonese notary named Hernando Villanueva, and originally called Miguel Villanueva, the surname Serveto being taken from a prominent ecclesiastic to whom he was related.

In 1528 Servetus was sent by his father to study law at Toulouse in France, where he first became interested in the Bible. In 1530 he took advantage of the offer to go to Italy in the train of a prominent Franciscan who had known him as a boy, Juan de Quintana, since become confessor to Charles V. At Bologna Servetus witnessed the double coronation of Charles V (as emperor and as king of Italy), and found himself disgusted by the adoration of the pope. Moving on to Germany, Servetus visited Augsburg, and subsequently he may have met Luther at Coburg.

Becoming very much interested now in theology, Servetus traveled much in France, Germany and Switzerland throughout 1531 and published his first theological pamphlet, a crude but earnest work on the Trinity. In 1532 another pamphlet put his views into the form of a dialogue. Public opinion was so outraged by his ideas that he returned to the use of the family name Villanueva, not daring to use the Serveto name for some time.

The complications of printing and publishing had now fascinated him almost as much as the theological subjects of his works, and in 1535 he was persuaded to become the editor of medical and other scientific books being published at Lyons. This aroused in turn an interest in medicine, in which he was warmly encouraged by a doctor friend. In 1536 Servetus went to Paris to study under several leading doctors. He proved so

adept in his new profession that he was made an assistant to a leading doctor of Paris. Taking to writing again after getting his degree in 1537, he published six of his lectures on syrups and digestion, and had a minor best-seller. He also lectured on geometry and astrology from a medical viewpoint. When he published his medical astrology lecture, he was faced with a suit by the outraged medical faculty of the University of Paris.

In 1538 Servetus went to Louvain and enrolled there as a student named Michael Villanova, to study theology and Hebrew. He apparently broke off these studies, for not many months later he was found practising medicine at Avignon and at Charlieu. At Charlieu Servetus contemplated marriage, but decided against it because of a "physical impediment." In 1540 he enrolled in the medical school at Montpellier, aiming to complete his medical studies and get a doctorate.

In 1541 Servetus accepted the invitation of the Archbishop of Vienne, who had attended his Paris lectures with great respect, to become his private physician. Servetus now seemed to settle down at last, spending twelve years at Vienne (1541-53), making a living as a physician, continuing editorial work for the nearby Lyons publisher, and occasionally turning out a theological work of his own.

It was Servetus' sideline of theological pamphleteering that proved his undoing. Around 1536 Servetus had first met Calvin in France and gotten into a friendly little argument with him about theology. In 1546 he started a correspondence with Calvin, now the tyrant of the theocracy of Geneva, the Presbyterian Rome, sending him the manuscript of an enlarged revision of some old theological tracts and expressing a desire to visit Geneva. Calvin's only response was something to the effect that if Servetus ever visited Geneva, it would be his last visit anywhere on earth, so shocking had his theology been. Servetus asked Calvin to at least return the manuscript.

Either Servetus finally got the manuscript back from Calvin or he managed to put another copy into shape, since he finally got out an edition of a thousand copies of his anonymous *Restitution of Christianity*. The theology seemed so shocking to Calvin that he apparently felt that here was something in the face of which his differences with the Catholic Church were trivial.

He had an aide of his send a page of the book, together with proof of Servetus' authorship, to a Lyons Calvinist contact for transmission to the Inquisitor-General at Lyons.

Little dreaming, or perhaps little caring, that the denunciation of Servetus came from Satan himself, John Calvin, the Inquisition summoned Servetus for an interrogation on March 16, 1553. He was arrested on April 4 and questioned for two more days. Before dawn on April 7, Servetus escaped from the prison of the Inquisition and started out on the road to Spain. Reasonably enough concluding that Spain was the least suitable refuge for someone fleeing the Inquisition, Servetus turned back and hid out, in whereabouts still unknown, for about four months. On August 13, having at last decided on a plan of escape, he crossed the Franco-Swiss border and put up at an inn at Geneva on a Sunday, to await a boat that would take him to Zurich, from whence he planned to go to Naples. There being no boat till Monday, Servetus was unable to resist the temptation to attend, as he had always wanted to, one of Calvin's services. At the afternoon service in a local church, Servetus was recognized and arrested.

His trial at Geneva by what amounted to a Calvinist Inquisition lasted from August 14 to October 26. Servetus was condemned to be burned alive, though Calvin himself favored beheading, and the sentence was carried out on October 27. Just to show that when it came to Servetus the Catholics had no disagreement with their Calvinist brethren, the authorities at Vienna condemned Servetus *in absentia* to the same penalty.

The theological theories of Servetus which so shocked Protestant and Catholic alike involved the denial of the Trinity and the Eternity of the Son, rather involving a devotion to Jesus (q.v.) as a magnificent, though quite mortal, inspiration to mankind. To all of this, presumably, the Unitarians are closest today.

The horrible sentence passed on Servetus by Calvin's court, which has always served as a prime comeback of Catholics when confronted with charges of barbarism by the Inquisition ("You should talk—what about Calvin and Servetus?"), was completely unprecedented at Geneva and had no legal basis other than the old laws against heresy from Geneva's Catholic days, all of

which had of course been abolished by the Calvinists. Banishment was the only penalty on the Calvinist books, but Servetus was considered such a horrible case that the old law had to be revived especially for him.

The heretical theological work in question also became incidentally famous for containing a passage (p. 169 *et seq.*) describing pulmonary circulation of the blood long before it was to be advanced again by medical science. A highly erratic genius, Servetus never could stick to just one subject. He was also interested in many other subjects, including botany and geography, and a Biblical geographical reference once made by Servetus is said to have struck Calvin as being almost as outrageously heretical as Servetus' theological heresies.

Reference: Mayne, 264-65.



NICHOLAS UDALL (1504-1556)

English schoolmaster and playwright.

Udall, whose name is also spelled Udal and Uvedale, was born at Wykeham, Hampshire, in an aristocratic family. He entered Winchester in 1517 and in 1520 Corpus Christi College, Oxford. After securing his bachelor's degree in 1524, Udall remained as a lecturer from 1526 to 1528, taking his master's degree in 1534.

For the coronation on May 31, 1533, of Anne Boleyn (already over five months pregnant with the future Queen Elizabeth), Udall collaborated on his first venture into dramatic writing, contributing lines to be spoken by a little girl at a pageant. Thanks to a fellow contributor to the pageant, Udall got an assignment as headmaster at Eton in 1534. At Eton he was first distinguished principally for encouraging the production of plays and for the excessive application of the rod, presumably to bared boyish buttocks.

In March 1541 (1540 O.S.), Udall was accused of homosexual relations with a boy named Thomas Cheney. He confessed and was sent to Marshalsea Prison. A record of his confession and abject letter of repentance, with promises to reform, survives. He was released from prison after a few months, but of course failed to get back his old job at Eton. He was able, however, to keep the sinecure he had as Vicar of Braintree.

To maintain himself, Udall translated the *Adages* of Erasmus (q.v.) and other works into English. In 1544 he published *Flowers of Terence*, his translation of select passages from the classical playwright. Soon establishing himself as a leading English humanist, Udall got another job as a schoolmaster. He also became involved in translating theological works, to the approbation of Princess Mary.

In 1553 Mary became queen of England, and having learned of dear Udall's dramatic talents, she commissioned him to entertain her with his work. This led Udall to apply himself diligently to the completion of a comedy he had been working at on and off for many years, which eventually became *Ralph Roister Doister*, the oldest English comedy. With more than a passing similarity of plot to Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*, but with dialogue considered far superior to Plautus', the play concerns a braggart soldier who thinks every woman falls in love with him but is finally shown up as an arrant coward.

Rehabilitated completely by this production for England's dour queen, Udall in 1554 found employment again as a headmaster, this time at the Westminster School, where he remained till his death.

Reference: Ellis, 41-42; Hirschfeld, 671.



ÉTIENNE DE LA BOÉTIE (1530-1563)

French judge and writer.

He was born in Guienne in southwest France, the son of a petty noble. He was given an excellent education and proved a brilliant and precocious student of the classics during this period of humanist studies and enlightenment just before the religious bitterness brought the movement to a halt in many parts of Europe. While still in his teens, La Boétie achieved some distinction for his translations of certain classics.

In 1548 Bordeaux rose in another of its frequent riots over the *gabelle*, or salt-tax. Constable de Montmorency, titular chief of the armed forces of France, was sent to suppress the riots, which he did with an excess of ruthlessness. Carried away by his reading of the classics, the 18-year-old La Boétie composed a fiery polemic, *Contr'un*, subtitled *Discours de la servitude volontaire*. Seemingly directed at Montmorency, the polemic also

questioned the whole monarchical system and had implications about the superiority of democratic republicanism. From a critical viewpoint, it has been judged a rather silly, schoolboyish work, full of empty declamation borrowed from the ancients, and showing no grasp of practical conditions of politics. Thanks mainly to his youth, La Boétie escaped the vengeance of the infuriated Montmorency.

La Boétie owes his fame less to this work than to the fact that another precocious teenager, the 15-year-old Montaigne (q.v.), having just completed his law studies at Toulouse, returned to Bordeaux during the crisis and came into possession of a copy of *Contr'un*. Determined to meet the author, Montaigne introduced himself to La Boétie, and the two formed a passionate friendship that lasted till La Boétie's premature death fifteen years later. The two friends, who were rarely separated, served together in this period in the Bordeaux *parlement*.

Montaigne served as editor of a posthumous edition of the works of La Boétie, who died at 33, there being some sonnets in addition to *Contr'un*. This work was translated in an English edition in 1735 and in a 1942 edition in English it was titled *Anti-Dictator*.

One of Montaigne's most famous essays, *On Friendship*, was based to a large extent on his relations with La Boétie.

Reference: Carpenter (I), 123-26; Mayne, 327.



THÉODORE BEZA (1519-1605)

French Calvinist theologian, poet and professor.

Originally Théodore de Bèze, he was born at Vezelai in Burgundy, the son of a minor royal official who along with his wife was noted for his piety. Thanks to his uncle, a counsellor of the Paris *parlement*, Beza was given a splendid education, first at Orléans in 1529 under a German Lutheran who had taught Greek to Calvin and who proceeded to instill Protestant ideas into Beza, and later at Bourges.

In 1535 Beza began studying law at Orleans. By 1539 he had completed his studies and was licensed to practice at Paris. During these years as a lawyer, Beza was also writing verse in Latin, publishing a collection in 1548 as *Juvenilia*.

In 1548 Beza had a severe illness which apparently left him

determined, if he recovered, to take life more sternly and seriously. After his recovery, Beza married his mistress and joined the church of John Calvin at Geneva. He became Calvin's intimate friend and chief aide, and in 1549 he received appointment as Greek professor at Lausanne. Subsequently Beza served as Calvin's adjutant in various publications, including his defense of the burning of Servetus (q.v.).

In 1559 Beza was brought to Geneva on a full-time basis, becoming professor in the Geneva academy. He reached the height of glory in 1561 when at the Colloquy of Poissy, a Catholic-Calvinist Great Debate, he was chosen to defend the Calvinist position.

Upon Calvin's death in 1564, Beza became his biographer and administrative successor, and in this latter connection softened Calvin's harsh rule, for which the Genevans became duly grateful. Beza's Greek and Latin versions of the New Testament had some influence on the development of English versions, but otherwise his numerous writings were of little significance.

Beza's homosexuality, at least in his youth, was made unmistakably clear in those of his indiscreet poems in the *Juvenilia* collection addressed to Audebert, and to a lesser extent to a lad he called Pomponius. When he became a Calvinist, Catholic polemicists such as Daniel, Bolsec, de Sanctis and Laingaus did not hesitate to make specific accusations of sodomy. In his arraignment of Beza, Laingaus wrote, "He was tortured by a burning lust for his young Audebert, a remarkably handsome boy, with whom he was united in a sodomistic love." De Sanctis (Xaintes) made a neat moral-religious tie-in: "Instead of your Audebert, now you have embraced Calvin, and so have substituted a spiritual male-whore for a carnal one; thus being still what you were—a sodomist."

Reference: Burton, 252; Mayne, 78, 265-66.



JULIUS III (1487-1555)

Pope (1550-55).

Originally Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte, he was born at Rome. Not too much is recorded of his background before 1536, when he was made a cardinal by Pope Paul III. Thereafter, Cardinal del Monte served as papal legate in various places.

At the Council of Trent, that most important of church councils that was to challenge the Reformation with the Counter-Reformation, Cardinal del Monte served as president, and in that capacity he incurred the bitter enmity of Emperor Charles V.

Following the death of Paul III, Cardinal del Monte was elected pope in February, 1550 and took the name Julius III. Desirous of a life of ease and pleasure, as peaceful as possible, he now took a very conciliatory attitude towards Charles V, and in 1551 he yielded to the emperor's demand that he recall the Council of Trent, which had been suspended since 1549.

A few years later, when Pope Julius again had a falling-out with the Emperor, he again suspended the Council in 1552 and established a permanent commission to plan reforms in the Church. Pope Julius was unfortunate enough to be reconciled again with Charles V, and even to become his ally, just before the emperor got into another war with the French, from whom he suffered some defeats. In consequence, being on the losing side, Pope Julius had to surrender Parma to France's ally, Ottavio Farnese, the son of Pierluigi Farnese (q.v.), and thus the grandson of Julius' predecessor. Having recently been reclaimed from the Farnese, Parma was now lost to the Papal States forever.

The only other notable historic event of his papacy was the brief return of England to the Catholic fold in 1553 under Mary Tudor and her consort, Philip of Spain, the son of Emperor Charles V.

Weary of politics, the elderly Pope Julius virtually abdicated management of papal affairs to devote himself to providing for his relatives and boy friends, in one case the same. Immediately after his election, Pope Julius made his bastard boy Bertuccino, who was also his boy in the other sense, a cardinal. Another beloved boy of the pope's was a lad named Innocente, who was nicknamed Prevostino.

According to a familiar story, first told to the Venetian Senate by the Doge Matteo Dandolo, the pope, while still Cardinal del Monte and serving as legate of Bologna, used to take with him to meetings of the council at Bologna a pet ape which one day on the way attacked the boy Innocente. Completely fearless, the boy tore himself from the ape's grasp and started to smack it,

which so delighted del Monte that he secured the boy's adoption and ultimately promoted him to his bed. Innocente was also given a cardinal's hat after del Monte mounted the papal throne and remained almost always at his side. Going beyond Hadrian (q.v.) with Antinous (q.v.), Julius III kept the boy at his side even while conducting Church affairs, and when some other cardinals protested, he replied, "The Prevostino is worth more than the whole lot of you."

In addition to Bertuccino and the Prevostino, Julius III also created a number of other teenage cardinals. As a cardinal, he was said to have been very partial to orgies involving multiple sodomy, and far from being secretive about them, used to like to have his colleagues "discover" such scenes. The charge that he was also wont to practice sodomy with young pages attached to his service while in conclave would seem incredible.

Pope Julius accepted the dedication of the infamous Latin poem *In Laudem Sodomiae* (In Praise of Sodomy) by the archbishop of Benevento, Giovanni della Casa (q.v.).

The principal original source for these incredible details about Julius III, certainly the most blatantly homosexual of all the homosexual popes, was not some Calvinist propagandist but a prince of the Church, Cardinal Jean du Bellay. This French churchman, who was in Rome between 1553 and 1555, reported these doings in a series of letters which found their way into the archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Reference: Fraxi, xxxiii; Hirschfeld, 665; Roscaud, 132-36.



MARC ANTOINE MURET (1526-1585)

French humanist, lecturer and writer.

He was born at Muret, a village near Limoges, from which he took his name (sometimes latinized as Muretus), his family being of the petty nobility. At an early age, Muret displayed a keen intelligence and a strong affinity for classical learning. However, being independent and somewhat capricious, he could not endure his professors and did considerable self-teaching. Around 1539 Muret was a fellow student of Montaigne (q.v.) at the college of Guienne at Bordeaux.

One of the great humanists who held Muret's admiration was Jules César Scaliger, from whom he often sought advice while

still in his teens. When Muret reached 18, Scaliger secured a post for him as a lecturer at the archiepiscopal college at Auch. Subsequently Muret taught Latin at Villeneuve, and finally at the local big city itself, Bordeaux. Muret was greatly admired for his learning, his intelligence, his eloquence as a speaker, and his skill as a writer, equally facile in French or Latin. He was even noted for being exceptionally courteous in polemical debates.

In 1552 Muret was invited to lecture on philosophy and civil law in the college of Cardinal Lemoine in Paris, his audience including King Henry II, Catherine de' Medici, and many other notables. His great success made him many enemies, some of whom, having learned with delight of Muret's homosexual activities, advised the authorities. Muret was arrested in 1553 on charges of sodomy and jailed in the Chatelet prison, where he tried to starve himself. After friends obtained his release, Muret settled in Toulouse in the south.

In 1554, not too many months after he had settled at Toulouse and began his series of lectures on Roman law, charges were again drawn up against Muret as a sodomist, and this time also as a Huguenot (French Calvinist). After Muret fled Toulouse, and France, he was burned in effigy at Toulouse, having been found guilty *in absentia* on the sodomy-cum-Calvinism charges. His partner, by name Luc Menge-Fremiot, was burned in the flesh.

Muret appeared next in Padua as a tutor, but four years later, in 1558, he was again charged with sodomy. Friends helped him to escape to Venice, where he was soon facing the same charges, being apparently the least discreet of sodomists.

In 1559 Cardinal d'Este invited Muret to settle in Rome, so recently the scene of the homosexual orgies of Pope Julius III (q.v.). In 1561 he was back in France as a member of the cardinal's suite, during the Colloquy of Poissy, the Catholic-Calvinist great debate in which Beza (q.v.) represented the Calvinists. Muret returned to Rome in 1563 and, securing positions of honor again, established his reputation throughout Europe as a leading humanist.

Much admired by Pope Gregory XIII, the militant pope best remembered for the calendar reform that bears his name and for having ordered public thanksgiving at Rome for the St. Barthol-

omew's Day Massacre of Calvinists in France (1572), Muret was persuaded by him to take holy orders. In 1578 he turned down the offer of the King of Poland to become Professor of Jurisprudence in the new College at Cracow.

Muret's works include editions of the classical authors with learned and scholarly commentaries; his own lectures; his letters and his verses, the earliest ones being of a lascivious heterosexual nature. Although he admitted in his letters to passionate friendships with young men, his references to sodomy were generally disapproving.

Reference: Ellis, 30-31; Hirschfeld, 668.



HUBERT LANGUET (1518-1581)

French Huguenot writer and diplomat.

He was born at Vitteaux in Burgundy, of which his father was governor. Languet received his early education from a distinguished Greek scholar and displayed a remarkable ability in both Latin and Greek. From 1536 to 1539 he attended the University of Poitiers, studying law, science and theology. After doing some traveling, he studied further at the universities of Bologna and Padua, getting his doctorate at Padua.

At Bologna in 1548 Languet read a theological work by the great German Protestant leader, Melanchthon, and was so impressed that he went to Wittenberg, the capital of the unfortunate John Frederick I (q.v.), to meet Melanchthon. Shortly after, Languet became a Protestant and made Wittenberg his home, though he continued to travel extensively in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and even Sweden, Finland and Lapland.

In 1557 Languet declined the invitation of Gustavus I that he enter the service of Sweden but in 1559 he accepted a similar offer from Augustus I, brother and successor to Maurice as Elector of Saxony and German Protestant leader. Languet showed great ability in diplomacy and in organizing the Protestant princes. From 1561 to 1572 he represented the Elector of Saxony at the French court, except when religious and political troubles in France required him to withdraw. Languet delivered a forceful lecture to young Charles IX of France (q.v.) in 1570 on behalf of the Protestant princes and two years later narrowly escaped death in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, during

his flight starting his famous friendship with Sir Philip Sidney (q.v.).

From 1573 to 1577 Languet represented the Elector of Saxony at the court of the emperor who, after 1576, was Rudolf II (q.v.). Disgusted by Protestant bickering, and suffering from financial embarrassment, Languet secured his recall in 1577 and settled in the Netherlands for his remaining years. Though still nominally in the Elector's service, Languet now became an intimate adviser of William the Silent, Dutch leader in the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain. He also undertook a mission to England for John Casimir of Bavaria shortly before his death at 63.

Languet's writings include an enormous collection of letters that have been of great value to historians studying the sixteenth century. He also wrote an important theological work in which he held that resistance to previously established authority is proper under special circumstances, but only if made by properly constituted new authority.

Languet's inclusion among homosexuals is based primarily on his passionate affection for the famous young English soldier-poet, Philip Sidney, who was only 18 when they met while fleeing Paris in August, 1572, during the Massacre. Languet took Sidney with him to Germany and housed him for some time at Frankfurt. After they parted, Languet continued to send Sidney exceptionally warm letters for the remaining years of his life. In these letters, his tender spirit of affection, his wise counsel, and his ever watchful thought for the younger man's greater interests is mixed with anxious jealousies and fears about new intimates of Sidney's. A comparison of this series of letters has been made with some of the famous sonnets of Shakespeare (q.v.). As one writer put it, "No love-oppressed youth can write with more earnest passion and more fond solicitude, or can be more troubled with more frequent fears and more causeless jealousies, than Languet, at this time 55 years old, shows in his letters to Sidney, now 19."

Reference: Anderson, 152-53; Carpenter (I), 127-29.



ÉTIENNE JODELLE (1532-1573)

French dramatist and poet.

He was born in Paris of a noble family, being properly styled

Seigneur de Limodin. Receiving the usual humanist education, Jodelle developed a great interest in classical drama. He decided to try to create French works of the same type, thereby displacing the morality plays, which still dominated the stage.

Jodelle joined the circle of poets who, under the leadership of Jean Daurat, were seeking to reform France's language and literature on the basis of their studies of the classics. Jodelle having become the seventh member, the group called itself La Pléiade in emulation of the seven Greek poets of Alexandria.

After applying the principles of the reformers to dramatic composition, Jodelle had his first play, *Cléopâtre captive*, produced before the Court at Reims in 1552, with himself as Cleopatra. This play, the first French tragedy, was a great success, but the group fell under royal and clerical displeasure when, during the gay celebrations afterwards, a goat garlanded with flowers was led in the procession, suggesting a renewal of pagan rites in worship of Bacchus.

Another play of Jodelle's, *Eugène*, satirizing the upper clergy, had less success, though critics consider it of greater merit. His preface poured scorn on his predecessors in the field of comedy, but apparently his own effort was not too different.

Another tragedy, *Didon se sacrifiant*, based on the account of Dido in the *Aeneid* of Virgil (q.v.), was completed in 1558 but apparently never produced.

Too fond of dissipation and pleasure to develop fully his undoubted talents, Jodelle created nothing else, aside from some verse, mostly dating from his youth, which his friend, the poet laureate Ronsard, claimed gave no adequate idea of Jodelle's poetic powers.

Jodelle was also noted as being the probable author of a mocking Latin distich, an epigram at the expense of the "prophet" Nostradamus, whose work was then all the rage. It went:

Nostra damus cum falsa damus, nam fallere nostrum est

Et cum falsa damus, nil nisi nostra damus

which translates punlessly into English as, "We give that which is our own when we give false things: for it is in our nature to deceive; And when we give false things, we give but our own things."

Jodelle died in poverty in 1573. His works were collected after his death by his friend Charles de la Mothe.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 665.



TORQUATO TASSO (1544-1595)

Italian poet.

He was born at Sorrento, the son of a nobleman who served as secretary to the prince of Salerno. When the prince quarreled with the Spanish government and was outlawed, Tasso's father suffered along with his master and lost his patrimony. While his father, who was also a poet, went to Rome to try to make a living, Tasso remained with his mother at Naples, where he was educated by the Jesuits. His precocious intellectual development and religious fervor gained for him considerable admiration.

While Tasso at 12 was visiting his father in Rome, his beloved mother died in Naples, possibly poisoned. The following year, 1557, his father secured a position at the court of Urbino, ruled by dukes of the della Rovere family. Young Tasso became the companion in studies and sports of Francesco della Rovere, the heir. He now had the opportunity to acquire the finest education in the classics, and he was in addition encouraged by his father in the development of his poetic talents.

In 1560 Tasso accompanied his father to Venice, where the elder Tasso was to supervise publication of his epic poem *Amadigi*. When young Torquato emerged as a prodigy of poetry and became the pet of Venice's literary circle, his father apparently became jealous and sent him off in 1561 to Padua to study law. Tasso completely ignored his law studies, spending his time on philosophy and poetry. By the end of 1562, Tasso had produced a narrative poem he called *Rinaldo*. Those who read the manuscript were so impressed by the manner in which he combined romantic subject matter with classical form that his father relented and allowed his son to have it printed. Young Tasso was proclaimed the most promising of Italy's poets. Shortly after, he almost matched his poetic fame with further praise as a philosophical critic for his *Discourses on the Art of Poetry*.

The period from 1565 to 1570 proved the happiest of his life, though marred in 1569 by the death of his father, to whom he had always been very devoted. His father had procured for

him a position at the brilliant court of the Este family at Ferrara, where he became a special pet of Duke Alphonso II, the grandson of Lucrezia Borgia. The Princesses Lucrezia and Leonora d'Este became Tasso's special friends and patrons.

By now Tasso was working hard on the great epic about the First Crusade for which he was to be renowned, *Jerusalem Delivered*. It was completed in 1574, shortly after Tasso turned 30. Outstanding alike for its elegance of diction, its striking episodes and its characterization, the poem became a great favorite of all Italians, and eventually made Tasso the rival of Ariosto for first place among the poets of his century. Only slightly less important was Tasso's pastoral musical drama in verse, *Aminta*, which he had completed a year earlier. With its honeyed melodies and sensuous melancholy, it was to have great influence on the development of both cantata and opera.

As it turned out, it would have been fortunate for Tasso had he died at 31, after completing these two or three great works. The rest of his life was to be full of bitter unhappiness. Although *Jerusalem Delivered* became widely known shortly after completion from the copies Tasso circulated among the leading critics, he kept nervously withholding it from the printing presses, asking the critics for suggested changes, then neurotically brooding over suggestions. Becoming more unbalanced all the time, he began to see enemies everywhere, and he angered the Duke of Ferrara by seeking employment at the Medici court in Florence. The duke, fearful of losing the dedication if Tasso went elsewhere, had him arrested in 1577 after he drew a knife on a servant of Princess Lucrezia.

The duke soon released Tasso from prison, giving him a chance to recuperate at a rural estate of the duke's, subsequently at a Franciscan convent. Sure that he was going to be murdered, Tasso fled to his sister at Sorrento. Becoming bored, Tasso wrote the duke pleading to be allowed to return to Ferrara. Permission was granted, but soon after his return as a forgiven prodigal, Tasso again became moody, suspicious and violent. Fleeing again from Ferrara in 1578, he wandered all over northern Italy, always being received with great honor by the local rulers, then quarreling with them suspiciously.

In 1579 his plea to be allowed to return to Ferrara was once

again granted, and again he became violently abusive, insisting he had been insulted by receiving insufficient notice. This time he was shut up in the madhouse of St. Anna for seven years, though being allowed to receive friends, correspond, and even make trips with responsible escorts. Tasso devoted himself again to writing, this time mainly prose dialogues on philosophical and ethical themes, all perfectly sane. He also turned out some poetry in the form of sonnets and odes.

In 1581 *Jerusalem Delivered* was finally printed and published as he originally wrote it, though without his permission. In six months there were seven printings, but he received no money whatever. Despite the tremendous acclaim for the work, there were inevitably disparagements, and Tasso was especially infuriated when a rival poet in 1582 presumed to re-edit his whole epic. However, surprisingly, he replied in 1585 with the greatest courtesy to ferocious attacks against his work by two Florentine pedants.

In 1586 Vincenzo Gonzaga, prince of Mantua, secured Tasso's release from the madhouse, brought him to Mantua and encouraged him to write a tragedy called *Torrismondo*. However, when his patron succeeded as Duke of Mantua and had less time for Tasso, the poet again chose to feel he'd been slighted and insulted and walked out.

Off wandering again in search of a location where he'd be properly appreciated, Tasso went to Bologna, then Rome, then to Naples, where he wrote *Monte Oliveto*, a poem considered of inferior quality. Back in Rome again he became so abusive to servants in his host's palace that he was turned out. Falling ill, he spent some time in a hospital. After a visit to Florence, he got into a routine of moving back and forth between Rome and Naples, being first a welcome guest in the homes of the great, then rapidly wearing out his welcome until very few homes were left open to him. Eventually he came to be considered the biggest laughingstock and greatest bore in Italy.

His health grew worse and his genius faded completely. A purported sequel to his great work, called *Jerusalem Conquered*, was a complete flop, considered a miserable piece of trash. Equally unsuccessful was a blank verse composition based on the first chapter of Genesis.

In 1594 Pope Clement VIII, determined to rehabilitate the fallen poet, invited him to Rome to be crowned as poet laureate of Italy. Before the ceremony took place, Tasso died of some illness.

Reference: Bulliet, 304; Ellis, 31-32.



CHARLES IX (1550-1574)

King of France (1560-74).

A younger son of Henry II and Catherine de 'Medici, Charles, previously duke of Orleans, succeeded his brother Francis II to the French throne when he was but 10. His energetic and cunning mother served as regent. In his upbringing, Charles was excessively spoiled, being allowed indulgence of all his whims. Although he had a lively and agreeable nature, tendencies to violent passions spoiled it. His health was ruined at an early age by violent exercise and dissipation in alternation.

Although proclaimed of age in 1563, Charles continued to leave the government to his mother, devoting himself to hunting much of the time. However, after his marriage in 1570 to Elizabeth of Austria, the sister of Emperor Rudolf II (q.v.), Charles began to have ambitions of playing an important role on the European stage. Despite his mother's ardent desire to suppress the Huguenots, Charles whimsically offered his friendship and support to the Huguenot leader, Admiral Coligny, and was warmly receptive of Coligny's scheme for French intervention in the Netherlands in support of the Dutch against Spain.

Alarmed at these developments, Catherine tried unsuccessfully to have Coligny assassinated. While Charles was considering the proper punishment for the would-be assassin of his friend, and many angry Huguenots were flocking to Paris for the marriage of their Henry of Navarre to Charles' sister Marguerite, Catherine conceived the scheme of eliminating the entire Huguenot menace at one fell swoop. Gaining the support of the Catholic leaders, Catherine somehow managed to get the approval of Charles to the scheme on August 23.

The so-called St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the most notable event of Charles' reign, began at daybreak, August 24, 1572 and continued in Paris until September 17. Like a great beast unleashed, the Paris mobs, somewhat anticipating their

descendants in the 1790s, massacred everyone known to be a Huguenot, or even suspected of being one. From Paris the massacres spread to the provinces, until about 50,000 had been killed in all. According to a popular tradition, Charles sat by a window at the Louvre taking pot shots at fleeing Huguenots, having at last found the most exciting form of hunting. At Rome, Pope Gregory XIII ordered bonfires to be lighted and a special medal to be struck for the magnificent deed.

Remorseful over the massacre of his onetime friends, especially over his friend Coligny, one of the first victims, Charles grew more melancholy and taciturn. Constant nightmares caused a further deterioration of his health, and soon he had almost constant fever. At the age of 24 Charles was said to have the appearance of an old man. His early death proved not unexpected.

Charles was a sincere patron of letters, notably a patron of Ronsard and other poets of the Pleiad. He was himself something of a poet and also wrote a book on hunting.

Although Charles had no children by his royal bride, he had an illegitimate son by his mistress, Marie Touchet. He was accused of including in his dissipation some homosexual experimentation, no doubt on the recommendation of his notorious brother and successor, Henry III (q.v.).

Reference: Moll, 47.



HENRY III (1551-1589)

King of France (1574-89) and Poland (1573-74).

He was born at Fontainebleau, the third surviving son of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici, and received the title of Duke of Anjou. Although Henry was partial in his youth to the Huguenot cause, he eventually gave way before the strong will of Catherine, whose favorite son he was, and became a fervent supporter of the Catholic cause. He was also attached to Catholicism by his personal tastes for both pageantry and asceticism, which happened also to be two diverse aspects of the Church.

In 1569 the 18-year-old Henry, as nominal leader of the Catholic party, was credited with the victories won over the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour, victories actually won by the Marshal de Tavannes. In 1571 Henry refused to proceed, allegedly on religious grounds, with a projected marriage to

Elizabeth of England. The following year Henry played a big part in helping his mother to win over his brother, King Charles IX (q.v.), to giving his approval to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of the Huguenots. With the remnants of Huguenot power at that period confined mostly to their stronghold of La Rochelle, Henry laid siege to it in 1572-73.

In 1573 Catherine supplied the French ambassador in Poland with the wherewithal for large bribes, resulting in Henry's name being presented as a sort of dark-horse candidate for election to the vacant Polish throne. Henry won out over the rival claims of Ivan the Terrible of Russia and some German princelings. Ending his mock-affair with the Princess of Condé, Henry arrived in Poland in the late summer. He found that in conformity with the demagogic promises of the French ambassador who had secured his election, the Polish nobles had instituted a constitutional reform under the so-called "Henrican Articles" that made the royal office into that of a powerless figurehead whose every act was subject to approval by the nobility. Being outraged by this imposition, as well as by the complete freedom granted to all Polish Protestants, Henry became convinced his mother had gotten him into a swindle.

Within less than a year of his arrival in Poland, Henry learned that his brother had died in May, 1574. Overcoming the efforts of his subjects to restrain him by force, pursued by them to the frontier, Henry escaped Poland in June, the success of his escape being due in part to his adroit use of female disguise.

The French throne proved hardly more attractive for Henry. His entire reign was spent in intermittent politico-religious wars, the Huguenots not having proven easy to annihilate. The weakness shown by Henry in his 1576 truce with the Huguenots led the Catholics to form their Holy League, led by the powerful Guise family (a branch of the French royal line). It was soon clear to Henry that the ultimate Guise purpose was to get the assistance of Philip II of Spain to annihilate the Huguenots and then establish the Duke of Guise as King of France. Spurred now to extreme action, Henry declared himself the head of the League and forbade the exercise of the Protestant religion in France. This only intensified the Huguenot opposition.

In the succeeding years, fearing the increasing power of the

League and of the Guises, Henry sought to establish himself as a third force between the League and the Huguenots, now led by Henry's charming brother-in-law, Henry of Navarre. As the Duke of Guise was also named Henry, the struggle was sometimes called "The War of the Three Henrys." Henry III became more tolerant again towards the Huguenots and indeed, when his younger brother died in 1584, the Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre, became Henry III's legal heir-apparent.

In the course of the "War of the Three Henrys," the position of Henry III began to deteriorate badly. In 1588 Paris rebelled against him and welcomed Henry of Guise as his successor. Henry III fled to Blois, and having failed in his efforts to arouse the country by a meeting of the States-General, he treacherously murdered the Duke of Guise and his brother. When the other Catholic leaders swore to avenge the murders on him, Henry III fled to the Huguenot camp of Henry of Navarre at St. Cloud outside Paris, where he was fatally stabbed in the abdomen by a fanatical Dominican friar named Jacques Clément. In due course, Henry of Navarre, whom Henry III on his death-bed had confirmed as his successor, found Paris "well worth a Mass," became a Catholic again, and after defeating his enemies, founded the Bourbon dynasty as Henry IV.

Soon after his return to France in 1574, Henry III, frustrated by his inability to dominate the political and military scene, gave total and abandoned expression to his homosexuality. Surrounding himself with handsome young men known as his *mignons*, Henry sought to organize orgies and extravaganzas that might vie with those of the Roman emperors. His affectations included wearing female clothes and makeup, collecting little dogs, and running shrieking into the cellar when it thundered. Sado-masochist tendencies were also attributed to Henry in that on days of penitence, he showed great energy in the flagellation of his *mignons* after the processions, in which the members of Henry's Confraternity of Penitents marched two abreast, clad in white linen sacks.

No doubt there was a connection between the deterioration of his prestige as king and the contempt aroused by the reports of Henry's feminine affectations and orgies.

Among the best-known of Henry's *mignons* were Jean Louis

de Nogaret, Duc d'Epéron, who later became an important military and political figure in seventeenth century France; Maugiron, Duc de Bellegarde; Joyeuse; Saint-Mégrin; and Quélus.

Reference: Bulliet, 101; Burton, 252; Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 664; Mehta, 160; Moll, 47-48.



RUDOLPH II (1552-1612)

German emperor (1576-1612).

He was born at Vienna, the son of Emperor Maximilian II (the nephew of Charles V) and his wife Maria (the daughter of Charles V). Showing a much greater resemblance to his brooding uncle, Philip II of Spain, than to his tolerant and good-natured father, Rudolph was appropriately sent to Spain at 11 for his education.

As became customary, Rudolph's succession to the imperial throne was assured by various regal honors in his youth. In 1572 he was crowned king of Hungary, and in 1575, he was crowned successively king of Bohemia and king of the Romans, the latter title amounting to German king and heir-apparent of the empire.

During the first two decades of his reign, before his insanity began to develop markedly, Rudolph handled imperial business fairly capably. He attended the rare sessions of the imperial diet or parliament, rendered some aid to the struggle of his Spanish cousin to suppress the Dutch rebellion, and fought against the Turks. As a fanatical Catholic, Rudolph supported the Counter-Reformation, reversing the tolerant policies of his father, and took away the religious liberties previously granted. Rudolph alienated the non-German parts of the empire by appointing German administrators, and where the non-German parts were also non-Catholic, the opposition reached violent proportions.

At the opening of the seventeenth century, mounting opposition to Rudolph's bigoted policies coincided with his increasing insanity. Fits of melancholy and depression were followed by haughty and suspicious outbursts against his closest advisers. Alarmed at Rudolph's incompetence and unpopularity, other Hapsburg dynasts asked the unhealthy and unmarried emperor to consider a successor. When he failed to respond, his family in 1606 under the leadership of his younger brother Matthias

declared Rudolph incapable. In 1607 Rudolph reluctantly gave over the conduct of affairs of state to Matthias.

Matthias made extensive concessions to the Hungarians, who had been in revolt since 1604, and he also made peace with the Turks. At this point Rudolph attempted to seize power again, in order to reopen the war with the Turks. Allying himself with the national party in Hungary, Matthias in 1608 forced Rudolph to turn over to him all the hereditary Hapsburg lands except Bohemia, where Rudolph established himself at Prague.

When Rudolph attempted unsuccessfully to regain power with the support of the Protestants, he was confronted by demands for more religious liberties in Bohemia. The Protestant Union formed in 1608 was countered by the formation of a Catholic League in 1609. In the end Rudolph, who had first rejected the demands, acceded to all of them in 1609. His Royal Charter granted free exercise of religion to all lords, knights and imperial cities.

Two years later, however, the unruly Bohemians began insurrections again and called in Matthias. Deserted now by all factions, Rudolph surrendered Bohemia and the last of his lands to Matthias and concluded his life as a virtual prisoner in Prague, dying within the year.

Something of an intellectual, Rudolph was greatly interested in chemistry, alchemy, astronomy and astrology, and he was a patron of Tycho Brahe and Kepler, who worked at his court. Alchemists were locked up in his "Golden Lane." Rudolph was also the greatest art collector of his age, his agents ransacking Europe to fill his museums with works of art.

Due to both the bigotry and the weakness of Rudolph, the groundwork was laid for the beginnings of the catastrophic Thirty Years' War that opened a few years after his death in turbulent Bohemia.

Rudolph's homosexual activities are associated principally with his valets, amoral men with whom he passed much time not only in his palace but also in his gardens and stables. It became a scandal that princes and statesmen hoping to influence Emperor Rudolph had to buy the favor of his valets. The best known of these was Philipp Lang.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 670; Moll, 49-50; Schrenck, 124.

MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE (1533-1592)

French writer.

Properly Michel Eyquem, Seigneur de Montaigne, he was born at the Château of Montaigne in Périgord. Montaigne's grandfather had been a prosperous Bordeaux herring merchant who had bought the Montaigne estate and title. Montaigne's father, though he continued to direct the herring business, also filled municipal offices in Bordeaux as better befitted a gentleman, and served in Italy under Francis I. Montaigne's mother, Antoinette Lopez, came from a family of Portuguese Jews, but had turned Protestant herself. With the death of two older brothers, Michel became the oldest of six siblings.

Montaigne's father was a zealot for progressive ideas about education, several centuries ahead of his time, and he determined that bright young Michel should have the benefit of these ideas, which turned out a thoroughgoing success. First Michel was put out to nurse with a peasant woman and encouraged to play with her children as he grew into boyhood. Several centuries ahead of Berlitz, he was taught Latin orally by a German tutor who could speak no French. He was wakened every morning to soft music. Never allowed an idle moment, he was also taught Greek by some kind of audio-visual device.

At 6 young Michel was sent to the newly founded and already highly reputed Collège de Guienne at Bordeaux, where the Latin professor was the brilliant Scotch humanist, George Buchanan, subsequently tutor to the future James I (q.v.). A fellow student of Montaigne's was the subsequently famous scholar and convicted sodomist, Muret (q.v.).

At 13 Montaigne left Bordeaux to study law, probably at Toulouse. He returned to Bordeaux in 1548, his law studies completed at 15, and arrived in the middle of the riots over the salt tax. The riots evoked a passionate libertarian essay by another brilliant and precocious youth, Etienne de la Boétie (q.v.), with whom Montaigne formed a passionate friendship, ended only by La Boétie's premature death in 1563.

In 1554, when Montaigne had come of age, he was made a counsellor in the Bordeaux parlement, in which La Boétie also served, making it possible for the two to be almost inseparable for several years. After tasting of Court life in Paris in

1559 and 1561, and some military service (Thionville, 1558, and Rouen, 1562), Montaigne contracted a suitable marriage in 1565, two years after La Boétie's death, with the daughter of a fellow-counsellor. In 1568, with his father's death, Montaigne became independently wealthy.

In 1570 Montaigne resigned his office, and the following year retired to his château, resolved to devote the remainder of his life to study, contemplation and writing. Remaining on distant though friendly terms with his wife, who bore him only one surviving child, a daughter, Montaigne spent most of his time in his study meditating, reading, writing and dictating.

After editing the collected works of his late beloved friend La Boétie, Montaigne carried out his project of writing essays based on the moral precepts he had carefully gathered in his notebooks. Two books appeared in 1580, with fairly short essays. A third book, first published in the posthumous cumulative edition of 1595, contained essays about four times as long as those in the first two books.

Reflecting Montaigne's own aloofness from the political and religious quarrels that had consumed France during his lifetime, his essays were saturated with wise judgments on all human affairs, written with irony, humor and spontaneously flowing style. The skepticism in Montaigne's essays reflected the disenchantment that had set in regarding the Renaissance—instead of a new golden age, it had produced turmoil and near anarchy, owing to the selfish greediness of human nature. Some of his essays have remained among the most perennially popular in literature. The essay on *Friendship*, reflecting to some extent his relationship with La Boétie, is among the best known.

Even with the first edition of the *Essays*, Montaigne won acclaim and renown throughout the western world. He was persuaded to visit his admirers in Italy, and the diary of that journey in 1580-81, which was only discovered in the eighteenth century and published in 1774, has also had many admirers of its own. After a five-month stay in Rome, where he was made an honorary citizen, Montaigne spent some months at the baths of Lucca for his health. While there, he learned that he had been elected mayor of Bordeaux and had been enjoined by command of France's homosexual king, Henry III (q.v.), to take up residence there.

Accepting with reluctance the time-consuming job, Montaigne did a sufficiently satisfactory job to be re-elected in 1583. During his second term he was visited in 1584 by Henry of Navarre, the future Henry IV who founded the Bourbon dynasty. Henry visited Montaigne again in 1587, and after he became king, in 1589, trying without success to persuade Montaigne to take up residence at his court. His known friendship with Henry of Navarre led to his being briefly imprisoned in the Bastille in 1588, while visiting Paris in connection with the publication of another edition of the *Essays*, Paris being then in the hands of Henry's enemies.

It was also while in Paris that Montaigne met there an enthusiastic female fan who did considerable work after his death in preparing the standard edition (1595), based on Montaigne's corrections of the 1588 edition. His health broke down a few years after his return from Paris, and he died of a complication of maladies.

Montaigne's essays were to be very influential on the development of the French language. Appearing shortly before the time when French pedants tried to put their language into a strait-jacket, Montaigne's essays continued to demonstrate how the French language could be freely molded by the use of racy phrases, unconstrained spontaneous constructions, and a quaint and picturesque vocabulary. The form of literature Montaigne created was considered a completely original achievement, without any ancestry in the classical world. To many admirers, the *Essays* of Montaigne have remained not only the first of their category but the best.

That other work of Montaigne's, the diary of his 1580-81 Italian journey, also contains a matter of great sexological interest, a uniquely early reference (1889 edition, p. 11) to the hanging of a masculine Lesbian for using a dildo on her partner.

Reference: Carpenter (I), 123-26; Mayne 78, 327.



GIORDANO BRUNO (1548-1600)

Italian philosopher and writer.

He was born at Nola of humble parentage and in his fifteenth year entered the Dominican Order at Naples. Having a very independent-minded Renaissance curiosity, Bruno soon discovered

he had made a terrible mistake in taking orders. Unable to resist expressing his ideas, Bruno was subjected to frequent persecution for impiety. His views on transubstantiation and the immaculate conception were among the first of his heretical views.

Around 1576 Bruno fled from Rome and made his way toward Switzerland, where Calvinism failed to attract him. Making his way next to France, Bruno reached Paris in 1581. He had become especially interested in astronomy, inevitably involved with Christian dogma, and had become a great partisan of Copernicus, who a few years before Bruno's birth had advanced the shocking proposition that the earth revolved around the sun. This easily led Bruno to constantly growing contempt for the nearly sainted Aristotle (q.v.), though he drew much on other Greek philosophers. Bruno's lectures on the new astronomy, and its relation to dogma, were delivered in both Paris and Toulouse, the Huguenot center. At the University of Paris Bruno was offered the chair of philosophy if he would receive Mass, but he refused.

In 1583 Bruno accompanied the French ambassador to Elizabeth's court in England, where he remained two years. Bruno was disgusted by the pedantry and superstition of English scholars, and by the brutality of the other classes. He was especially outraged by the fine of five shillings imposed at Oxford for every point of divergence from Aristotle by any Bachelor or Master. Several of Bruno's Latin works were published in England, and it has been claimed his acquaintances there included Sidney (q.v.), young Shakespeare (q.v.), and Bacon (q.v.).

Returning to Paris in 1585, Bruno was driven out the following year by enemies outraged at his heresies. Bruno next visited the Lutheran centers of Marburg and Wittenberg, where he published several of his works. There has been no conclusive evidence that he adopted the Lutheran faith, though this has been claimed. After visits to Prague and Helmstadt in 1588, Bruno made his way to Frankfurt where he stayed for some time, publishing more books.

While visiting at Zurich in 1592, Bruno accepted the invitation of a young patrician friend in Venice, Giovanni Mocenigo, that he come for a visit. While in Venice, Bruno was arrested by agents of the Inquisition, imprisoned and then brought to Rome in 1593. After seven years in prison, Bruno was excommunicated early in 1600 and burned at the stake a week later.

In 1889, in the wake of the anti-clericalism of the new Kingdom of Italy, a statue was unveiled to Bruno as one of the martyrs to man's quest for freedom and enlightenment.

The essence of Bruno's highly modern philosophy was to challenge all dogma, holding that the perception of a world must always be relative to the position in time and space of the viewer, and consequently there can be as many views as there are positions. Therefore there is neither absolute truth nor any limit to the progress of knowledge. Bruno even developed something of an atomic theory, referring to the irreducible elements as monads. He was to have a great influence on the later philosophers Leibnitz and Spinoza.

In addition to his theological and philosophical works, Bruno also wrote some poetry and satires.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 660.



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY (1554-1586)

English poet, soldier and statesman.

He was born at Penshurst, the eldest son of Sir Henry Sidney, three times lord deputy of Ireland and later lord president of Wales. His mother was the sister of the Earl of Leicester, the longtime favorite of Queen Elizabeth. In 1564 Sidney entered Shrewsbury School, not far from his father's official residence, and there met his lifelong friend and first biographer, Fulke Greville. In 1568 Sidney entered Christ Church College, Oxford, where he formed very close friendships with Richard Hakluyt and William Camden, but also continued his close relations with Greville, who attended Pembroke College. An advantageous marriage arranged for him by his father was broken off by Sidney.

In 1572 Sidney received permission from Queen Elizabeth to travel abroad for "attaining the knowledge of foreign languages." He went to Paris in the suite of the special ambassador sent to arrange the marriage of the queen with the youngest brother of Charles IX of France (q.v.), the Duke of Alençon. While in Paris, Sidney witnessed the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of the Huguenots, and fearing for his own life like most foreign Protestants, fled to Lorraine and Germany. Sidney's companion in the flight was the elderly Protestant wheeler-dealer, Hubert Languet (q.v.), with whom Sidney lived for several months in

a Frankfurt house. After that Languet, who had apparently fallen in love with him, took Sidney to Vienna. When Sidney finally parted from Languet to go to Italy, he promised to exchange letters every week. As it turned out, the letters from Languet, full of advice, worry and jealousy, proved even more frequent than weekly.

Sidney settled in Venice for a while and in 1574 Veronese, commissioned by Languet, did his portrait. Languet was later to confess spending many a night sighing over it. Sidney promised Languet not to go to Rome, for Languet feared his being corrupted there, religiously or sexually as may have been thought. Upon recovering from a serious illness, Sidney went back to Vienna, met Languet again and accompanied him to Poland, where he was even said to have been considered a candidate for a vacant Polish throne, vacant again in 1574 as a result of Poland's king having run off to become Henry III of France (q.v.). Returning to Vienna, Sidney fulfilled vague diplomatic duties at the imperial court and in 1575 followed the court to Prague. Fearing his growing Catholic tendencies, Sidney's superiors sent him home in 1575.

Under the patronage of his famous uncle, Leicester, Sidney followed Elizabeth's court on a royal progress. At Chartley Castle he first met Penelope Devereux, then aged 12, who was to be the "Stella" of his sonnets. In 1576 Sidney accompanied his father to Ireland for another term as a lord deputy, and narrowly escaped having to go through a marriage with Penelope arranged by her dying father.

In 1577 Sidney was sent back to Vienna to offer Elizabeth's congratulations to the new emperor, Rudolph II (q.v.). On his way at Louvain Sidney met Don John of Austria, the hero of the great Christian naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto, now governor of the Netherlands and charged with suppressing the Dutch rebellion. On his way through Germany, Sidney had a secret assignment to discuss with various Protestant princes the advancement of the Protestant cause. And when he had a chance to talk to Emperor Rudolph at Prague, Sidney was supposed to persuade him to oppose his Spanish cousin and the pope and help the Protestants. Needless to say, he didn't get far with proposals like these addressed to the zealously Catholic

emperor. On his way home, Sidney now conferred in the Netherlands with the rebel leader, William the Silent.

For several years Sidney was attached to Elizabeth's court, defending his father from his enemies in speech and writing, and at the same time becoming acquainted with poets like Spenser. Among Sidney's own early literary efforts was a masque, *The Lady of the May* (1578). Despite her great fondness for Sidney, Elizabeth became very annoyed with him for planning a duel, and he was also inevitably affected by the disgrace of his uncle, Leicester.

Abandoning the court, Sidney retired to his sister's home at Wilton and began to write for pleasure and amusement his *Arcadia*. Penelope having gotten safely married to someone else in 1581, Sidney could now express to the fullest his "hopeless passion" for her, immortalized in his sonnets *Astrophel and Stella*, largely in imitation of Petrarch. That same year Sidney also wrote his *Apologie for Poesie* in response to an attack on both the stage and the poet that had been unaccountably dedicated to him. And still that same year, Sidney was elected a member of Parliament from Kent.

In 1583 Sidney was knighted so that he might serve as proxy for a Protestant German prince who was to receive the Garter, and was married to the 14-year-old daughter of Sidney's new patron, Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary of state. His only additional literary activity was a translation from the French of a religious treatise.

In 1584 Sidney was sent to France to condole Henry III on the death of his brother, the Duke of Alençon and Anjou, who never did get around to marrying Queen Elizabeth. Sidney now became more and more interested in the Protestant struggle against Spain and was anxious to play an active part in it. In 1585 he was set to sail with Drake's fleet, going out to attack the Spanish coast, but like an anxious mother, Elizabeth recalled him.

Sidney did, however, obtain a command in the Netherlands, where his uncle, Leicester, now restored to favor, commanded an English expeditionary force. Sidney was made governor of Flushing, greatly annoying Queen Elizabeth by accepting this post. In 1586 Sidney was out on a minor raid and then joined an

expedition against Zutphen. While operating with a small force sent out to intercept a convoy of provisions, Sidney was struck in the thigh by a bullet. He was without his leg armor because he had given it to another officer who hadn't time to get his own. Sidney succeeded in riding back to camp but his wound festered and he died, at 32, at Arnheim, to be the scene of so many deaths of other English liberators nearly four centuries later. According to a popular tradition, the wounded Sidney refused a cup of water in favor of a dying soldier with the words, "Thy need is greater than mine."

Although the Dutch would have liked the honor of his funeral, Sidney's body was returned to England where he received a public funeral at St. Paul's in February, 1587. Considered by almost everyone of the type that would be referred to in American lingo as "the sweetest guy you'd ever want to meet," Sidney was mourned as a personal loss by people of all classes. Some two hundred elegies were produced in his honor, the tributes being less to any great achievement than to his strong, radiant and lovable character. Sidney was his age's ideal of knighthood.

None of Sidney's works were published during his lifetime, though they circulated in manuscript. His unfinished *Arcadia*, a romance of chivalry using a pastoral setting, was published in 1590. *Astrophel and Stella* followed in 1591, and then in 1595 came both *The Defense of Poesie* and *An Apologie for Poesie*.

Sidney's strongest male attachments in his youth were Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer. He wrote youthful verses to both of them and dealt with them jointly in the following, in the form of an invocation to the pagan god **Pan**:

Only for my two loves' sake,
In whose love I pleasure take;
Only two do me delight
With their ever-pleasing sight;
Of all men to thee retaining
Grant me with these two remaining.

And of course Sidney was also the highly gratified recipient of the lasting adulation and adoration of the elderly Languet, with whom he traveled and lived so many months and exchanged so many letters.

Reference: Carpenter (I), 127-28; Mayne, 192.

JAMES I (1566-1625)

King of England (1603-25) and (VI) of Scotland (1567-1625).

He was born in Edinburgh Castle, the son of Mary Queen of Scots. James' father was widely believed to be not Mary's husband, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, but an Italian courtier named David Rizzio (or Riccio) who served as musician, valet and private secretary to Mary. Two months before James' birth, Rizzio was hacked to death by daggers at Holyrood, before Mary's eyes, and then thrown out the window. James was later to believe this had strong prenatal influence on him.

In July, 1567, Mary, having outraged public opinion by marrying Bothwell a few months after he had strangled her husband (blowing up the house he was in for good measure), was confronted by rebellion and forced to abdicate. The infant James was proclaimed king, his mother's half-brother Murray serving as regent. Mary passed completely out of the scene when, after escaping from prison and suffering defeat again, she fled to England and was there held in confinement by Queen Elizabeth. Held in quiet seclusion, James was given a fine humanist education, especially strong in languages, his tutor being the brilliant George Buchanan, called the Erasmus (q.v.) of Scotland, who had previously been the Latin professor of Montaigne (q.v.). Buchanan did not hesitate to use the rod.

During his most impressionable years, James was pulled in all directions by a succession of regents, by the rival Catholic and Calvinist parties, and by those aiming to free his mother and bring her back and by those violently opposed to her return. Cursed with weak legs, James was said to be unable to stand until he was seven and even after, in walking, found it necessary to lean on a companion. However, he displayed his courage and determination in learning instead to ride, which he did constantly and recklessly. His health was built up sufficiently that he lived a respectable sixty years.

In 1580 James found an intimate friend in James Stewart, Earl of Arran, who became the first of his many favorites and possibly lovers. In 1582, during one of the civil wars, James was kidnapped by one of the factions and hauled off weeping. Arran, who had been thrown into prison at the same time, escaped,

raised an army, rescued James and aided him in establishing himself as king. Arran became Lord Chancellor and also seized control of the king's forces. However, James was eventually outraged by the insolence and tyrannous behavior of Arran, who perhaps was also losing his looks. In 1586, acting on the well-documented complaint of Elizabeth of England, whose favor he wished to obtain, James threw Arran into prison for complicity in the murder of an English nobleman.

Now at last completely his own master, James allied himself with Elizabeth, whose heir he hoped to become, and broke with the Catholic party of his mother, whose execution (1587), with or without Elizabeth's orders, he accepted calmly. In the succeeding years, the newly confident king managed to suppress Scotland's feudal baronage and establish firm royal authority throughout his country, keeping even the Church in its place. Like the Tudors before him in England, James used the wealth of the newly secularized church lands to finance his efforts. In 1589 he married the Danish Princess Anne, romantically traveling to Norway to meet her ship. In the ensuing period, his most determined heterosexual decade, James had three children by her who survived infancy, including the future Charles I and the Princess Elizabeth who by her marriage to a German prince provided the link for the accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne in the eighteenth century.

In 1603 James, successful in his long efforts to become her heir, succeeded Queen Elizabeth to the English throne. A sophisticated wag was said to have remarked, "Elizabeth was King; now James is Queen." In England, the ruthless determination to make the royal will prevail, which had served him so well in Scotland, brought only trouble. James' undignified and slovenly appearance and his garrulity, often of a pedantic nature, and with a heavy Scotch accent, contributed to a personal unpopularity that magnified the opposition, and in the ensuing struggles the groundwork was laid for the catastrophe that overwhelmed his son.

Shortly after his arrival in London, James was presented with a petition signed by 800 ministers, asking for reform of abuses. In 1604 he presided over the Hampton Court Conference, which was supposed to reconcile the Puritans to the Church of England.

However, James' own anti-Puritan bias becoming so evident, the Puritans withdrew in great anger against James and his new dynasty. Before the conference broke up, it passed ordinances against both the Puritans and the Catholics, banishing Jesuits and seminary priests. It also started the machinery for the great translation of the Bible into beautiful Elizabethan English, known to history as the King James Bible.

In 1604 also James proposed a real union of England and Scotland, to replace the mere personal union through himself. The ensuing Parliamentary opposition to this proposal started what became a pattern, almost unknown under Elizabeth. In 1605 non-Parliamentary opposition also became evident in a violent form when some disgruntled Catholics concocted a plot to blow up Parliament with thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, the plot being thwarted, thanks to an anonymous letter, by the arrest of Guy Fawkes.

James' first Parliament being dissolved in 1611 over a financial dispute, he tried a second one which was dissolved after two months of resisting his demands. In 1615 James dismissed the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, who had condemned one of his fund-raising schemes. Then James reached almost a peak of unpopularity in his treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he had long held in prison on charges of plotting to replace James with his cousin Arabella. Released in 1616, Raleigh made a voyage to South America in hopes of finding a gold mine, but being unsuccessful, raided Spanish settlements as the next best thing. On his return to England, Raleigh was arrested, tried and executed by James, who was trying to steer England into alliance with her old arch-foe. To England's horror, the Elizabethan hero had been executed as reparation to the hated Spaniards. Completely insensitive to his subjects' feelings, James was even negotiating for his son to marry a Spanish princess.

The third Parliament of James I, meeting in 1621, not only quarreled with his fund-raising policies in the usual manner, but also impeached his close adviser, the lord chancellor Francis Bacon (q.v.), for accepting bribes. They further inveighed against his foreign policy, denouncing popery and the projected Spanish marriage. When James angrily rebuked them for meddling in affairs of state, the men of Parliament responded with one of

those great documents of Anglo-American liberties, the Great Protestation (December 18, 1621) declaring:

That the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm . . . are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament.

James angrily tore this page from the journal of the Commons and again dissolved Parliament.

In 1623 James' son and heir, Prince Charles, accompanied by James' latest favorite, now Duke of Buckingham, went to Spain to finalize the projected marriage. After a last-minute dispute on terms, they returned in anger to England, where in 1624 the Fourth Parliament broke off the projected marriage. This Parliament, eager for war with Spain, voted supplies for defense and sent an ill-fated expedition to Holland to help the Dutch against the Spaniards. The new popular foreign policy was to be cemented by the marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria of France, the daughter of Henry IV and the sister of Louis XIII (q.v.). In the midst of all this activity forced on him jointly by his son and his favorite, in opposition to his own policies, James died.

Hoping to excel as an author as well as an absolute king, James left a number of works that made him the principal author among England's kings. Most notable were *Daemonologie* (1599), denouncing witchcraft and urging the strongest measures against witches; and *Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604), denouncing the use of tobacco. There were also sonnets, theological and philosophical tracts, an essay on poetry, and translations from French, Latin and Greek. Aside from being a pedantic scholar himself, James was also a great patron of literature. The so-called King James Bible was completed in 1611 after seven years of work by forty-seven ministers. The acting group of Shakespeare (q.v.) became "The King's Players" and some of the Bard's greatest works were performed in his reign. The works of James' lord chancellor, Francis Bacon, provided the beginnings of modern scientific inductive reasoning.

From the age of 13 James was rarely without a male lover

or favorite, except just after his marriage. The handsome young men, usually referred to with the traditional term favorites, would find James pulling their ears, stroking their cheeks, and adjusting their clothes like an anxious mother. And indeed, during the course of James' long reign over Scotland and England, there were of like temperament Henry III (q.v.) and Louis XIII in France, and Rudolph II (q.v.) in Germany.

At 13 James began with his cousin, Esmé Stuart, Earl of Lennox. From 15 to 20 there was James Stewart, Earl of Arran. Thereafter James was devoted on and off to the able and totally unscrupulous Patrick, Master of Gray, originally a collaborator of Arran's, who ended up double-crossing him and taking his place. Shortly after his fall from favor came James' period as husband, begetter of children and no-nonsense ruler of Scotland, which ended with his accession to England's throne in 1603.

In 1606 a former page of his, who had accompanied him from Scotland but passed unnoticed at 13, returned from several years in France and came to James' attention when he broke an arm or a leg (accounts differ) in a jousting match attended by James. Robert Carr, now 17, handsome and merry, was made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, knighted in 1607, and given an estate that had belonged to Raleigh. By 1610 he was powerful enough to persuade James to dissolve the first Parliament, which threatened his position. The next year he became Viscount Rochester, a Knight of the Garter and a privy councillor. By 1612 he was considered, despite his limited intellect, suitable to be James' private secretary. In 1613 Carr received his most familiar title, Earl of Somerset, and was appointed treasurer of Scotland. That same year proved to be also the year of Carr's downfall.

Having allowed subversive heterosexual interests to develop, Carr had become the lover of Lady Essex, the daughter-in-law of Elizabeth's ill-fated lover. After her divorce, which proved possible only after the murder of a key witness to the proceedings, Somerset married her and of course became aloof from James. In a letter still surviving, James berated him for "your long creeping back and withdrawing yourself from lying in my chamber, notwithstanding my many hundred times earnestly soliciting you to the contrary." Accordingly when Somerset was

arrested for conspiracy in that murder of the key witness at his wife's divorce proceedings, the famous Overbury case, James did nothing but weep at Carr's departure for the Tower, crying out that he would neither eat nor sleep till Carr's return. Infuriated by Carr's threat to "talk" if he didn't get a royal pardon, James left his treacherous lover in the Tower till near the end of his reign.

Carr was soon replaced by George Villiers, a well-educated, intelligent, handsome and good-humored young man who since 1614, when he was 22, had been constantly placed by Carr's enemies where James might see him. Politically, his boosters were opponents of the Spanish alliance, which Carr had favored. In 1614 Villiers became royal cup-bearer (a traditional post starting with Zeus' Ganymede). In 1615 he became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, was knighted, and after Carr's departure for the Tower stepped promptly into his place. In 1616 he became successively Master of the Horse, Knight of the Garter, and Viscount Villiers, owner of a huge estate.

By 1618 Villiers was Marquess of Buckingham and the second richest nobleman in England (the richest being Shakespeare's friend, the Earl of Pembroke). By 1619 he was Lord High Admiral and in 1623 became Duke of Buckingham, accompanying his good friend Prince Charles (whom Milton, *q.v.*, was to accuse of "nastiness" himself with his father's boy friend) to Spain to finalize the Spanish marriage. Instead, to the delight of most Englishmen, they blew up the whole thing in Madrid when the Spanish refused to restore his conquered realm to James' son-in-law, whose acceptance of the throne of rebel Bohemia had started the Thirty Years War.

In James' last years, his favorite Buckingham now became the hero and virtual ruler of an England preparing for war with Spain. An initial expeditionary force sent by Buckingham met with disaster, and while he was planning further action, James died. Of Buckingham James had said, "You may be sure that I love the Earl of Buckingham more than anyone else. Christ had his John and I have my George." James also called him "Steenie" because of his resemblance to a well-known picture of St. Stephen. Buckingham's position as the virtual real ruler of England continued for several years unchanged after James'

death and perhaps received a special sort of acknowledgment when the unsatisfied wife of Louis XIII of France, Queen Anne, had an affair with him. His assassination (1628) formed an essential part of the plot of the famous novel, *The Three Musketeers*.

Reference: Bulliet, 101, 185; Ellis, 40; Hirschfeld, 665; Mayne, 233; Moll, 48-49; Stiller.



CARAVAGGIO (1569-1609)

Italian painter.

Properly Michelangelo Amerighi, he was born at Caravaggio in Lombardy, from which he took his name. Of a humble family and originally a mason's helper, a powerful innate genius turned Caravaggio toward painting. He studied at Milan and Venice, then moved to Rome, where he worked at his painting with unrelenting energy and amazing force. Despising every sort of idealism, Caravaggio became the head of the *Naturalisti* school, dedicated to unmodified imitation of ordinary nature. His style, the extreme form of chiaroscuro, with potent contrasts of light and shadow, suggested a fierce temper and a sort of fury in the artist.

And in fact, Caravaggio was involved in constant brawls. After committing homicide during a gambling quarrel at Rome, he fled to avoid arrest, going to Naples and Malta. At Malta he was imprisoned for his attempt to avenge an insult. He escaped to Sicily, where he was attacked by a party sent in pursuit of him and severely wounded.

Caravaggio received a pardon and set out for Rome. Before his arrival he was again arrested, this time by mistake, then released and left to shift for himself in excessive heat. Suffering from wounds and malnutrition, he died on the beach of Pontecole.

Caravaggio's well-known pictures include the inevitable one of the mostly nude youth, martyred by arrows, *St. Sebastian* (Capitoline, Rome); *The Entombment of Christ* (Vatican); *Supper at Emmaus* (National Gallery, London); *Portrait of the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta and His Page* (Louvre); *Death of the Virgin* (Louvre); and a semi-legendary, semi-obscene

work, *St. Rosario*. Caravaggio's models, often taken from the lowest walks of life, are best seen in *The Card Players* and *Gypsy Fortune Tellers*.

Reference: Burton, 219.



RICHARD BARNFIELD (1574-1627)

English poet.

He was born at Norbury, Staffordshire. Little is known of his background other than the names of his parents and of the aunt who took care of Richard and his sister after their mother's death (1581). In 1589 he matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford. He took his B.A. degree in 1592, departing soon after without an M.A.

It is believed that Barnfield came to London in 1593, determined to find an outlet for his poetic bent, to which he was especially inspired by the recently published posthumous works of Sir Philip Sidney (q.v.). In London Barnfield became acquainted with such leading literary figures as Watson, Drayton and Spenser.

In 1594, not quite 21, Barnfield published anonymously his first work, *The Affectionate Shepherd*, dedicated to Penelope, Lady Rich (Sidney's Stella). Inspired by the *Second Eclogue* of Virgil (q.v.), Barnfield's poem was the most blatantly homosexual poem ever published in English, dealing in a florid, romantic style with the love of Daphnis for Ganymede rather than Chloë. Although there was much moral censure over the subject matter, it was greatly admired, and there was no sustained effort to prosecute the author. Its most famous lines were:

If it be sin to love a lovely lad,

Oh, then sin I.

A few months later, in early 1595, Barnfield published what at first seemed a much safer second volume, titled *Cynthia, with Certain Sonnets*. Published this time in his own name, its title piece was a panegyric on Queen Elizabeth, somewhat on the order of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. However, the subsequent sonnets, especially 4, 8, and 19, which have amazed critics by their likeness to the later sonnets of Shakespeare (q.v.), are full of homosexual implications, many celebrating, with extravagant ardor, the charms of a young man whose initials were J.U.,

who has been taken to be the boy-actor John Underwood. Allowing for the alleged "preposterous" nature of their subject matter, critics have found unusual merit in the sonnets.

In Barnfield's third volume, *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia* (1598), a poem in praise of money, his powers have been judged as declining. However, the volume also contained *Poems in Diverse Humours*, which includes the earliest praise of Shakespeare in a piece called *A Remembrance of Some English Poets*, as well as the long popular sonnets beginning, "If Music and Sweet Poetry Agree," and, "As it fell upon a day," both long attributed to Shakespeare.

1599 saw a publication that has baffled critics. Called *The Passionate Pilgrim*, its author was given as W. Shakespeare, but Barnfield claimed one of the sonnets as his own, and indeed it appeared in his 1598 work. It has been concluded that the book was a sort of anthology, with only five or so Shakespeare's and several, including *Sweet Cytherea*, Barnfield's.

Having apparently gotten married and decided to raise a family, Barnfield retired to his estate in Staffordshire, living out the rest of his life seemingly as a conventional heterosexual country squire. His work fell into even more obscurity than his name, until about a century ago when a scholar named Dr. Grossart put together the missing pieces of Barnfield's obscure life and lost works for an edition (1876) by the Roxburghe Club. A more general edition appeared in 1882 as part of the English Scholars' Library. Since then, there have been very few editions of Barnfield.

In recent years, Barnfield's poetic ability has been rated very high, for his graceful, melodious and highly-colored verse, though all critics purport to regret his choice of subjects and pronouns. Barnfield's apparent close relations with Shakespeare between 1595 and 1600 have also provided an element of additional interest in this mysterious young man, who at one time was regarded only as a sort of pseudonym of Shakespeare. Although Barnfield's name does not seem to have been proposed as a candidate for the "rival poet" referred to in Shakespeare's Sonnets 78-86, Barnfield is probably an excellent candidate.

Reference: Ellis 42-43; Hirschfeld, 659.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE (1564-1593)

English dramatist and poet.

He was born at Canterbury, the oldest son of a prosperous shoemaker, just a few months before the birth of Shakespeare (q.v.). His mother was the daughter of a clergyman. In 1578 Marlowe entered the King's School at Canterbury, receiving a substantial education there before going on a scholarship to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1581. He received his B.A. in 1584 and his M.A. in 1588.

While still attending college, Marlowe had given himself a leave of absence and gone to London, where he attached himself to the Lord Admiral's Company of Players and began to write for the stage. His first play, *Tamburlaine the Great*, was apparently completed while he was still getting his degree (1587), though not in print till 1590. This was followed by *Dr. Faustus* (1588; printed 1601); *The Jew of Malta* (1589); and *Edward II* (1592). He also left incomplete a play about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and almost twenty subsequent years of French history called *The Massacre at Paris*. Just before his premature death Marlowe collaborated with Thomas Nashe on *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1593).

Marlowe was considered the originator of truly effective English blank verse, the grandeur of which brought Ben Jonson's reference to "Marlowe's mighty line," as well as the originator of real tragedy in English drama. Shortly before his death, he switched from The Lord Admiral's Company of Players to Lord Strange's Company and he is believed to have come in close contact with Shakespeare. His influence has been found in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry VI*, *Richard II* and *Richard III*, and parts of *Henry VI* are believed to be from Marlowe's pen.

Marlowe also left some poetry, most notably the long poem *Hero and Leander*, which was completed by Chapman and is widely considered the best of its kind between Spenser and Milton (q.v.), and the short lyric, *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love*.

While still at Cambridge, just after getting his M.A., Marlowe was greatly affected by the burning for heresy of Francis Kett, a mystic, who had been a fellow and tutor of his college. In consequence he himself got mixed up with anti-clerical and athe-

istic circles with which he maintained contact even while devoting himself to the drama. In 1593 these activities of Marlowe's were denounced to the authorities by bitter personal enemies and professional informers. He may actually have been involved in some plot, and there has also been a possibility of homosexual allegations being involved. Before Marlowe could be arrested for questioning on the charge of disseminating heretical and lewd religious and moral principles, he was stabbed in a tavern brawl by a drinking companion whose plea of self-defense was accepted by a coroner's jury. Of the various alleged causes of the quarrel the preferred choice has been the one advanced in 1598 by a hostile critic that Marlowe was "stabbed to death by a bawdy servingman, a rival of his in his lewde love," i.e., over a boy.

Marlowe's active homosexual tastes were best characterized by the epigram attributed to him, "He who does not like boys and tobacco is a fool." A homosexual passion was of course strongly implied in one of his plays, *Edward II*, and rather openly set forth in another, *Dido* (the Jove and Ganymede lines). Henry III (q.v.) and his *mignons* received considerable attention even in the bare fragments of *The Massacre at Paris*. Marlowe's most passionate lines about male beauty and the susceptibility to it are found, however, in the poem *Hero and Leander*, first in the description of Leander, and then in the lustful Neptune's pursuit of him.

Reference: Ellis, 43; Hirschfeld, 668; Masters, 140; Mayne, 350-52.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616)

English dramatist, poet and actor.

He was born at Stratford-on-Avon of yeoman stock, his father being a prosperous glovemaking who was also an occasional butcher and farm produce dealer, and who had held municipal offices, including that of alderman. Shakespeare's mother, Mary Arden, came from a family which was among the leading gentry of Warwickshire. He had seven brothers and sisters.

As the son of one of the leading citizens of his town, connected on his mother's side with prominent gentry, Shakespeare's background was far less humble than often supposed, and he received

a first-class education. He attended only the local free grammar school, but its headmaster had been a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and accordingly, Shakespeare probably became as well-grounded in the humanities as students of more elite schools. However, any hopes of further education, other than the self-taught variety, were frustrated by the financial troubles that overtook his father when William was 13.

His father having lost property, income and status alike in paying off his debts, Shakespeare was obliged to become an apprentice in some trade, though it has never been determined what the trade was. At 18 Shakespeare was obliged to marry a local girl named Anne Hathaway, who was several months pregnant. In the light of the strong homosexual evidence that developed later in his life, the circumstances surrounding this ill-fated heterosexual experimentation provide interesting grounds for psychological and sexological speculation. Five or six months after the marriage, his daughter Susanna was born, and two years later the couple had twins, a boy named Hamnet (d. 1596) and a girl named Judith. The marriage was traditionally none too happy.

Little is actually known about Shakespeare's life between 1584 and 1592, when he was found in London as an actor and rising playwright. Some accounts have it that he deserted Stratford and his pregnant wife as early as 1584, others that he left as late as 1588 to avoid legal trouble over a drunken brawl or over poaching on the estate of a vindictive local magistrate, afterwards satirized as Justice Shallow in *Merry Wives*. During this mysterious period, Shakespeare's alleged occupations have included schoolmaster, copyist, apothecary, dyer, printer and soldier.

By 1592 Shakespeare's name was found as the subject of an attack by a jealous playwright against presumptuous actors who thought they could write plays. The plays in question were various parts of *Henry VI*, which he completed by 1592, possibly with some assistance from Marlowe (q.v.). Shakespeare had started with Lord Strange's Company with such menial jobs as holding horses at the doors, finally graduating to spear-carrier type parts, and ultimately bit parts, before getting on to what proved his true vocation in the theater.

The theaters were closed down for much of the period 1592-94 because of riots and plagues. With more leisure now for writing, Shakespeare found a patron in the brilliant young Earl of Southampton. During this period, considered one of adapting and revising on the models of his predecessors, Shakespeare completed the classical comedies *The Comedy of Errors* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and experimented with satirical comedy in *Love's Labor Lost* and with farce in *The Taming of the Shrew*. In historical plays, he went on from *Henry VI* to try his own version of a Marlowe play in *Richard III* and of a Kyd revenge tragedy in *Titus Andronicus*. During the short period of legal performance, there may have been productions of some of these works.

In this same period Shakespeare also published his poems *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), both dedicated to his handsome, young (20) patron, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. The dedication of *Lucrece* read, "The love I dedicate to your lordship is without end . . . What I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours; being part in all I have, devoted yours." It was probably also in this period that Shakespeare wrote many of those famous (or to some, infamous) sonnets, addressed to W.H., which has generally been taken as a reversal of Southampton's H. W. In this period of relative leisure, with affluence derived from Southampton's generosity, Shakespeare may have undertaken a trip to Italy, possibly also to Denmark and Germany.

With the reopening of the theaters in 1594, the rest of Shakespeare's life became fairly well documented. By the end of the year he had become a leading member, as both actor and playwright, of the Lord Chamberlain's Company, which after the accession of James I (q.v.) in 1603 became The King's Players, by all odds the leading group of players in England.

Writing about two plays a year, revising older plays, discussing the productions of such other playwrights as Ben Jonson, Dekker, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakespeare flourished. Returning to Stratford for a visit in 1596, presumably after the sad death of his 11-year-old son Hamnet, Shakespeare was able to pay off all the debts of his father and set him up for a comfortable old age (his father died in 1601, his mother in 1608). For himself Shakespeare bought an impressive estate in Stratford

in 1597. Apparently his wife was never established in London, remaining behind always at Stratford.

In 1599 Shakespeare became part owner of the new Globe Theater and in 1609 of the Blackfriars Theater, when his company took over that building. Meanwhile, his dramatic writing had become more original and experimental. In the period 1595-1600, sometimes called his lyrical period, he did a lyrical comedy in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a lyrical tragedy in *Romeo and Juliet*, a lyrical history in *Richard II* and a romantic tragicomedy in *Merchant of Venice*. By 1600 he had probably also completed the sonnets (not published until 1609), and in them are reflected Shakespeare's shifting from happy confidence to retrospection, renunciation, despondency, and finally a more worldly maturity. Towards the end of the decade he turned out rather light-hearted or even-toned historical plays, such as the histories from *King John* to *Henry V*. In this period Shakespeare developed such popular humorous characters as Falstaff, Bottom and Juliet's nurse. The period was concluded, probably, with *Much Ado about Nothing*, half comedy and half melodrama, the joyous farce *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and two happy comedies, the sylvan *As You Like It* and the urban *Twelfth Night*.

Henry V, probably done at the turn of the century, had celebrated the benefits of an efficient monarch. It was probably followed by *Julius Caesar*, which opened Shakespeare's deeper philosophical speculations on the seamier side of monarchical efficiency and the often tragical results of political idealism.

In his next period, starting about 1601, his mood apparently became clearly more cynical and pessimistic. *Hamlet* (1601) portrayed the tragedy of intellectual idealism. The bitter pseudo-comedy, *All's Well That Ends Well* (1602) portrayed a debased womanhood. *Troilus and Cressida* (1602) debased the ideals of heroism and romance with portrayals of a whore and a coward.

After the death of Elizabeth early in 1603, the theaters were closed in her honor; they remained closed the rest of the year because of plague. When they opened again in 1604, Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* reflected ironical doubts about Providence. Later in the year, *Othello* represented a pathetic tragedy somewhat on the classical Greek model. Further gloomy tragedies reflecting indictments of man and God appeared in

Macbeth and *King Lear* in 1605. In 1606 appeared the last of Shakespeare's great works before the inevitable decline set in. In *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, ideals of the love of women and the honor of men were stripped bare to reveal skeletons of lust and egotism. Finally, in *Timon of Athens* (1607), never completed, Shakespeare appeared to be indicating a general loathing and detestation of humanity. This play was completed by other hands.

In his final group of plays, after the decline had set in, there is reflected a swing back of the pendulum, away from personal commitment reflecting his own moods to merely professional idyllic romances. *Pericles*, of which he only completed a part, was followed by *Cymbeline* (1609), and *The Winter's Tale* (1610). In 1610 Shakespeare, by now a grandfather, retired to Stratford and spent his remaining few years as the town's leading citizen, appreciating the rural life, yet keeping in touch with the London stage. His last work, *The Tempest*, was probably done in 1611, though he later collaborated with Fletcher (q.v.) on *Henry VIII* and *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

After Shakespeare's death (1616), his little-mentioned widow lived on till 1623. The last of his four grandchildren, all childless, died in 1670. The year of his widow's death, 1623, a group of London booksellers put out a collected works edition of thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare, thus including all seriously attributed to him, with the possible exception of *Pericles*. Known as the First Folio, the edition contained eighteen plays published for the first time, and in those previously published (in quartos) reflected many changes. A reprint, the Second Folio, appeared in 1632. In later editions (1663, 1664, 1685), other plays, now known not to be Shakespeare's, were added. Shakespeare had meanwhile fallen into disrepute and had been denounced by Milton (q.v.) as lacking any real artistic competence. Restoration dramatists freely changed and adapted his plays.

In the eighteenth century, Shakespeare came to be appreciated at last as the greatest of English dramatists, and in 1709 the first "edited" collection was published, in which the plays were divided into acts and scenes, with entrance and exit cues. Samuel Johnson did an edition in 1765, and towards the end of the century, Shakespeare became very popular in Germany where,

influenced by the boosting of Lessing, Herder, and Goethe (q.v.), a magnificent translation was completed by the middle of the nineteenth century. Around this same time, in Shakespeare's native land a ten-volume expurgated edition, called *Family Shakespeare*, was published by Thomas Bowdler, and many times reprinted, giving the English language a new word. After another decline, Shakespeare reached his all-time peak of eminence and familiarity in the middle of the twentieth century, thanks in large part to television, where the audience for one performance might exceed the total of all previous audiences since the first.

Shakespeare's inclusion among homosexuals is, of course, based primarily on the sonnets which, although probably written between 1593 and 1596 or 1598, were not published until 1609, or just before his retirement to Stratford. There had indeed been a passion then for sonnets, traceable to the influence of the posthumously published (1591) *Astrophel and Stella* of Sidney (q.v.). Of Shakespeare's 154 sonnets, the first 126 concern his feelings for and relations with a handsome young man referred to as his "better angel," and the last 26 concern the "dark woman" who revenged herself on the poet by taking the young man away from him. The sequence runs roughly as follows: Shakespeare's urging of the young man to marry and beget beautiful children (Sonnets 1-17); his own undying feelings for the young man (18-25); his unhappiness at being separated from him (26-32); his reflection on the young man having been successfully wooed by a woman loved by the poet, with bitterness, then forgiveness (33-42); he again reflects sadly on separation (43-52); he praises the beauty of W. H. (53-55); he again grieves over separation (56-61); he promises to give W. H. immortality by his literary creations (62-65); he considers how weary he is of the world, only W. H. offering a meaning for continued existence (66-68); he considers rumors of scandal about W. H. (69-70); he has gloomy thoughts about death (71-74); he reflects on an earlier estrangement, when a rival poet (Barnfield, q.v.? Drayton? Chapman?) tried to win away the affections of W. H. (78-86); he reflects further on the motivations of W. H. in his previous estrangement, reputed immorality, and reconciliation (87-99); he recalls with joy the

renewal of their friendship and heaps more praise on W. H. (100-108); he apologizes for any strain on their friendship due to his humble occupation (109-112); he confirms that though the absence of W. H. will always leave a void, his own love will be endless, despite his unworthiness (113-125); and he closes with a reminder to W. H. that youthful beauty is not everlasting (126).

Of all the sonnets, the most distinctly significant is probably Sonnet 20:

A woman's face with Nature's own hand painted
 Hast thou, the master-mistress of my passion;
 A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted
 With shifting change, as is false women's fashion:
 An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,
 Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth;
 A man in hue, all "hues" in his controlling,
 Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.
 And for a woman wert thou first created;
 Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell a-doting,
 And by addition me of thee defeated,
 By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.
 But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure,
 Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

(In the bowdlerized version, the punning *prick'd* becomes *trick'd*!)

Efforts to prove that the sonnets were not intended as autobiographical, or that they were really all addressed to a woman, have generally been taken by objective scholars as being as absurd as the various theories by which Shakespeare's works are attributed to Bacon (q.v.) or others. It has also been pointed out that in his poetry the descriptions of Adonis are far more glowing than those of Venus. Shakespeare's handsome and beloved patron of his early days, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the subject of the loving dedication of *The Rape of Lucrece*, seems in practically all respects to fit the implications about Mr. W. H. in the sonnets, but there is far from general agreement on the identification. A theory popularized by Oscar Wilde (q.v.) in *Portrait of Mr. W. H.* makes the subject of the sonnets a boy actor, to whom Wilde gives the name Willie Hughes. There was indeed a bona fide boy actor in the King's Company

named Willie Ostler, whose name occasionally was spelled Willie Hostler, but the references hardly seem to fit a boy actor. It is not generally realized that the dedication to Mr. W. H. was not made by Shakespeare but by Thomas Thorpe, who apparently without authorization published the sonnets, which were apparently brought to him by Mr. W. H. The full dedication of these ever-controversial sonnets went:

"To The Onlie Begetter Of These Insuing Sonnets, Mr. W. H., All Happinesse And That Eternitie Promised By Our Ever-living Poet Wishes The Well-Wishing Adventurer In Setting Forth. T.T."

Although Shakespeare's relations with the subject of the sonnets apparently never went beyond the platonic stage, and it seems rather questionable that the subject was a boy actor, nevertheless it is quite possible that Shakespeare had less platonic relations with the pretty boys for whom he wrote his famous female parts, for of course at that time female-impersonating boys played all these roles. Amongst the best known were Dickie Robinson (Desdemona), Nat Field (Ophelia), Alex Cooke (Lady Macbeth), Bobby Goffe (Cleopatra) and Willie (H)Ostler (Rosalind).

Reference: Bulliet, 62-63; 130-60; Burton, 252; Masters, 140; Moll, 53; Schrenck, 124.



SIR FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626)

English philosopher, writer and statesman.

Also known by his titles Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, he was born at London, the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had held high positions under Henry VIII and his three children and, thanks to his friendship with his brother-in-law Cecil, had been made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. At the time of his son's birth, he was acting Lord Chancellor. Bacon's mother, Anne Cooke, was the scholarly daughter of Edward VI's tutor.

In poor health as a child, Bacon's earliest education was received at home from his mother and from a tutor. In 1573, at 13, Bacon entered Trinity College, Cambridge. Although he applied himself diligently, Bacon decided that the prevailing methods for teaching the sciences, and the results thereof, were

faulty. He came to believe that the core of the sterility was the sacrosanct Aristotelian philosophy.

With his older brother Anthony, with whom he had resided at Cambridge, he entered Gray's Inn in 1576 to undertake legal studies. While pursuing these studies, Bacon also did some brief service on the staff of the English ambassador to Henry III (q.v.) of France. When his father died in 1579, Bacon found himself in debt and not well provided for, so he applied to Cecil, his uncle and the Lord Treasurer, for a post at court. However, Queen Elizabeth did not respond favorably, so Bacon continued his legal studies, living as economically as possible. In 1582 he was admitted as a barrister and in 1584 Bacon secured a seat in Parliament, where he failed to distinguish himself or even to gain any substantial assistance from his uncle.

The turning-point in Bacon's career came in 1588, when he became acquainted with Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Essex. By 1591 Bacon had established himself as Essex's confidential adviser. In 1593, at a special session of Parliament called to vote large subsidies in response to another foreign plot against Elizabeth, Bacon made speeches involving legalistic quibbling about procedure which was taken by the Queen as demagoguery and brought her intense dislike of him. But at least he wasn't being ignored any more!

In 1594 Essex tried to get Bacon the vacant post of attorney-general, but it was given to Edward Coke. Essex then tried to get him Coke's former post of solicitor. Still angry, the queen gave this to someone else in 1595. Before sailing on his expedition to Cadiz in 1596, Essex gave his loyal but frustrated follower an estate and backing for yet another office, master of the rolls. When the triumphant Essex returned to England, even his support now became lost to Bacon, who offended him by urging him to behave more humbly lest the queen take offense. This advice and the reaction to it was to prove Bacon's salvation.

In 1597, his private fortunes in bad shape, laden with debt, the one-time child prodigy began to doubt his ability to attain the glorious political career he had anticipated, having gotten nowhere by the age of 36. He began to consider other possible avenues to fame and published his famous *Essays*, inspired by the recent example of Montaigne (q.v.) in France. Although he

gained some immediate distinction, and had plans to get out of his financial mess by marriage to a wealthy widow, he was suddenly arrested for debt in 1598.

Bacon was now saved by Elizabeth, who had learned of his advice to Essex, and having thereby lost Essex's favor, Bacon now gained that of Elizabeth, who was becoming ever more apprehensive about the pride and ambition of Essex. Although she neglected to give him any salary, having apparently satisfied his creditors, Elizabeth made increasing use of Bacon as a legal adviser. When the disgruntled Essex was ordered to return from Ireland, where he had been carrying on treasonable negotiations, he conceived of a plot, in 1601, that proved abortive. Essex was arrested and Bacon played a substantial part in his secret trial, preparing the first draft of the report that was to justify to the English people the execution of their idol.

Still failing to prosper materially under Elizabeth, Bacon now placed all his hopes in her heir apparent, James (q.v.) of Scotland, a pedant after his own heart, writing letters to him and his courtiers. And indeed, shortly after James' accession, Bacon's fortunes started to rise. He was knighted in 1603 and the following year, having a large role to play in the turbulent session of Parliament, received a salary and pension. He was appointed to the commission studying the proposed union of Scotland and England. In 1605 Bacon published his *Advancement of Learning*, a sort of first installment of his projected "Great Reconstruction" which would make him the contemporary Aristotle. The work criticized the inadequacies of scholars, critics and schools, and the neglect of governments, and suggested an outline for the subdivision of all learning. Shortly after this, Bacon managed to acquire a wealthy wife, the daughter of an alderman, with whom he was to enjoy a fond, friendly and childless relationship.

Bacon tried to pursue his political career as a moderate. While upholding the royal prerogatives, he tried to maintain the good will of the Commons. No advancement, however, came until 1613 when Bacon, now in his fifties, at last got the post of attorney-general. He got it only by complex intrigue, having persuaded King James to remove Coke, troublesome to the king on the Court of Common Pleas, and kick him upstairs to the post of Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The former attorney-general

being given Coke's former position, the office of attorney-general was now open to Bacon.

Having now so late in life attained the position of eminence he had expected his brilliant intellect to bring him much sooner, Bacon was most anxious to do nothing to bar further advancement. He gave James reliable confidential advice, based on sound legal knowledge, about how he could thwart those who threatened the royal prerogative. This activity of Bacon's, as well as his personal responsibility for the prosecution in several trials for treason, earned Bacon the great hostility of Coke. This was more than offset, however, by the devotion he earned from the king's newest favorite, Sir George Villiers, the future Duke of Buckingham, with whom he established friendly, fatherly relations.

In 1617 Bacon got his father's old position as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the following year he became Baron Verulam of Verulam. He next received the office whose duties his father had also exercised, Lord Chancellor, and climbed higher in the peerage as Viscount St. Albans. Having more time now for his intellectual pursuits, to which the scholarly King James gave his full support, Bacon at last completed and published in 1620 his *Novum Organum*, which was to give him immortality as "the high priest of modern science" by suggesting its new methodology.

In 1621 Bacon's good fortune suddenly collapsed. In the course of the continued Parliamentary squabbles with the king over finances, Bacon had become the target of the opposition. His enemies collected strong evidence of bribery and corruption involving Bacon as Lord Chancellor. Finding the evidence quite convincing, Bacon like a good lawyer accepted the charge and pleaded guilty. He was fined £40,000 and ordered imprisoned in the Tower of London for as long as the king saw fit. The king saw fit to free his loyal servant after four days, and in addition remitted his fine and gave him a general pardon. Bacon's only defense or justification had been that he accepted monetary gifts offered to him by those with suits pending, but never veered the slightest bit from the exact same justice he would have rendered without the gift.

Bacon's last five years were spent writing, and proved far more valuable to his country and to mankind than anything he had

done as a statesman. In 1625, shortly before his death, he completed a third and enlarged edition of his *Essays*, as well as works devoted to scientific speculation. He died a scientist to the last: driving through London in March, 1626, he suddenly wondered if snow would act as a preservative for a dead fowl. Having purchased a chicken, he stuffed it with snow with his own hands. This brought on a chill, developing into bronchitis and complications, from which he died after a few weeks.

Bacon's *Essays* are noted for their shrewdness, wisdom and epigrammatic style, with remarkable concentration and pungency. His scientific works, written in Latin, were greatly influential in formulating and introducing the scientific concept of inductive reasoning and experimentation as opposed to the traditional method of giving proofs by quotations from Aristotle and other authorities, backed by logic. A posthumous work of Bacon's *The New Atlantis*, portrayed a scientific Utopia in which the principals of the new scientific philosophy are carried out by political machinery and under state guidance.

Bacon also wrote professional works on legal matters. He has of course also been a favorite candidate for "the real author" of the works of Shakespeare (q.v.).

Bacon's homosexuality was noted by such near contemporary biographers as Aubrey (b. 1626) and the autobiographical D'Ewes (b. 1602). The collected works of Bacon, published in the middle of the nineteenth century, include a letter from his mother reproving him for his homosexual practices. He was especially partial to Welsh youths and used them as his intimate servants. In his writings, his homosexual sentiments show up most clearly in his essays *On Friendship* and *On Beauty*, the latter being concerned essentially with male beauty.

There are some grounds for believing that Bacon was induced to plead guilty so readily to the bribery and corruption charges because he was warned that if he didn't, he would have to face sodomy charges. How James I would have reacted in such an event is another interesting matter for speculation.

Reference: Ellis, 44-45; Hirschfeld, 659.

JOHN FLETCHER (1579-1625)

English playwright.

He was born at Rye in Sussex, the son of a clergyman who later became the chaplain of Queen Elizabeth and successively bishop of Bristol, Worcester, and London. When John was 8, his father enjoyed brief eminence providing theological torment to Mary Queen of Scots, the mother of James I (q.v.), as queen's chaplain, just before her execution. In 1591, just before his twelfth birthday, Fletcher was admitted to Bene't's (Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge, where his father had once been president. In 1593 Fletcher became a Bible clerk there.

In 1596, his father the bishop died, as the result of the excessive use of tobacco and of his second wife, a floozie he had married to the great displeasure of the queen. John, now a teenage orphan with seven brothers and sisters, had several years of hand-to-mouth existence, of which few details are known. After eleven years of obscurity, presumably spent on the outer fringes and lowest levels of the London theatrical world, the 28-year-old Fletcher turned up in 1608 as the partner in everything of the 23-year-old Francis Beaumont, with whose name his is inseparably linked.

Living together, sharing the same bed, the same clothes, the same food, and possibly occasionally the same women, they pooled their geniuses to produce a number of popular plays, some of lasting fame. Roughly speaking, Fletcher provided the imagination and the characterization, Beaumont the artistic and stylistic polishing. Their joint works, with dates mostly those of performance, are *The Scornful Lady* (1609); *Philaster, or Love Lies A-bleeding* (1609); *The Maid's Tragedy* (1609); *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1610); *A King and No King* (1611); *Cupid's Revenge* (1612), based on the *Arcadia* of Sidney (q.v.), and with possible collaboration from Massinger and the former boy actor of Shakespeare (q.v.), Nat Field.

In about 1613, after five years of the partnership, Francis Beaumont decided to get married to a Kent heiress named Ursula Isley. After his marriage he apparently abandoned his former craft and three years later he was dead, a few weeks before Shakespeare's death.

After his friend's departure, Fletcher continued to turn out plays of all varieties, many written in collaboration. With Shake-

speare he collaborated on *Henry VIII* (1613) and *Two Noble Kinsmen* (1625), as well as a lost play, *Cardenio*. With Massinger, Jonson and others he collaborated on such plays as *Thierry and Theodoret* (1617), a satire on the French court, and *Sir John van Olden Barnaveldt* (1619).

Fletcher's best known tragedies were *Valentinian* (1614), later revised by the notorious Rochester (q.v.); and *Bonduca* (1614). His tragicomedies, his own favorites, included *The Loyal Subject* (1618); *The Mad Lover* (1619); *The Humorous Lieutenant* (1619); *Wife for a Month* (1624).

His comedies included *Monsieur Thomas* (1616); *Wit Without Money* (1614); *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tam'd* (1617), a sequel to Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*; *The Wildgoose Chase* (1621); *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* (1624); and *The Chances* (1625), based on a play by Cervantes and often revived during the Restoration. Two other plays reflecting the Spanish influence during the Hispanophile period of James I (q.v.) were *The Pilgrim* (1621), based on a Lope de Vega play, and *The Island Princess* (1622).

The proper interpretation of the near-scandalous intimacy of Beaumont and Fletcher has baffled scholars and psychologists. The most recent conclusions seem to be that Fletcher was homosexual and slavishly devoted, with platonic restraints, to the beautiful but staunchly heterosexual Beaumont. This fine distinction, between two young men who shared the same bed, one classed as homosexual but not the other, would certainly seem a strong argument against charges of too careless labelling of homosexuals. Many people will of course remain skeptical about the relationship.

Reference: Carpenter (I), 191-95; Hirschfeld, 662.



LOUIS XIII (1601-1643)

King of France (1610-43).

The son of Henry of Navarre (Henry IV), the founder of the Bourbon dynasty on the French throne, by his late marriage to Marie de' Medici, Louis became king at 9 on his father's assassination. His mother immediately seized full powers of regency and sought to reverse the anti-Hapsburg policy of her late husband, despite strong opposition from the Huguenots and in fact most

of the French people. To cement this new policy, Marie brought about a double marriage in 1615, whereby Louis married Anne of Austria (Hapsburg), the daughter of Philip III of Spain, while Anne's brother, the future Philip IV, married Louis' sister.

Conspiracies developed on all sides as Marie threw the country into turmoil with her unpopular policies and with the self-serving actions of her Italian lover Concini, Marshal d'Ancre. Young Louis, resentful of being excluded from affairs of state by his domineering mother even after he was declared of age (1614), put all his hopes in his aide, Charles de Luynes (b. 1578), who had taught him hunting and become a sort of father to him. A meeting of the States-General in 1614, the last before the Revolution, had failed to produce any change. So apparently in line with a developing plot, Louis secured the appointment of Luynes as commander of the Louvre palace and councillor. In 1617, in collaboration with the captain of the guards, Luynes, backed by Louis, executed a palace plot culminating in the assassination of Concini and the exile of Marie.

Luynes now became Duke of Luynes, heir to all Concini's property, Captain of the Bastille, Lieutenant-General of Normandy and husband of a rich heiress, in fact well on the way to matching the status of Buckingham under James I (q.v.) across the Channel. In 1621, with no particular qualifications, Luynes became Constable of France, the next to the last to bear that title, shortly before his death.

Shortly before the fall of Marie and Concini, one of their chief advisers had been a brilliant young bishop named Richelieu, who accompanied Marie to banishment at Blois, and subsequently, by acting the friend to both sides, effected a temporary reconciliation of mother and son. Richelieu's upward climb was blocked by the jealous Luynes, but after his death it accelerated. Marie managed to get established in Paris again with the help of Richelieu, whom she persuaded Louis to make his chief minister. Once in power, Richelieu vigorously put Marie aside.

Despite a considerable personal dislike for Richelieu, Louis wisely allowed himself to be guided by him almost until the end of his days, or at least found himself frustrated in every attempt to get rid of him. Despite his original status as a Catholic bishop, and eventually a cardinal, Richelieu placed France's national

interests first, becoming an ally of the Protestant rulers of Europe against the Catholic champions, Austria and Spain, both ruled by the Hapsburgs. Thanks to Richelieu's policy, Louis' reign became a great one for France. The rebellions of the nobles, mostly Huguenots, were firmly suppressed and the royal administration securely fixed. The French Academy was founded. French influence became decisive in Italy, the Netherlands, and most of all in Germany, where French interference in the Thirty Years War produced the final stalemate after preventing a Catholic triumph. Louis' reign saw the beginnings of French hegemony in Europe, replacing that of Spain.

Richelieu and Louis' neglected wife, Queen Anne, were often at bitter odds, but they were both agreed in their loathing of Louis' brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans (q.v.), a perpetual incompetent conspirator, who loomed as the heir apparent of the childless Louis XIII. Richelieu, who was apparently as broad-minded about sexual matters as he was about religious matters, fully understood Louis' sexuality, and his partiality for young men around him, perhaps better than he himself did. Much as young Villiers had been deliberately dangled by his backers before James I, Richelieu introduced to Louis around 1637 the handsome young Henri d'Effiat, Marquis de Cinq-Mars (b. 1620). As Richelieu anticipated, Louis was delighted with his protégé and gave him a number of posts that kept him in constant personal attendance. There seems good reason to believe that Richelieu and Anne both had further uses in mind for young Henri, and that they secured Louis' consent in their common desire to bar Gaston from the throne. In any event, a few months after the introduction of Cinq-Mars, Anne became pregnant, after more than twenty years of marriage. The future Louis XIV was born in September, 1638, followed two years later by his brother, Philip of Orleans (q.v.).

Apparently puffed up with pride at his successful service, even without being able to know that he had sired both France's most powerful king and France's most notorious seventeenth century swish, Henri desired to distinguish himself in the military field, and participated in the siege of Arras in 1640. Being refused a high military command by Richelieu, Cinq-Mars engaged in a conspiracy against him in 1641, rashly talking of overthrowing

him. When he was forgiven, he went right on to engage in a much more serious one in 1642, one headed as usual by Gaston of Orleans, but also involving negotiations with Spain for the support of Spanish arms.

The conspirators had all but persuaded Louis XIII to banish Richelieu, who was seriously ill, when the cardinal came into possession of a document proving the treasonable negotiations. Getting up from his sick-bed, Richelieu had himself borne on a litter to the King, presenting proof of the treason and obliging the heart-broken monarch to order the arrest of his beloved. Or perhaps Louis was a bit tired by now of the young man's arrogance. At the trial Cinq-Mars admitted his guilt. He was executed in September, 1642, accompanied to the scaffold by an intimate friend, François-Auguste de Thou, the son of a famous historian, who had apparently allowed himself to be implicated in the plot, of which he was quite innocent, rather than survive Cinq-Mars. It may be that this intimate friendship, duly reported by Richelieu's spies, aroused the jealousy of Louis and was decisive in causing him to abandon Cinq-Mars. If he "talked" before his death, a threat he had doubtless held over the heads of all parties concerned, the tale was never passed on, at least according to the records.

Richelieu survived Cinq-Mars by only a few months, and Louis XIII himself followed his great alter ego to the grave in less than a year.

Reference: Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 667; Mayne, 230.



PRINCE HENRY OF CONDÉ (1588-1646)

French politician.

He was the grandson of the founder of his branch, Louis of Bourbon-Condé, the hunchbacked Huguenot leader of the 1560s who was the uncle of Henry of Navarre (Henry IV). His father, also Henry of Condé, died of poison the year he was born. He had also been a Huguenot leader. Since the poison was believed to have been administered by his wife, Catherine de la Trémouille, there was considerable doubt about the legitimacy of young Henry.

In any event, the generous-hearted Henry IV, his father's first cousin, made no attempt to deprive young Henry of his inheritance. However, having apparently reached certain conclusions

from young Henry's indifference to women, King Henry IV forced him to marry in 1609 the girl who was then the object of the royal wench's pursuit, Charlotte de Montmorency. Having a fancy interest in his wife's honor, if not her person, Henry of Condé objected to the seemingly convenient arrangement and fled with his wife to Spain, subsequently to Italy.

After the assassination of Henry IV, Henry of Condé returned to France and devoted himself to intrigue against the queen-mother and regent, Marie de' Medici, and her lover Concini. Henry led a revolt of the nobles against Concini in 1615 but was unsuccessful. Shortly afterward, he was seized and imprisoned. After Concini's assassination (1617), the new strongman, Luynes, decided to keep Henry in prison at Vincennes. Unaccountably, he was joined in his place of confinement by his neglected wife, who had been trying to divorce him just before his imprisonment. Shortly after this visit, if not perhaps shortly before, his wife became pregnant and gave birth, at the prison, to a girl known to history as Madame de Longueville, an important figure in seventeenth century political, religious and literary history.

In 1619, shortly after his wife gave birth to her daughter, Henry was released from prison on the promise of faithful service to the government of Louis XIII (q.v.), which meant to Luynes until his death in 1621, and thereafter to Richelieu.

His wife again becoming pregnant, Henry became the father in 1621 of a boy who grew up to be one of France's greatest military heroes, Louis of Condé, known as the Great Condé (q.v.). Another son born in 1629, Armand, became Prince of Conti, and founder of a new branch of the Bourbons, technically Bourbon-Condé-Conti.

Anxious to blot out memories of the Huguenot connections of his forebears, Henry affected the greatest zeal against Protestants and fought against them in the religious wars. His proven loyalty was not sufficient, however, to save the life of his wife's brother, the Duke of Montmorency, the grandson of the foe of La Boétie (q.v.). Montmorency was executed in 1632 for plotting with Gaston of Orleans (q.v.) against Richelieu. As a further abasement of the blood royal before the all-powerful Cardinal, Henry's son was obliged to marry in 1641 Richelieu's 13-year-old niece. This was the price that had to be paid for young

Louis' obtaining the important military command that started him on his meteoric career.

Curiously enough, thirteen years later, the youngest son, Armand, was to marry the niece of Richelieu's successor, Cardinal Mazarin.

After the death of Louis XIII (1643), a few months after that of Richelieu, a council of regency was formed for the young Louis XIV, and Henry served on it till his death three years later. Henry had been a proud man since 1643 as the father of the victor over the Spaniards at Rocroy, a battle taken as marking the end of Spanish hegemony in Europe, and the beginning of that of France.

Reference: Jacobus, 164.



GUERCINO (1591-1666)

Italian painter.

Properly Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, he was born at Cento, a village near Bologna, and derived his familiar name from his squint. He showed an early talent for painting and was apprenticed to an established master. By 1608, when he was 17, Guercino was associated with Benedetto Gennari, a well-known painter of the Bolognese school. By 1615 Guercino was an honored and established painter at Bologna.

In his more mature years, Guercino showed greatly the influence of that extreme form of chiaroscuro developed by Caravaggio (q.v.). In his later years, he showed the influence of his contemporary Guido, his work showing more lightness and clearness.

Guercino held the high opinion not only of nobles and princes but of his fellow painters. He worked with extreme rapidity and completed over a hundred altar-pieces for churches. Of his paintings, of which there are almost 150, the best known is probably *St. Petronilla* (Capitoline, Rome), commissioned by Pope Gregory XV. A number of other paintings of Guercino's are in the Uffizi and Pitti museums in Florence, in the Brera in Milan, in the Bologna gallery and in the Louvre.

He continued painting and teaching throughout his long life, and had amassed a small fortune by the time of his death.

Reference: Mayne, 392.

GASTON, DUKE OF ORLEANS (1608-1660)

French general.

He was born at Fontainebleau, the third son of Henry IV and Marie de' Medici. He was Duke of Anjou until the death of his older brother in 1626, after which he became Duke of Orleans. He was too young to play any role in the complex conspiracies involving his older brother, Louis XIII (q.v.), his mother, Luynes, and finally the establishment of Richelieu in power.

At the age of 20, Gaston held nominal command of the army in the famous siege of La Rochelle (1628). The heir apparent of Louis XIII, who had been married more than ten years without children, Gaston was drawn into an unceasing duel with Louis' all-powerful chief minister. Although he spent more than ten years of his life in one sort or another of conspiracies against Richelieu (and thus indirectly against his brother), often as a leader of Huguenot nobles, Gaston never suffered anything worse than brief periods of exile.

In the fatal plot of 1642, Gaston deserted his fellow conspirators when Richelieu secured documentary evidence of the treasonable negotiations with Spain. Although he was now of less importance, thanks to the birth of the future Louis XIV in 1638 and of his brother in 1640, Gaston escaped punishment again, though Cinq-Mars paid with his life at the scaffold for Gaston's follies.

After the death of Louis XIII (1643), Louis XIV being only five, Gaston became Lieutenant-General of the Realm, fought against Spain on the northern frontiers, and for several years he remained aloof from the plots against Richelieu's successor, Cardinal Mazarin. However, in 1652 he was so strongly suspected by Mazarin, now the lover of his inveterate enemy, Dowager Queen Anne, that he was banished to Blois, where he remained until his death, after which his title passed to his supposed nephew, Philip of Orleans (q.v.).

By his first wife, the heiress of Bourbon-Montpensier, Gaston became the father of the notorious Duchess of Montpensier, a leading political and romantic figure of the second half of the seventeenth century. By his second wife, Margaret of Lorraine, he had three more daughters.

Reference: Caufeynon, 22.

CÉSAR, DUKE OF VENDÔME (1594-1665)

French general and admiral.

He was the illegitimate son of Henry of Navarre (Henry IV) by his famous mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, and was thus a half-brother of both Louis XIII (q.v.) and Gaston of Orleans (q.v.). In 1595 César was formally legitimized by his father, who gave him his ducal title in 1598. Since Henry had no children by his cast-off and imprisoned nymphomaniac wife Margaret, sister of Henry III (q.v.), César stood in hopes of the succession for a few years. In 1599 Henry managed to get a divorce from Margaret but before he could marry Gabrielle, she had died in childbirth. The following year Henry married Marie de' Medici, whose two sons ended all César's hopes of becoming king of France.

César's history, like that of his half-brother Gaston, is one of continual rebellions. Between 1614 and 1616 he was in some sort of rebellion against his step-mother and her lover, Concini. After his step-brother Louis XIII had established himself, or more accurately his friend Luynes, at the helm by the murder of Concini and the banishment of Marie, César was in rebellion against Luynes (1620). Luynes died in 1621, and by 1623 there was another powerful figure behind the weak Louis XIII, and this one was to stay for the remainder of the reign. When César rebelled against Cardinal Richelieu, he did not get off as lightly as he had before. He was imprisoned between 1626 and 1630.

For some years after his release, César managed to stay out of trouble. In 1641, however, he was accused of plotting to poison Richelieu and was forced to flee into exile. After Richelieu's death (1642), the new "real ruler" became, both during the final months of Louis XIII's reign and the early years under Louis XIV, Cardinal Mazarin. In 1643 César, who had returned to France immediately after Richelieu's death, was involved in a plot against Mazarin and forced back into exile again.

Surprisingly, during the Fronde (1649-53), when most of the great nobles of France joined in a conspiracy and rebellion to overthrow Mazarin, César remained on the so-called government side. By way of reward, he was entrusted with suppressing the rebel forces at Bordeaux in 1653. Having acquitted himself well,

César was given a naval command in 1655 against the Spanish and defeated a Spanish fleet of Barcelona.

César was married and had two sons. One of them, Louis, the second Duke of Vendôme, married a niece of Cardinal Mazarin and by her became the father of Louis Joseph, third Duke of Vendôme (q.v.), and his brother Philippe, known as "The Grand Prior."

Reference: Jacobus, 164.



JOHANNES TSERKLAES, COUNT OF TILLY (1559-1632)

German general.

He was born in the castle of his father, a Brabant noble. As a younger son, Tilly was intended for the priesthood and was given a Jesuit education. Determined, however, on a military career, he ran off at 15 to enlist as a volunteer in a Spanish infantry regiment. Thanks to his bravery and ability, and to the discovery of his noble background, he rose to the command of a company after several campaigns. Yet when his company disbanded, he returned to the ranks again as a simple pikeman, serving as such in the siege of Antwerp (1584-85) under the greatest general of the day, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, the grandson of the despicable Pierluigi Farnese (q.v.).

Once again Tilly's bravery was noted and his birth discovered, and he was soon given command. He served both the Spaniards and the Duke of Lorraine, but refused to serve Henry of Navarre, the religious renegade, despite tempting offers.

Early in the seventeenth century, Tilly switched from the service of the Spanish Hapsburgs to that of their Austrian cousins. In the service of Emperor Rudolph II (q.v.), Tilly raised a regiment of infantry from his Walloon countrymen and commanded them against the Turks in an unsuccessful assault on Budapest in 1603. The following year he was made general of artillery, and having handled his new command with conspicuous ability, was created a field-marshal in 1605. Ever a zealous Catholic, Tilly abandoned the service of the emperor in 1610 to accept the military command of the Catholic League, organized by Maximilian of Bavaria to counter the Protestant Union.

The Thirty Years War began in 1618 when the Protestant rebels of Bohemia threw their governors out the window of a Prague

castle for a seventy foot drop—which they survived—and elected as their king the German son-in-law of James I of England (q.v.). The first few years saw great successes for the Protestant armies, which were even marching on Vienna. After several generals of the Austrian Hapsburgs had been defeated, the new Emperor Ferdinand was saved indirectly by the armies of his Spanish cousin attacking the Protestants in the western part of the Empire, and more directly by the Catholic League. Under the command of Tilly, the Catholics in 1620 won a great victory at the Battle of the White Mountain, putting to flight the Protestant leaders of Bohemia, which was reconquered.

After more victories, and a failure or two, Tilly now acquired renown throughout Germany and was made a Count of the Empire. However, the emperor was reluctant to rely too heavily on the limited loyalty of the Catholic League forces, and he created his own new armies under one of the great military geniuses of the seventeenth century, Wallenstein. For several years Tilly's star faded as Wallenstein's rose, for aside from being less of a military genius, political considerations limited the support Tilly received and thereby weakened his effectiveness.

When the King of Denmark intervened on behalf of his fellow Protestants, he became fair game for the Catholics. Tilly secured a victory over the Danish king in 1626 and cooperated with Wallenstein in the conquest of continental Denmark, most of the glory still going to Wallenstein.

In 1630 another of the great military figures of the Thirty Years War entered the scene when Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, landed in Pomerania with a splendidly trained army. Wallenstein being in temporary disgrace for charges of his barbaric conduct in captured towns, charges brought by jealous rivals prone to be every bit as barbaric themselves, Tilly was now given the command of Wallenstein's imperial forces in addition to the Catholic League forces. During the jockeying for positions before the showdown with the Swedes, Tilly's forces stormed the city of Magdeburg in May, 1631, and to his eternal disgrace, the soldiers under his command—mostly Wallenstein's veterans—behaved even worse than they had under Wallenstein, perpetrating one of the most barbarous sacks in modern history. As though competing with Huns and Mongols, they committed every kind

of atrocity amidst pillage, arson, and in fact the burning of almost the entire city.

Apparently having lost all feelings of restraint now that his reputation was shattered anyhow, Tilly went on to capture and burn Halle, Eisleben, Merseburg, and other cities, and then occupied Leipzig, taking up defensive positions around it in the knowledge that the Protestants, enraged by the new tempo of Catholic barbarism, were advancing in force upon him. On September 17, 1631 Tilly's forces, numbering around 40,000, met at Breitenfeld outside Leipzig approximately the same number of Swedes and Saxons. After an initial victory by Tilly over the Saxons, the brilliant genius of Gustavus Adolphus prevailed and Tilly was forced to retreat as the Protestants once again swept on victoriously in eastern Germany and retook Bohemia.

A few months later, Tilly was again defeated at the Lech River by the great Swede and received a mortal wound from which he died in April, 1632, at Ingolstadt in Bavaria, near which he was buried.

Reference: Mayne, 77.



MURAD IV (1611-1640)

Turkish sultan (1623-40).

He was the son of Ahmed I, under whom the great period of Turkish conquests had come to an end. Peace had been made with the European powers on disadvantageous terms. The traditional eastern enemy, the Persians, had pressed hard on the empire's southern and eastern borders, under their great Shah Abbas. The Janissaries, the elite corps, had become insubordinate and rebellious. Ahmed had been succeeded by two brothers, under whom things had gotten worse, both with respect to the Janissaries, who now came to resemble the Roman Praetorian Guard, and with respect to the Persians, who conquered Mesopotamia and parts of eastern Asia Minor.

One uncle of Murad, Mustafa I, had been dethroned by the Janissaries in 1618 and replaced by his brother Osman II until 1622 when the Janissaries, convinced Osman was planning to exterminate them, dethroned and killed him and replaced Mustafa on the throne. Finding him hopelessly incompetent,

however, they forced him to abdicate again, this time in favor of his 11-year-old nephew, Murad IV. For the first nine years of his reign, as the once great empire fell into anarchy, while the Janissaries and other groups plundered the state, Murad suffered many humiliations that molded his character for life. Also, deprived of power, he acquired vicious tastes around the palace.

In 1631 a unit of rebellious soldiers, angry at the dismissal of a favorite vizier, marched on Constantinople, stoned the new vizier, and pursued the Sultan himself, demanding the heads of seventeen advisers and favorites, threatening his deposition otherwise. Yielding temporarily to most of the demands, Murad was now so outraged by the insolence as to be awoken completely from his lethargy.

Lulling into security the insolent officers who had so bitterly humiliated him, Murad organized his revenge with careful planning, then carried it out with ferocious cruelty. Making a personal appeal to the Janissaries, who were themselves outraged at finding another unit behaving with the arrogance they considered their own prerogative, Murad used them to surround the headquarters of the rebels, who were exterminated with every kind of torture conceivable.

In supreme power at the age of twenty, Murad went out of his way thereafter to make his name a byword for severity and cruelty. For the slightest offense to his orders, to his honor, or even to his pleasure, the penalty was death. With something of an ascetic bent, Murad made death the penalty even for the use of tobacco, coffee, wine, or opium. On one day alone eighteen persons were put to death for infringing this rule. The total put to death throughout his reign was said to have totaled 100,000.

Having by determined actions, and his fierce reputation for severity and bloodthirsty cruelty, quelled the anarchy and insubordination throughout his empire, Murad proved an able leader of his country beyond its borders. Taking personal command of his army in the Persian war, he reconquered Mesopotamia in 1638, and the following year he imposed a victorious peace on the Persians which delineated the frontier that remained roughly the same till the end of the Ottoman empire.

A devoted adherent of the orthodox Sunni branch of Islam, Murad acted with especial fierceness against the Persians in

order to limit the boundaries of their Shia "heresy."

A giant of a man, of great strength, Murad had kept himself in excellent shape by constant physical exercises and hunting. But after his victory over the Persians, and his reorganization of the military command system, with the power of the Janissaries reduced, he seemed to feel the struggle was essentially over. He returned to the dissipation of his youth. Excesses of wine, and possibly of sex, led to an unexpected early death at 29.

The great love of Murad's youth was a boy named Musa. He had been one of the seventeen demanded by the rebels in 1631. To save Musa, Murad had entrusted the boy to two palace officials. They in turn, to save their own hides, had turned Musa over to the rebels, who had killed him. Since one of the two officials became Murad's brother-in-law and Grand Vizier, and the other one of his best generals, Murad had to delay his revenge for Musa's death for many years. When he was finally able to gain vengeance, he did so with especial cruelty.

Murad also had some slight gifts as a poet, like Selim I (q.v.). He was said to have sought diversions in the course of campaigns alternately between writing poetry and devising cruel punishments.

Reference: Stern, 272.



LOUIS, PRINCE OF CONDÉ (1621-1686)

French (and Spanish) general.

Known to history as The Great Condé, he was born at Paris, the presumed son of Henry of Condé (q.v.). His mother, Charlotte de Montmorency, was the sister of that Duke of Montmorency whose execution in 1632 for plotting against Richelieu was a milestone of the Cardinal's power and arrogance. As a boy, Louis studied at the Jesuit college at Bourges while his father was Governor of Burgundy. At seventeen, as Duc d'Enghien, the title used by the Condé heir till his father's death, he was governing Burgundy during the absences of his father.

Drawn to a military career, he served with distinction in the campaigns of 1640 and 1641 in northern France. Conforming to his father's arrangements for the closest of ties between their families as a basis for receiving a military command from Richelieu, Louis in 1642 married Richelieu's 13-year-old niece, Claire de Maillé-Brézé.

Faithful to his end of the bargain, Richelieu gave the 22-year-old Louis joint command of the French army with Marshal Turenne in 1643, Louis receiving sole command on the northern front against the veterans and the experienced generals of the Spanish army, considered the finest in Europe. Although he did indeed have experienced French generals under his command to advise him, Louis personally conceived and directed the decisive attack on the Spanish at Rocroy (1643) which put an end to the supremacy of the Spanish army in Europe and marked the beginning of French supremacy in Europe. At 22, Louis of Condé had earned his place as one of the great captains of modern times.

After a campaign of uninterrupted success, Louis returned to Paris in triumph. After some months of celebration, he moved into Germany in 1644 to assist the hard-pressed Turenne in these final years of the Thirty Years War. After a great victory at Freiburg, Louis found one German city after another opening its gates to him. After passing a pleasant winter in Paris, he returned to Germany again in 1645 to win another victory at Nordlingen, where he was wounded. Philipsburg was captured later in the year. Shortly after being transferred back to the northern front, he captured Dunkirk.

With the death of his father in 1646, Louis was now not only France's great military hero and the idol of the army, but also Prince of Condé, third in line for the throne of the infant Louis XIV after the infant's brother and uncle. In addition, his family held large parts of France by inheritance or administrative appointments and possessed great wealth. Both the Queen-Mother and Regent, Anne of Austria, and her lover (and husband?), Cardinal Mazarin, tried hard to find schemes to keep him too busy to plot, and if possible to tarnish his fame. He was sent to Spain to head the revolt of the Catalonians against the Spanish crown and encountered the anticipated ignominious failure. Shortly after his return to France, Condé was given command again in the Low Countries, where in 1648 at Lens he turned near defeat into victory and restored his fame.

The long-simmering rebellion of the nobles against the Italian adventurer ruling their country finally broke out in the so-called Fronde (1648-53), actually a very complex succession of different

efforts to overthrow the government of Mazarin and Anne. They placed all their hopes in Condé, who agreed to lead the royal army against rebellious Paris. The Parisians, suffering some initial heavy losses and a scarcity of food, and fully conscious of Condé's reputation, yielded to a negotiated settlement.

Anne and Mazarin, relieved of the previous threat to their very survival, now felt strong enough to deal with the dangerous Condés. In January, 1650, Condé was arrested along with his brother, Armand of Conti, and his sister's husband, the Duke of Longueville. The three men were now saved by the women of the family. Condé's mother appealed to the *Parlement* of Paris, while his wife and sister gathered an army at Bordeaux and appealed to the local *parlement*. Bowing to the pressures exerted from these diverse areas, Anne released the Condés in 1651.

Hardly had Condé been released from prison than he was drawn back into the civil war and found himself engaged in a skirmish in the Paris environs with his old comrade, Turenne, who now headed the royal army. Worst of in the action, Condé now committed the most disgraceful act of his life. He fled to Spain where he was promptly given the supreme command of the Spanish army, which he led against his native country in the Low Countries for eight years. To find as clear a precedent for this one would seem to have to go back to the career of Alcibiades (q.v.), especially in the parallel subsequent developments.

As it turned out, Condé's now fully developed military genius as a commander found little scope in the cumbrous and antiquated system of war practiced by the Spaniards, and he gained only minor successes in battles against the French forces, headed by Turenne. In 1658 Condé suffered a heavy defeat near Dunkirk at the hands of Turenne, who had some veterans of Cromwell fighting with him. The Spanish now felt their cause hopeless and were disposed to end the struggle with France which had outlasted by a decade the general settlement of the Thirty Years War by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Negotiations led to the so-called Peace of the Pyrenees (1659).

In 1660 Louis XIV, now of age and ruling in his own right, heard that the Spanish had offered Condé sovereignty of Luxembourg as a reward for his services. Deciding it would be better to have Condé as a subject than as a rival prince, Louis XIV

gave him a full pardon for his treason, just as the Athenians had pardoned Alcibiades.

Realizing that the period of turmoil and civil war was over and that any chances of gaining the French throne for himself had long since passed, Condé strove eagerly for the position of chief subordinate to a strong-willed sovereign, and he now entered the second phase of a glorious military career. To prove himself loyal enough to be entrusted again with the chief military command, Condé had first to pass through some years of probation. A severe test was passed when he turned down an offer of the Polish throne first for his son and then for himself, since Louis XIV did not approve.

In 1668 Condé produced the plan for the seizure of Franche-Comté, that pocket of eastern France still under the sovereignty of Spain's king, and was put in charge of its execution. After this was successfully carried out, Condé received the highest military commands, shared at first with that other great general, Turenne, his comrade of the 1640s and enemy of the 1650s. In 1672 Condé fought alternately against the Dutch in the north and against the Germans in the east. In 1674, at Seneff, in one of the hardest-fought battles of his career, he defeated William, the future William III of England (q.v.), and displaying the reckless bravery of his youth, had three horses killed under him. At about the same time, Turenne was killed during a battle on the Rhine front, and in 1675 Condé, once again sole military chief, assumed command on the German front and repelled an attack of the imperial army.

Thoroughly worn out by these final exertions, and an excessively strenuous life, Condé spent his last eleven years in retirement at Chantilly, devoting himself to religion and philosophy and becoming something of a patron of literature and drama, numbering among his friends Molière (q.v.).

Condé had a son by his young wife the year after their marriage. Thereafter he treated her with utmost loathing, despite her complete devotion to him. Professing to be convinced of her marital infidelity, Condé had her shut up in a convent, and in his last letter to Louis XIV, requested that she never be released. Meanwhile, Condé had had the good sense to acquire for himself a great reputation as a ladies' man, the unmerited nature of which

was attested to in the letters of the famous courtesan, Ninon de Lenclos. His lifelong homosexuality was mentioned in a letter of the Duchess of Orleans dated June 5, 1716.

Reference: Bulliet, 209; Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 661; Jacobus, 164.



JEROME DUQUESNOY (c. 1600-1654)

Flemish sculptor.

He was the younger brother of François Duquesnoy, a sculptor who executed most of his reliefs (generally of cupids and other boys) in Italy, where he was known as Il Fiammingo (The Fleming). One famed masterpiece François still has in Brussels: the *Mannekin Pis*.

Jerome went to Italy to join his brother, studying and working there for some years in a group that included Van Dyck. Jerome went next to Spain for a few years and thereafter spent some time in various Italian and French cities. He had rejoined his brother François, and was returning to Flanders with him, when François died at Leghorn.

After Jerome's return to Flanders, he received a number of important commissions and became the official court sculptor. While working on the tomb of the Bishop of St. Bavon at St. Bavon's Church at Ghent, Jerome Duquesnoy was accused of sodomy with two acolytes of the church, who had served as his models.

At his trial, Duquesnoy was found guilty and condemned to death. Notwithstanding considerable influence brought to bear on his behalf, including that of the bishop himself, he was strangled and burned at the stake in September, 1654. This was apparently one of the last burnings at the stake for sodomy.

Reference: Ellis, 34, Hirschfeld, 661; Mayne, 393-94.



JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUESS OF MONTROSE (1612-1650)

Scottish general.

The son of the fourth Earl of Montrose, he was only 14 when his father died and he became fifth earl. After being educated at St. Andrews and marrying at 17, Montrose went to London, where Charles I was in the opening stages of his fatal struggle with both his Scottish and English subjects. His offers of service

being treated with disdain by Charles, Montrose returned to Scotland and joined the party of resistance.

By 1638 Montrose had become an energetic Covenanter, opposing the liturgy drawn up by the English Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, for the Scottish church. In 1638 and 1639 Montrose was charged with leading the forces sent to suppress local opposition to the Covenanters. Montrose was also a leader in the so-called Bishops' Wars (1639-40), when Charles marched on Scotland while the Scots invaded England and were welcomed, the whole thing being concluded by a treaty in which Charles promised, with fatal consequences, to reimburse the thrifty Scots the cost of having taken the field against him.

After the truce Montrose, who had become disgusted with the theocratic arrogance of the Presbyterian leaders and had established more cordial relations at his recent meeting with Charles than previously, tended to support Charles in the Scottish Parliament against his opposition. When war broke out again over Charles' failure to pay the Scots the promised sums, Montrose served in the new invasion (1640-41) of England but his trying to limit military action led to his being imprisoned by his enemy, the Duke of Argyll, until Charles capitulated.

When the English Civil War broke out, and the Scottish leaders took a position of benevolent neutrality in favor of the Parliamentary forces, and then actually invaded England, Montrose, now clearly in the service of Charles, was made a Marquess and charged with a diversionary counter-invasion of lowland Scotland with royalist forces. This invasion was repulsed, but it led Montrose to a new idea which proved a tremendous success.

Montrose moved in disguise into the Highlands and there organized a guerilla force including Gordon Highlanders and about 2,000 Irish soldiers under Alastair Macdonald. Thanks to his own newly developed military genius and brilliant strategy, and the enthusiasm of his followers, who loathed the canting Calvinists, Montrose defeated the Lowland Presbyterian army of his great rival and enemy, the Duke of Argyll, in six engagements (1644-45). For a short period Montrose, with the title of Lord-Lieutenant and Captain-General of Scotland, was Charles' virtual viceroy. However, after Charles' defeat in England at

Naseby (1645), Montrose's position became untenable, and after suffering a defeat, he fled to Norway.

In June, 1649, a few months after the execution of Charles I, Montrose was again made Lord Lieutenant of Scotland by young Charles II in exile. However, by the time Montrose had landed in Scotland in March, 1650, to take command of his small forces there, Charles had also entered into negotiations with Montrose's enemies, accepting all their humiliating terms about making Presbyterianism the state religion of England, Scotland and Ireland, and accepting their direction in all things, as the price for support. The terms apparently also included Charles' disowning of Montrose and giving his enemies a free hand to deal with him as they saw fit.

Montrose had been unsuccessful in rousing the Highland clans this time and was defeated in his first engagement. Wandering for several weeks in flight before entrusting himself to a Highlander who turned out an enemy, Montrose was betrayed and brought a prisoner to Edinburgh. He was sentenced to death on May 20 and hanged the following day. When Charles II reached Aberdeen a few weeks later, in the course of his efforts to regain his lost realms, futile efforts in 1650, he found the mutilated arm of the faithful servant whom he had abandoned suspended over the city gate.

Montrose was considered next to Cromwell the greatest soldier produced by the English Civil Wars, some of his lightning guerilla-type campaigns against well-led and disciplined armies having become something of military classics. He was also able to accomplish, thanks to the devotion of his followers, a feat beyond the power of any other contemporary general in Europe: he succeeded in calling off his men from a sack they had begun, at Dundee (1645). Although on other occasions his wild troops, sometimes called the last barbarians in Europe, committed excesses for which he was blamed, his reckless daring made him one of the most romantic figures in Scottish history.

Reference: Mayne, 235.



JOHN MILTON (1608-1674)

English poet and writer.

He was born in Cheapside, London, the son of a well-educated

notary who was also devoted to music and was an amateur composer. Milton grew up absorbing many varieties of knowledge from his father, to whom he was greatly devoted, and also from a tutor. Around 1620 he entered St. Paul's School, where he was involved in some very passionate friendships, most notably with Charles Diodati, the son of a naturalized Italian physician, and a junior master named Alexander Gill, the headmaster's son.

In 1625 the 17-year-old Milton entered Christ's College, Cambridge. During his four years there, he made himself widely disliked. His vanity about his delicate good looks, his unusual prudishness, and the haughty fastidiousness of his taste and morals led the rougher students to nickname him "The Lady," which name being picked up by other colleges, developed into "The Lady of Christ's." Milton also quarreled with his tutor, leaving the college for some months as a result. He had also been involved in another passionate friendship since 1626, when a 14-year-old Irish boy named Edward King entered the college.

By 1629, when Milton had secured his B.A., his reputation for scholarship and literature was sufficient that he was already receiving the respect to which he felt himself entitled. However, the fellowship which he had hopes of securing while working for his M.A. was snatched from him. Since the lucky student was his beloved Edward King, he minded perhaps less than he might have otherwise. A number of English and Latin poems survive from this period, ending when he got his M.A. in 1632.

Milton now took up residence in a village in Buckinghamshire, to which his father had retired, devoting himself to scholarship and literature. His intention of becoming a clergyman had been ended by his disgust at the system Archbishop Laud was establishing and maintaining. Law was considered only briefly. With his father's full encouragement and support, Milton set up his own curriculum for further self-education in the Greek and Latin classics, mathematics, music and some physical sciences. He achieved some distinction with a contribution to the Shakespeare Second Folio (1632), with some rather contemptuous remarks about Shakespeare (q.v.). He also wrote a number of minor poems and, of more lasting fame, the dramatic poem now called *Comus*, written for a masque at a nearby castle in 1634 and published in 1637. Late in November, 1637, when he was in London to

escape the plague in his rural home, which had carried off his mother, he heard of the premature death of his friend Edward King in a shipwreck. For a collection of Greek, Latin and English poems published in 1638 by King's friends, Milton contributed the famous pastoral *Lycidas*, the name being that of one of the beloved slaveboys of the Roman poet Horace (q.v.).

In 1638 Milton's father stood him to a tour of the continent. In Paris he met Grotius, the Dutch father of international law who was then Swedish ambassador there. He then traveled by way of Nice, Genoa, Leghorn and Pisa to Florence, where he was welcomed by the literary societies and took an active part in their proceedings. He also met the blind old Galileo, still nominally a prisoner of the Inquisition for his astronomical heresy, and at Rome spent several months with leading scholars and literary figures.

Milton was at Naples, planning to go on to Sicily and Greece, when he learned of the opening stages of the English Civil War. He headed home at once, saying, "I considered it base that, while my fellow-countrymen were fighting for liberty, I should be traveling at my ease for intellectual pursuits." But learning that the reports seemed exaggerated, Milton tarried for another two months in Rome, where he almost got into serious trouble with the papal secret police for his outspoken religious views, yet another two months in Florence and Lucca, another month in Venice. After a few weeks in Geneva, the Protestant Rome, Milton finally did head back to England, where he arrived sixteen months after he left it. The tour remained one of the happiest experiences of his life and produced several minor works, as well as cases and cases of books to be added to his library. During his second visit to Florence, Milton had learned of the death of his beloved boyhood friend, Charles Diodati, with whom he had continued a steady correspondence. This inspired him to the noblest of his Latin poems, *Epitaphium Damonis*, a counterpart to *Lycidas* that has generally been considered more personal in the grief it expresses, though written in the same artificial pastoral form.

His father having given up the country house and gone to reside with Milton's barrister brother at Reading, Milton now took his own lodgings in London, where he agreed to educate

his sister's two sons by her deceased first husband, she having meanwhile remarried. Soon other boys, the sons of well-to-do personal acquaintances, were added to the group, and Milton was the master of a small private school.

In 1640 Charles I, who had ruled for eleven years without a Parliament, was obliged by his financial distress resulting from little wars with the rebellious Scots, especially his pledge to reimburse them for the expenses of their rebellion, to convene Parliament again. The Fifth Parliament, known as the Long Parliament, was to prove his nemesis. All the simmering grievances now burst into flame, and Charles was confronted by one unacceptable demand after another, until finally in 1642 both sides took to arms. The earlier political and economic matters had not concerned Milton too much, but when religious issues became outstanding topics of dispute, he leaped into the fray. His boyhood tutor being a leader of one of the anti-royalist factions, Milton started as a theological ghost-writer for him, and becoming passionately absorbed in the whole business, became a professional pamphleteer. He attacked the episcopal form of church government with such works as *Of Reformation in England* (1641) and *The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty* (1642).

In 1643 Milton began to be increasingly apprehensive of the prospect of so brilliant a person as himself dying without heirs and accordingly married a 17-year-old girl named Mary Powell. The girl being young, frivolous and of royalist sympathies, the marriage soon proved most unhappy, and his wife ran back to her family. Milton characteristically sought to turn his personal problems to high-minded public issues and wrote four highly controversial pamphlets upholding the morality of divorce merely on grounds of incompatibility (1643-45). The imposition of strict censorship on the press by Parliament in this period inspired Milton's most famous prose work, *Areopagitica* (1644), one of the Anglo-American sacred scriptures in support of freedom of the press.

In 1645, after the ruin of the king's cause, Milton's wife was persuaded to be reconciled with him, and returned to London to join him in a larger house. Before their unhappy marriage was ended in 1654, by Mary's death in giving birth to a third daughter (a son had meanwhile died), Milton had become a

public figure. In 1649, as events moved towards their climax, Milton showed a sensitivity for drifting in the right political direction. Abandoning the Presbyterian viewpoint with which he had been previously associated, he supported the Independents and Puritans, who had imprisoned and executed Charles I (January, 1649). In his pamphlet *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), Milton declared that subjects may put to death an unworthy king. This pamphlet secured him a position in Cromwell's government as "Secretary for Foreign Tongues."

During the Commonwealth dictatorship, Secretary Milton continued to turn out pamphlets justifying it, notably *Eikonoklastes* (1649), intended as an official reply to a widely circulated work (in translation all over Europe) which appeared after Charles' execution and was considered to have been written by him, called *Eikon Basilike*, described as "the portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitudes and sufferings." In Milton's interesting official reply, he stopped at nothing to remove any halo of martyrdom from Charles, who was referred to as "a monster who had also been nasty with his father's own catamite, the Duke of Buckingham, the very instrument by which he had poisoned his father," or, in short, Charles was accused of having had homosexual relations with Buckingham, whom he persuaded to murder James I (q.v.).

As the propaganda chief of Cromwell's dictatorship, and at the same time a scholar with a European reputation, Milton had also to undertake some Latin pamphlets intended for consumption by the European intelligentsia, notably (with their English titles) *First Defense of the English People* (1651) and *Second Defense of the English People* (1654). In 1654 he also published a personal apology, *Defense of Himself*.

In 1656 Milton remarried a more suitable wife, but she died two years later. By this time the strain on his eyes from his official duties, his pamphleteering, and his continued heavy reading had made Milton almost blind. He continued to carry on his work by dictating to secretaries, and during this period he also wrote nineteen English sonnets and five Italian sonnets that have been considered among the greatest ever written.

After the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, Milton, as a leading Commonwealth political figure and a scurrilous pam-

phleteer against the king's father, had to go into hiding. Some of his books were burned. However, he was eventually included in the general amnesty, and after taking a third wife in 1663, he was able to give all his attention at last to the great work he had been considering for many years, on which he had been able to make only a slight start in the busy final months of the Commonwealth.

The famed *Paradise Lost* was published in 1667 as a blank verse poem in ten books. In its second edition (1674) it was rearranged into twelve books. Greatly admired by contemporaries, and ever since considered the greatest epic poem in the English language, *Paradise Lost* represented Milton's attempt to justify the ways of God to men and account for the evil in the world by telling the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden and of Satan's rebellion against God.

In 1671 Milton published a less successful sequel in four books, *Paradise Regained*, describing how Jesus (q.v.) overcame the temptations of Satan. It appeared incongruously bound with another work, *Samson Agonistes*, dealing with the Biblical story of Samson in a poetic drama modeled on Greek tragedy.

Now established as England's leading literary figure, Milton's final days were marked by endless visits from admiring dignitaries, much as those of Goethe (q.v.) were to be. In 1673, as the "no Popery" agitation grew in the face of Charles II's recent Catholic tendencies, Milton, too old to worry about his safety, published yet one more theological pamphlet, rather pretentiously titled *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism and Toleration, and What Best Means May Be Used Against the Growth of Popery*. On a less controversial level, he published a collection of his minor poems, deleting of course the sonnets addressed to Cromwell and other regicidal ex-heroes of his.

Milton died just short of his sixty-sixth birthday and was buried beside his beloved father. He left by his first wife, the unhappy Mary Powell, three daughters who engaged in bitter litigation with his devoted widow to break his will.

So much in Milton's life, from the days of his passionate male friendships at St. Paul's and Cambridge, and from the conduct that brought him the nickname "The Lady of Christ's," on to his perennial coldness to women, followed familiar homosexual pat-

terns that his name has appeared on various homosexual lists. The eminent British poet, novelist and translator, Robert Graves, has written a novel done as though the autobiography of Milton's unhappy first wife, Mary Powell. In *Wife to Mr. Milton*, Milton is made to say the following:

... for many years, until my hair had grown again to its full natural length, I was feeble and womanish, with headaches, megrims, and ill vapours ascending from the stomach to the brain, and also I conceived strange amatory fancies for persons of my own sex. Indeed to one friend, who was of Italian blood and died not long ago, I was in my affections more like a solicitous wife than a trusty comrade. I can yet remember how a woman's heart longs for a man, but because of decency, common to us both, I was never a catamite to this friend, and therefore my remembrance is void of shame.

Mr. Graves' fantastic ability at getting inside his recreated historical characters is too well known to require further comments.

Reference: Graves, 116-17, 131, 153, 188; Mayne, 353.



JEAN-BAPTISTE LULLY (1632-1687)

Italian French composer.

Originally Giovanni Battista Lulli, he was born at Florence. A self-taught violinist and a dancer, Lully in 1646 persuaded the Duke of Guise, during a visit to Florence, to take him back to France. Employment was found for Lully as a scullery-boy for Madame de Montpensier, the colorful daughter of Gaston of Orleans (q.v.), Louis XIV's uncle. Having brought his musical talents to her attention, Lully received every encouragement for their cultivation. However, Lully also had precocious literary talents, and a scurrilous poem about his mistress having been discovered, he was dismissed.

Lully managed somehow to continue his study of music and in 1652 he secured employment with the court orchestra. Rising rapidly, he became in 1653, at 21, the conductor of the king's orchestra and chamber composer. He composed numerous ballets, many to plays by Molière (q.v.). Lully introduced a radical revolution into the style of court dances, lively ballets of rapid

rhythm to replace the hitherto prevailing slow and stately movements.

In 1661 Lully became a naturalized Frenchman and in 1662 was appointed music master to the royal family. In 1672 he obtained a patent for the production of opera and took over the Académie Royale de Musique, where he held a virtual monopoly on the French operatic stage. With his talented librettist, Philippe Quinault, a poet and dramatist in his own right, Lully amassed a fortune producing his own operas. In 1681 Lully was made court secretary to Louis XIV and ennobled.

Altogether Lully composed about twenty operas, which were enthusiastically received and led to his being acclaimed the father of French opera. In their quickened pace and the integration of their parts, French opera as developed by Lully showed some clear advances over the Italian opera.

Lully was also responsible for introducing new instruments into orchestras. He was also the composer of some sacred compositions.

While directing a *Te Deum* with a rather long baton, Lully injured his foot so seriously that a cancerous growth resulted which caused his death ten weeks later.

Among his best known operas are *Alceste* (1674); *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673); *Amadis* (1684); and *Armide* (1686).

Reference: Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 667.



MOLIERE (1622-1673)

French dramatist and actor.

Originally Jean Baptiste Poquelin, Molière was born at Paris, the son of an upholsterer to the king, then Louis XIII (q.v.). His mother's family was connected with court musicians. Molière received a good education, concluded at the Collège de Clermont, where a schoolmate and friend was the Prince of Conti, brother of Louis of Condé (q.v.). Molière had an early interest in philosophy and natural science, and along with Cyrano de Bergerac became a student of Gassendi, who was inveighing against Aristotle (q.v.) and all his supposedly sacrosanct works.

After studying law for a while, Molière was satisfied he had no real interest in it. For a while he engaged in his father's business, as a court upholsterer accompanying Louis XIII on a tour

of Provence. In 1642 at Lyons Molière witnessed Richelieu's undoing of Louis XIII's favorite, Cinq-Mars, and since Cinq-Mars was supposed to have been concealed just before his arrest by a royal servant of similar description, it has been speculated that it was Molière himself who tried to hide Cinq-Mars.

In 1643 Molière was apparently impelled by some sudden decision towards a career in which he was really interested. He joined the Béjard family troupe of professional actors, taking the name Molière (of unknown origin), and became both an actor and their manager. Calling themselves *L'illustre Théâtre*, they played with little success on various tennis courts in Paris. Molière was briefly imprisoned for debt in this period by a creditor.

Abandoning Paris in 1646, the troupe toured the provinces. Their recorded stops included Nantes in 1648; Agen, Toulouse, Angoulême and Limoges in 1649; and Narbonne and Lyons in 1650. For three years they made their headquarters at Lyons, being fortunate in being away from Paris during the civil wars of the Fronde period. At Lyons the troupe did Molière's first finished comedy, *L'Etourdi*, which proved a great success. Soon after, they were fortunate in coming under the patronage of Molière's boyhood friend, the Prince of Conti, who took them to his estate. But when Armand of Conti turned religious, the troupe was among the first things to be put away.

They now moved northward, on tour again through Nîmes, Orange, Avignon, Grenoble, and eventually to Rouen in Normandy where Molière met the great dramatist Corneille, one of whose pieces had been in the company's repertoire. Using Rouen as their new base, the company established connections with Paris which made their return at last possible, under the august patronage of the young king's uncle, Gaston of Orleans (q.v.).

On October 24, 1658, the troupe appeared for the first time before Louis XIV in a theater arranged in the Louvre. Molière was now 36 and had had some fifteen years of practice in stagecraft and had seen many varieties of men. After coming up with something of a flop in their presentation of serious drama, Corneille's *Nicomède*, Molière asked permission of Louis XIV, then 20, to do a short comedy bit that had been popular in the provinces, *The Amorous Doctor*. Louis was delighted with it and commanded the troupe to establish itself at Paris.

A theater was assigned to the troupe out of one of the grand rooms in a minor palace, a room that had to be shared with an Italian group on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays. In 1661, however, they received a better theater, and in 1665 they were permitted to call themselves The King's Troupe. Molière had meanwhile married in 1662 Armande Béjard, a 19-year-old girl variously noted as the younger sister of Molière's longtime chief female friend, Madeleine Béjard, or as Madeleine's illegitimate daughter, or even in one picturesque version, as Madeleine's daughter by Molière himself. The scandalous rumors notwithstanding, Louis XIV stood godfather to their child.

By his comedies Molière established himself as one of the most popular of French playwrights, sometimes considered second only to Shakespeare (q.v.) in the history of modern drama. His comedies were considered as excelling especially in delineation of character, in the creation of situation and in comic interest. The comedies of character, in which a type of excess or vice is ridiculed by the caricaturing of a person incarnating it included notably *Le Tartuffe* (the religious hypocrite) in 1664; *Le Misanthrope* (the antisocial man) in 1666; *L'Avare* (the miser) in 1668; *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (the parvenu) in 1670; *Les Femmes Savants* (the phony intellectual) in 1672; *Le Malade Imaginaire* (the hypochondriac) in 1673.

Molière's best-known plays with outstanding comic interest include *L'École des Maris* (1661); *L'École des Femmes* (1662); and the farces *Le Médecin Malgré Lui* (1666); *Georges Dandin* (1668); *Le Dépit Amoureux* (1656); *Le Mariage Forcé* (1664).

Molière's sharp pen made him the victim of constant intrigue and scandal-mongering by his rivals, and ultimately an object of hatred. He was variously accused of immorality in this play, atheism in that, plagiarism in another. From these general attacks, he was generally rendered immune by the warm response of his delighted audiences, or in the last resort, by the chief member of any audience, Louis XIV. However, he had more cause to worry over more personal attacks. First there was the charge that his young wife was really his own daughter. And then there were inevitably whispers when Molière began neglecting his wife and paying more and more attention to Michel Baron (b. 1653), the talented young actor whom he had taken into his own home

after removing him from a company of child actors of which he was the star. When Molière's wife protested too vociferously, young Michel withdrew from the company to avoid causing more trouble. However, in 1670 Molière insisted on Michel's return, becoming estranged from his wife. He had made his choice. Michel remained with Molière's company, and living with him, until Molière's death, which was brought on by the bursting of a blood vessel in coughing, the severe cough having developed while he played the title role of the hypochondriac in his last play, *Le Malade Imaginaire*.

Reference: Burton, 252; Mayne, 327.



JOHN WILMOT, EARL OF ROCHESTER (1647-1680)

English poet and dramatist.

He was born at Ditchley in Oxfordshire, the son of Henry Wilmot, who was created Earl of Rochester by Charles II in exile, and served him as a principal adviser and companion, even on that ill-fated expedition of 1650-51 that brought an end to Montrose (q.v.). John remained in England during the Commonwealth, succeeding his father as earl at 11. A precocious student, John entered Wadham College, Oxford, at a very young age, and had his M.A. in 1661 at 14. He traveled next on the Grand Tour of Europe, visiting France and Italy with his tutor, who encouraged his love of literature.

Returning to England in 1664, Rochester made his way to the court of Charles II, where a handsome, witty, 17-year-old man of the world, the son of a revered adviser of the king, could not but make his way. After volunteering to serve in the navy, he saw some service, but secured a dismissal after becoming embroiled in quarrels. He became now a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II, and apparently in due course became a sort of royal pimp.

Rochester's gift for literature led him to be constantly writing some lampoon on the king or on a royal mistress, which got him into endless scrapes, but he always secured forgiveness from the affectionate king. Pepys recorded in his diary for January 17, 1669, that all serious men were disgusted at the complaisance with which Charles passed over Rochester's insolence.

Hoping to restore his rapidly vanishing fortune, Rochester decided to marry an heiress named Elizabeth Malet. Despite the king's approval, she refused. Thereupon in 1665 Rochester seized her from her uncle's coach. This was too much even for Charles II, who had him pursued, arrested and sent to the Tower. Subsequently, however, the girl married him, and he had by her a son, who survived him by only a year.

Aspiring to be not only a writer of satirical verse but also a writer of lyrical poetry and a general patron of poetry, who would be considered an arbiter of taste, Rochester became involved in a number of feuds with such leading literary figures as Dryden, who had him beaten up in 1679 by a gang of hoodlums. Shortly after, his health became very bad, and in 1680, after a long confinement, he died. Towards the end he had turned repentant sinner and had been visited by England's leading religious figure, Bishop Burnet, who praised the Lord for the miraculous conversion. Rochester's name was, however, to become a virtual synonym for the profligacy and debauchery of the Restoration.

Rochester's homosexuality has been deduced from his collection of poems, published the year of his death as *Poems on Several Occasions* (1680), recently reprinted in a facsimile edition, rather surprisingly, by the Princeton University Press, with such items as the following:

... If by chance then I wake, hot-headed and drunk,
What a coyle do I make for the loss of my Punck?
I storm, and I roar, and I fall in a rage,
And missing my Whore, I bugger my Page. (p. 60)

and

... Then give me Health, Wealth, Mirth and Wines
And if busie Love, intrenches,
There's a sweet soft Page, of mine,
Does the trick worth Forty Wenches. (p. 61)

Rochester's approach, that of a man who after endless repetition of similar experiences with women discovers something delightfully fresh and infinitely more attractive in pederasty, is perhaps as much that of an amoral sexual gourmet as a homosexual. It is also found in *Valentinian*, II, Sc. 1, his revision of a play originally done by Fletcher (q.v.), in which the eunuch Chylax advises his imperial master about the charms of the boy Lycias:

He's worth a thousand Women's nicenesses!
 The Love of Woman moves even with their Lust
 Who, therefore still are fond, but seldom just:
 Their love is usury, while they pretend
 To gain the pleasure double which they lend
 But a dear boy's disinterested flame
 Gives pleasure and for mere Love gathers pain,
 In him alone fondness sincere does prove,
 And the kind tender Naked Boy is Love.

Another play, entitled *Sodom*, of which copies were exceedingly rare until its recent reprinting by Olympia Press (Paris), was violently disowned by Rochester, but it bears such indelible marks of his authorship that it is generally believed to be his also. It is a sort of pornographic morality play, entirely in elegant four-letter type Restoration vocabulary, in which life in ancient Sodom is made to seem much like life at the court of Charles II. Sodom's king, while kept extremely busy with whores, is shown as highly appreciative of the especial attractions of boys. The play contains many lines of dialogue on the attractions of various boys.

Reference: Rochester, 60, 61.



DUKE FREDERICK HERMAN SCHOMBERG (1615-1690)

German, French and English general.

Originally Friedrich Hermann von Schomberg, he was born at Heidelberg in the Palatinate and was orphaned a few months after his birth. His father had been the tutor, and later ambassador to England, of Frederick V of the Palatinate, that son-in-law of James I (q.v.) whose election (1618) as king of revolutionary Bohemia ("The Winter King") had started the Thirty Years War. Schomberg's mother was Anne Sutton, the daughter of the ninth Baron Dudley, an enterprising early capitalist in the ironworks field. Brought up by various friends of his father's, Schomberg studied successively at Sedan, Paris and Leiden.

With the Thirty Years War proceeding endlessly since his earliest years, Schomberg was drawn towards a military career. He began by serving under the Dutch leader, Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, then in 1634 switched to the service of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who had assumed the leadership of

the Swedish and German Protestant forces after the death of Gustavus Adolphus (1632), which followed soon after his final victory over Tilly (q.v.). Bernhard had carved out for himself a new state, the Duchy of Franconia, and had become the hero of the Protestant West by his victory at Regensburg (1633). However, shortly before Schomberg joined him, he had suffered a bad defeat at Nördlingen, upon which his Swedish forces pulled out, and then other German regional forces, leaving him with only purely mercenary troops. These forces now received subsidies from France, whose Catholic governments under Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin had no hesitation in supporting the Protestant cause at the expense of Hapsburg power.

With the death of Bernhard in 1639, Schomberg passed directly into the service of France, where several collateral forebears of his had previously attained eminence. In a few years, however, he became dissatisfied with opportunities offered by France and again took service under the Dutch prince.

After a few years of relative retirement at his ancestral estate at Geisenheim, Schomberg was recalled to duty in the French army in 1650 as a general officer, serving under the great Turenne in his campaigns against his former and future comrade-in-arms, Condé (q.v.), at that time doing a hitch as generalissimo of the Spanish armies fighting his own country. He played a major role in the Battle of the Dunes (1658), a victory won near Dunkirk. His great military talents brought Schomberg swift recognition, and by 1665 he was a lieutenant-general.

In 1665 Schomberg was sent by Louis XIV to Portugal, with the full approval of their mutual friend, Charles II of England, who had made Schomberg Baron of Tetford in 1660. His mission necessarily unofficial, since Louis didn't want to be seeming to violate his recent treaty with Spain, Schomberg was made senior adviser to the forces defending Portugal against a Spanish attack. After winning a victory at Montes and participating in the revolution (1667) which dethroned the Portuguese king in favor of his brother, Schomberg left Portugal with the titles Grande and Count of Mertoa and an annual pension equivalent to £5,000.

After he returned to France, Schomberg became a naturalized Frenchman as Frédéric Armand de Schomberg. In 1673 he was

invited to England by Charles II, since 1670 a secret ally of Louis XIV, with a view to making him commander-in-chief of the English army. However, English public sentiment became so violently hostile to the projected appointment, because of Schomberg's French affiliations, that Charles gave up the idea.

Returning to France, Schomberg prepared himself to play a role in Louis XIV's second war with Holland (1672-78), which soon included on the French side Sweden and on the Dutch side Prussia, Austria and Spain. In 1674 Schomberg was sent to invade Catalonia but due to raw troops and disobedient subordinates, he did poorly. However, he redeemed himself in 1675 by his victory at Bellegarde and became one of several new Marshals of France following Turenne's death (1674). He also became Duc de Schomberg.

With the increase in hostility to Protestants engendered by Louis XIV's bigoted new mistress, the Marquise de Maintenon (a poet's widow who had worked her way up from being governess to the bastards of Louis and his previous mistress, Mme. de Montespan), the Protestant Schomberg's future in France began to look cloudy. When Louis' morganatic marriage to Maintenon (1684) was followed by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), ending almost a century of the religious toleration introduced by Henry of Navarre, and then by persecution of the Huguenots, Schomberg left France.

He went next to Berlin, where he became the acknowledged leader of the thousands of Huguenot refugees welcomed there by Frederick William, known as "The Great Elector." In 1687 Schomberg was made commander-in-chief of the Prussian army and governor of the province of Prussia. However, when envoys of the Dutch leader, William of Orange, grandson of his early patron Frederick Henry, invited Schomberg to take a leading part in William's projected invasion of England, he secured a leave of absence from the Great Elector.

In 1688 Schomberg accompanied William, now William III (q.v.), to England as his second-in-command. With William's success in the Glorious Revolution secured by 1689, Schomberg, half English by birth and already Baron of Tetford, was made a Knight of the Garter and created successively baron, marquis,

and duke. He was also appointed Master-General of the Ordnance and awarded £100,000 by Parliament for his services.

In the fall of 1689 Schomberg was sent to Ireland by William to oppose the forces of the ousted James II. Fearful of risking an early battle with his raw, undisciplined, and numerically inferior troops, Schomberg confined himself to defensive positions. When his forces were ravaged by pestilence, he retired to Ulster. For this seemingly pusillanimous behavior he was much criticized, and he tried to make up for it by putting the £100,000 recently voted him by Parliament at William's disposal for the Irish campaign.

After the arrival of William in 1690, Schomberg commanded the center at the Battle of the Boyne. While riding across the river to rally his men, Schomberg was surrounded by Irish Catholic horsemen and killed. Ironically, this battle, his most celebrated victory, was undertaken at William's insistence against Schomberg's advice.

Schomberg was buried in St. Patrick's in Dublin, where a monument subsequently erected to him contains a Latin inscription by Jonathan Swift. He was married and had several children. His homosexuality is referred to in the letters of the wife of Philip of Orleans (q.v.).

Schomberg's fantastic career as the commander-in-chief, or at least a leading general, of the armies of France, Prussia, and England, not to mention Portugal, was apparently unique.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 670.



TITUS OATES (1649-1705)

English conspirator.

He was the son of Samuel Oates, an Anabaptist preacher who had been chaplain to the Puritan leader, Colonel Pride. His boyhood was spent in a succession of schools, the Merchant Taylors', Westminster, Seddlescombe, apparently being kicked out of one after another. In 1667 he was admitted to Caius College, Cambridge. After leaving the college, Oates apparently took Anglican orders and officiated in several parishes. Having brought malicious charges in which his evidence was rejected, he narrowly escaped prosecution for perjury.

At this point Oates obtained a chaplaincy in the navy, but

after several months was dismissed for sodomy, which may well have been the reason for his being expelled from those schools. Shortly after his dismissal, Oates met Dr. Israel Tonge, the somewhat demented rector of St. Michael's in Wood Street, who had delusions of Roman Catholic plots in much the same fashion as little old American ladies have delusions of Communist plots. When Oates offered to be of assistance, it was decided that Oates would pretend to be a Catholic so as to ferret out better the Jesuit plots.

Accordingly, Oates was received into the Catholic Church and entered the Jesuit college at Valladolid in Spain as Brother Ambrose. He was, however, expelled shortly after. He turned up next at the Jesuit college at St. Omer in France in 1677 but was expelled from there a year later. Sodomy may or may not have been the reason for all these expulsions from all institutions he attended since boyhood.

In 1678 Oates returned to England and reported to Tonge that he now had the complete details of the Jesuit plot, involving the assassination of Charles II and his replacement by his Catholic brother, James, Duke of York, with references to letters and preparations for the invasion. The learned Oates wrote some specially secret matters in Greek letters, which the learned Tonge then translated.

The secret report was given to a confidential servant of Charles II named Kirby, and he reported it to the King. Charles sent for Oates, and on August 13, 1678, in a private interview, Oates gave details in forty-three articles of the whole plot, with many names. The discrepancies were so glaring that Charles regarded the whole thing with amused incredulity. But a few weeks later a packet of five forged conspiratorial letters were thrown in for good measure, and even though the forgery was obvious, Charles' attorney-general nevertheless chose to treat the plot as a real one.

On September 6 Oates appeared before Judge Godfrey and made an affidavit with an improved version of his story, now expanded into eighty-one articles. Although this version was equally silly, two new developments suddenly favored Oates. Among the persons named in his affidavit was Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, and when his papers were seized by the

agents of the zealous attorney-general, letters of his were found asking for money from Louis XIV to bribe favorable M.P.'s with some strange sentences: "Success will give the greatest blow to the Protestant religion that it has received since its birth . . . the conversion of the three kingdoms . . . the utter subduing of a pestilential heresy." These over-enthusiastic lines of a zealous Catholic provided the first of the events that established Oates' credit, and they led to the imprisonment of Coleman and others named. The second development, a fantastic one a few weeks later, was the murder of Judge Godfrey.

When Parliament convened about ten days after Judge Godfrey's murder, anti-Catholic excitement was at a fever pitch. Oates was called to the House of Commons and a new witness found to support his story. Oates accused the queen, Catherine of Portugal, of high treason, and Commons demanded her removal from court. When the Lords refused to concur, the demand was dropped. However, attacks on Catholics, sometimes even involving lynching, continued throughout England until the middle of 1679. Subsequently, Oates was proved to have perjured himself in court, but rather than make a martyr of him, he was permitted to remain quietly on the large pension that had been awarded him by the Commons for his patriotic zeal.

In 1685, after the accession of the Catholic James II, Oates was removed from the prison to which he had been confined just before the death of Charles II in default of payment of £100,000 damages James had won against him in a slander suit. This time he was tried for perjury, convicted and sentenced to repeated floggings which it was expected would kill him. Somehow, Oates survived the floggings.

After three and half years of prison, he was released in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, when James II went into exile. The Commons passed a bill annulling his sentence, but the Lords would not concur. Having gotten the impression Oates was some kind of liberty-loving popular hero, William III (q.v.) gave him a royal pardon and a pension of £300 a year.

The remainder of Oates' life was spent in retirement, broken by scandal and intrigue. In 1691 he tried unsuccessfully to concoct another plot. In 1693 he married a wealthy widow, but soon

had squandered all her money. In 1698 he was admitted as a member of a Baptist church where he used to preach until expelled in 1701—again.

Reference: Cooper, 156-57.



PHILIP, DUKE OF ORLEANS (1640-1701)

French courtier and general.

He was the younger brother of Louis XIV and therefore the second of those two sons so unaccountably borne by Anne of Austria after more than twenty years of childless marriage to Louis XIII (q.v.), conceived shortly after the establishment of the young Marquis de Cinq-Mars as the King's favorite. After the death of Louis XIII, it was said that the queen-regent and her chief minister and lover, Cardinal Mazarin, went out of their way to develop the effeminate tendencies of Philip to preclude any possibility of his ever becoming an ambitious rival to his brother, as Gaston of Orleans (q.v.) was to Louis XIII.

Upon Gaston's death in 1661 Philip received the title of Duke of Orleans, and that same year married Henrietta of England, the sister of Charles II, his first cousin, by whom he had two daughters (one of whom, marrying into the House of Savoy, gave the future royal family of Italy their claim to the English throne, according to Stuart legitimists).

In 1667 Louis XIV began the War of Devolution, the first of his wars of expansion, an attack under Turenne against the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium), accompanied in the east by the lightning seizure of Franche-Comté (Spanish Burgundy) by Condé (q.v.). Philip was given a command under Turenne and, to everyone's surprise, performed with distinction. A triple alliance being formed against him by Holland, England and Sweden, Louis was persuaded to sign a peace treaty in 1668, abandoning most of his conquests.

Conceiving now of Holland as his principal enemy, Louis laid careful preparations for the next war. England was knocked out of the alliance by a secret treaty with Charles II whereby in return for £200,000 a year and a promise of 6,000 men to put down any rebellion, and a beautiful French mistress thrown in for good measure, Charles promised not only to keep England out of the war but even to support Louis insofar as possible and to become

openly Catholic as soon as expedient (his brother, the future James II, did so at once). By a treaty with Sweden, the Swedes were persuaded to return to their traditional status of subsidized French ally.

When in 1672 Louis began his well-prepared second war, ultimately to be a long and bitter one involving Spain, Sweden, Denmark and the German empire, Philip was given an important command under the two supreme commanders, Turenne and Condé. In 1677 he won a great victory against William of Orange, the future William III (q.v.), at Cassel (in Flanders, not Germany), and took St. Omer.

Louis XIV emerged from this war in 1679 at the height of his power and glory, jealous of anyone who might share credit for his success. Turenne had died in action, Condé had gone into retirement. Philip was marked down never to receive another command, having done too well for his own good. Louis encouraged him to devote himself as much as he pleased to frivolity.

Philip had married in 1671 a German princess, Charlotte Elizabeth, following the death of Henrietta. By her he became the founder of the House of Bourbon-Orleans, which provided France with a regent in his son, a revolutionary in the person of Philippe-Egalité, a king in Louis-Philippe (1830-48), and since 1883 the line of pretenders to the French throne (in that year the last of the French descendants of his brother Louis XIV died).

Philip's wife, known as Madame (Philip was known as Monsieur), left behind her a voluminous collection of letters. The frequently reprinted *Letters of Madame* have provided enormous quantities of scandalous tidbits about leading figures of her day, and one of her favorite occupations was spotting homosexuals and learning about their affairs. The year her husband died she wrote:

Our heroes take as their models Hercules, Theseus, Alexander and Caesar, who all had their male favorites. Those who give themselves up to this vice, which believing in Holy Scripture, imagine that it was only a sin when there were few people in the world, and that now the earth is populated it may be regarded as a divertissement. Among the common people, indeed, accusations of this

kind are, so far as possible, avoided; but among persons of quality, it is publicly spoken of; it is considered a fine saying that since Sodom and Gomorrah, the Lord has punished no one for such offences.

Of her husband, Madame wrote:

He has the manners of a woman rather than those of a man. He likes to play, chat, eat well, dance and perform his toilet—in short, everything that women love . . .

Monsieur has feminine tastes. He loves finery, and he takes care of his complexion. He is interested in needlework and ceremonies. He dances well, but he dances like a woman. Except in times of war, he could never be prevailed upon to mount a horse. The soldiers said of him he was more afraid of the heat of the sun, or the black smoke of gunpowder, than he was of musket bullets.

Philip's boyhood friend, the openly transvestite Abbé de Choisy, left in his well-known memoirs this portrait of Philip in his formative years:

I was dressed up as a girl every time that the Duke of Orleans came to our house, and he came at least two or three times a week . . . He seated himself at the toilet-table, and they dressed his hair; he had on a bodice tight to the waist; this bodice was embroidered. They took off his coat and put on him a woman's mantle and petticoats. It was said all this was done by order of the Cardinal, who wished to make him effeminate for fear that he should cause trouble to the King as Gaston did to Louis XIII.

Other memoirs of Philip in his mature years note that he liked to appear dressed like a woman, covered with rings and bracelets, adorned with precious stones and ribbons and a touch of rouge, wearing very high heels. He always smelled heavily of perfume. He was fond of attiring women and dressing their hair. In his youth he was noted as being "of a beauty more suitable to a princess than to a prince," and it was said "he will rival the handsomest women of the day."

All the well-born young homosexuals in France, and some not so well-born, of course made their way to the court kept by

Philip, who was usually surrounded by handsome young favorites. The best-known, who established himself in a position somewhat comparable to the titular mistresses of Philip's brother, was the Chevalier de Lorraine.

Reference: Bulliet, 185-89; Ellis, 37; Hirschfeld, 669; Mayne, 419.



FRANÇOIS, DUKE OF LUXEMBOURG (1628-1695)

French general.

He was born the posthumous son of the Comte de Montmorency-Bouteville, who had been executed six months before François' birth on Richelieu's authority for having killed an opponent in a duel. François' Aunt Charlotte, the mother of Louis of Condé (q.v.), took charge of his education and raised him with his cousin Louis, seven years his senior, whose constant companion he became until the early 1640s when Louis of Condé married Richelieu's niece and got that military command and those victories that made him France's idol.

In the late 1640s, when François came of age, he again attached himself to Louis of Condé, shared his fate in all the complex intrigues of the Fronde, and accompanied him in his flight, culminating in Condé's taking command of the Spanish armies against his own country. When a pardon was extended to Condé by Louis XIV after the peace settlement (1659), François also received a pardon. After providing yet another link between them by going through the motions of gallantry with François' sister, the Duchesse de Chatillon, Condé arranged for François to marry in 1661 the greatest heiress in France, Madeleine de Luxembourg-Liney, after which François was created Duc de Luxembourg.

In 1668, during Louis XIV's first war, Luxembourg served under Condé in the latter's lightning conquest of Franche-Comté (Burgundy). During the four succeeding years of peace, he cultivated Louis' all-powerful war minister, Louvois, and this paid off when in 1672, at the beginning of Louis' second war, he received a high command. Luxembourg defeated the Dutch leader, the future William III (q.v.) at Woerden, ravaged the Dutch countryside, then in 1673 withdrew his 20,000 men in the face of 70,000 Dutch soldiers, an exploit which established

him among the foremost generals of his period. In 1675 Luxembourg was put in command of the Guards, and in 1675 became a Marshal of France.

In the closing years of this war, he enjoyed mixed success. Given command of the Army of the Rhine in 1676, he failed to keep the Duke of Lorraine from Philipsburg, but he did succeed in 1677 in storming Valenciennes. In 1678 he again defeated William, who had attacked him after the signing of the peace treaty that ended the war.

Shortly after the end of the war, Luxembourg got into some kind of trouble which resulted in his being imprisoned in the Bastille for a few months in 1680. After his release, he resumed command of the Guards. At the outbreak of the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97), he was given the chief command in the north against his old enemy and defeated William at Leuze (1691) and Steenkirk (1692), and, in his greatest victory, at Neerwinden (1693), where he captured so many colors for display at Paris' principal cathedral that he was nicknamed "the tapestry-maker of Notre Dame." Hailed as a conquering hero in Paris, he thereby aroused the jealousy of Louis XIV, with his family's traditional fear and suspicion of the Condés, or their relatives.

With no further opportunity to distinguish himself, Luxembourg died at Versailles after an illness, leaving four sons, the youngest of whom became another Marshal of France as Marshal de Montmorency.

A hunchback, he had to live down this deformity all his life. He displayed his wit in response to William III's statement, "I can never beat that cursed humpback," by retorting, "How does he know I have a hump? He has never seen my back."

Reference: Jahrbuch, 109.



WILLIAM III (1650-1702)

King of England (1689-1702), Stadholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702).

He was born at The Hague, the posthumous son of William II, *stadholder* or chief magistrate of the Dutch Republic. His mother being the daughter of Charles I, William was the great-grandson

of James I of England (q.v.). Since the days of William II's grandfather, the heroic William the Silent, the elective office of *stadholder* had tended to become hereditary in the House of Orange-Nassau, the election being a mere formality. However, William II had aroused so much opposition for his centralizing tendencies that upon his death the leader of the oligarchic local rights party, John de Witt, took over the direction of the government with a new title, Grand Pensionary of Holland.

Having engaged in a naval war with his opposite number across the Channel, Cromwell, and having been worsted, de Witt agreed in the peace settlement (1654) to exclude the House of Orange from the stadholdership. For good measure, he abolished the office. Except for this defeat by Cromwell, the Dutch continued to prosper around the world. Their independence had been recognized by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). With their ships plying all the seas in the wake of the declining Portuguese empire, they established colonies in Brazil, the West Indies, the East Indies, Malaya, Ceylon and South Africa, and the Netherlands became almost the commercial center of Europe. Amsterdam was clearly established as Europe's financial and printing capital.

Growing up among his enemies, William became artful, suspicious, and completely self-controlled, always able to conceal his feeling behind a mask of coldness. After the Restoration of the Stuarts (1660), the Dutch States-General or parliament rescinded the law excluding the House of Orange from the stadholdership, perhaps as a warning to de Witt, whose unpopular alliance with France was accompanied by frequent little wars with the English, in which the Dutch suffered heavy losses, including that of New Amsterdam (which then became New York) in 1664. An increasing number of Hollanders of all classes began looking to the young Orange prince for their salvation, associating Orange rule with the general welfare, as opposed to the limited selfish interests of de Witt's party. When in 1672 Holland, despite de Witt's policy, was invaded by French armies, the states-general elected William stadholder, captain-general, and admiral of the Dutch Republic for life. In the subsequent riots of the approving street mobs, de Witt and his brother were hacked to pieces, their limbs being hung on lamp-posts. For this the leaders of the mob were lavishly rewarded by William.

Making the same kind of stirring appeal that had been characteristic of his great-grandfather, William the Silent, William III ordered the sluices to be opened, so that vast areas of Holland were flooded before the advancing French. Meanwhile his fleet under de Ruyter defeated the French and English at sea, and his diplomats secured the alliances of Prussia, Austria and Spain. Although William suffered several defeats by land at the hands of Condé (q.v.) and Luxembourg (q.v.), the French did withdraw. And as a result of William's marriage to Mary, the niece of Charles II, in 1677, the English pulled out of the war, in which they had been on the French side.

By now William, like Eugene of Savoy (q.v.), had made the thwarting of Louis XIV's ambitions his life's work. Despite the peace settlement of 1678, Louis XIV was soon at it again, annexing frontier cities on pretexts found by his lawyers. In 1681 William began building a coalition against the French, starting with Sweden, then including Austria, Spain, and various German states, the coalition taking the name of the League of Augsburg in 1686.

Meanwhile, William's Catholic uncle and father-in-law had become James II of England in 1685, and William had to walk a tight-rope, on one hand doing nothing to offend James, on the other hand not wanting to offend the Protestant opposition leaders. At all costs he needed England in his coalition. Convinced in 1687 that James II would never fight Louis XIV, William began to court the opposition leaders who published a letter from William expressing disapproval of James' religious policy. William now began to be hailed throughout England as a potential savior and to receive the first suggestions of a "liberation" invasion.

William cautiously demanded that the English opposition leaders put any invitation formally into writing before he would consider it, and this they did. In June, 1688 Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor, brought William an invitation, signed by seven great names, to liberate England. Hostility to James was more inflamed than ever because his Catholic wife had just borne him a son, and presumable Catholic successor, and because he had tried seven bishops for denouncing his policy of religious toleration. On September 30 William formally accepted, and on November 5, 1688, he landed at Torbay with

an army of 15,000, headed by the veteran soldier of fortune, Schomberg (q.v.).

Many influential English nobles at once came over to William's side, most notably the commander of James' army, General Churchill, who was promptly made Earl of Marlborough. James sent his wife and boy abroad, then tried to follow them, but was captured by some fishermen. Brought back and imprisoned, James was deliberately allowed to escape, after which he devoted the rest of his life to plots as incompetent as his kingship had been.

On the advice of an assembly of notables, William summoned Parliament for January, 1689 and in February Parliament declared him joint sovereign of England, Scotland and Ireland with his wife Mary, the daughter of James II. William had refused to serve as Regent with Mary alone queen. The new parliament began drawing up in the wake of this "Glorious Revolution" a series of constitutional adjustments which set England on its path as the very model of a modern constitutional monarchy. The Toleration Act removed penalties from loyal religious dissenters. The Bill of Rights enacted into law the Declaration of Rights, which set forth the Parliamentary position on all those points of contention with the Stuarts—the frequency and powers of Parliament, the levying of taxes, keeping arms, petitioning the king, trial by jury, bail, etc. Catholics were forever barred from the English throne.

Despite his experience with a similar system in Holland, William hardly took any more favorably to the parliamentary pretensions than his Stuart predecessors, trying to bring all the rival party groups into his government so that he could arbitrate between them. Reluctantly he yielded to the strange demand that the group with a majority in the Commons should supply a monopoly of advisers. All such matters William considered trivial in relationship to his main aim, to bring English resources into the coalition against Louis XIV.

Before being able to take action on the continent, William had to secure his rear, for early in 1689 James, with the backing of Louis XIV, had landed in Ireland, and by May was in Dublin amidst popular acclaim. Following after the cautious Schomberg, William reached Ireland in 1690, and in July defeated James at

the Battle of the Boyne, where Schomberg lost his life. After another year's fighting, Ireland was subdued and by the Pacification of Limerick (1691) all Irish Catholics received freedom of worship and other freedoms (subsequently repudiated by the Protestant-dominated Irish Parliament). In Scotland, a pro-Stuart uprising of the Highlanders ended in 1691, when all clans by the end of the year had taken the oath to William except the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who were massacred by their hereditary Campbell enemies, an act for which William was blamed.

William's success at last in bringing English resources into the struggle against Louis XIV was signalled by a great naval victory at Cap de la Hogue. But on land, since William insisted on being his own generalissimo, despite his lack of military talent, he met his usual defeats, notably Steenkirk (1692) and Neerwinden (1693). England's future great military genius, Marlborough, was not trusted by William for anything beyond some minor actions in Ireland, and after the discovery of his treasonable correspondence with James, he was imprisoned in the Tower. There was even reason to believe that Marlborough betrayed to the French plans for an attack on Brest (1694).

While the War of the League of Augsburg dragged on indecisively towards the settlement of 1697 which left everything back where it was at the start, William became sole sovereign in England after the death of his neglected wife in 1694. That same year England muddled into freedom of the press when an official allowed the licensing bill for the press to run out, without the usual renewal. To meet the high cost of fighting the French, the Bank of England was also established in 1694. The Stock Exchange was formed in 1698.

Although William never attained much personal popularity, the air of freedom and progress on all sides during his reign brought at least appreciation for him. After an assassination attempt (1696), in which James II and Marlborough were implicated, the demand for stern measures was without opposition. By the Act of Settlement (1701), the heir of the childless William was to be his sister-in-law Anne, with the crown thereafter to pass to the Hanoverian princess Sophia, a granddaughter of James I, and her descendants. It was also stipulated that England's sovereigns must be Protestant, could not involve England in war

over their foreign possessions, and could not give foreigners offices, civil or military. In March, 1702, William died after a fall from his horse, just as he was organizing a new grand alliance against Louis XIV who, notwithstanding his solemn promises to the contrary, was supporting his grandson for the Spanish throne, the Spanish Hapsburg dynasty having become extinct.

The homosexuality of William III was widely suspected by his contemporaries and was alluded to by the letter-writing wife of Philip of Orleans (q.v.) in letters of November 4 and December 13, 1701. She gave as her source an Englishman in the suite of the English ambassador, the Earl of Portland, who as William Bentinck (q.v.) had been intimate with William since his youth. Shortly after William was securely established on the English throne, Bentinck's influence began to wane in favor of a handsome young man in his twenties, who as a teenage page named Arnold Joost van Keppel accompanied William to England and then rose rapidly through the traditional offices of favorites: Groom of the Bedchamber, Master of the Robes, etc. In 1697 Keppel received the title of Earl of Albemarle, a title previously belonging to General Monck, a Cromwellian general who betrayed the Commonwealth to Charles II. Like his aging rival, Keppel received large pensions, lands and military commands from William. Although Keppel himself returned to Holland after William's death, his son continued the English line of earls of Albemarle. Bentinck's descendants continued the line of earls of Portland.

Reference: Bulliet, 185; Ellis, 35, 40; Hirschfeld, 672.



HENRY MORE (1614-1687)

English philosopher.

He was born at Grantham of stern Calvinist parents. In 1631 More entered Christ's College, Cambridge, at just about the time Milton (q.v.), "The Lady of Christ's," was leaving it. He immersed himself "over head and over ears," in his own words, in the study of philosophy, searching for something beyond the hard and cold doctrine of Calvinism. For a while he was attracted by skepticism, but then he fell altogether under the spell of the Neoplatonist school.

More received his B.A. in 1635 and his M.A. in 1639, im-

mediately after which he was chosen a fellow of the college. A mastership he declined to accept.

Quite unaffected by the English Civil War, More passed his years surrounded by young men of a refined and thoughtful turn of mind. He also spent much of his time at Ragley, the Warwickshire estate of Lord and Lady Conway, who were interested in theosophy and spiritualism.

Among More's best known works are his *Apology* (1664) and *Philosophical Poems* (1674). A prodigious writer, he lived to see the publication of various collected works, *Opera Theologica* (1675), *Opera Philosophica* (1678), and *Opera Omnia* (1679). More is considered one of the foremost representatives of the philosophical school of Cambridge Platonists, emphasizing mystical and theosophic thought during mystical elevation.

More is portrayed as a far-from-repressed or -sublimated homosexual in the novel referred to below, where he is depicted as a rival in homosexual dalliance of his friend Newton (q.v.).

Reference: Barth, 31.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON (1632-1727)

English scientist and philosopher.

He was born in a hamlet near Grantham in Lincolnshire, the posthumous son of a yeoman farmer. When Newton was two years old, his mother remarried and by her new husband, a rector, had a son and two daughters with whom Newton grew up. After getting some rudiments of education at local schools, he was sent to the Grantham grammar school at 12. Far from being an industrious student, Newton stood low in his class, wasting his time making mechanical contrivances, windmills, water-clocks, kites, dials, etc., for which he developed a consuming passion. After some efforts by his mother, again widowed, to turn him into a farmer, Newton was able to accept the offer of relatives, impressed by his talents, to get him into Trinity College, Cambridge, which he entered on a scholarship in 1661.

Greatly attracted to mathematics, Newton found Euclid's geometry too dull, but was inspired by Descartes. In 1665 he took his B.A., then left Trinity which was closed by the plague for two years. On his return in 1667, Newton was elected a fellow, and in 1668 he took his M.A. Meanwhile he had started experi-

ments in both mathematics and chemistry, experiments following the principles laid down by Sir Francis Bacon (q.v.). By 1669 Newton had completed a brilliant mathematical study, which the Trinity mathematics professor passed on to a leading mathematician, who confirmed his opinion that a new genius had been found. The mathematics professor being about to retire, he secured the post for Newton, who at 27 became Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge.

During term time, Newton had to lecture once a week and could range over arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, statics or optics. It was optics that began to especially interest him, and for his paper on a reflecting telescope he designed, Newton was elected to the Royal Society in 1672. He also invented a reflecting sextant for observing the distances between the moon and fixed stars.

Optics took Newton to astronomy, and astronomy took him to philosophical speculation about the cosmos. According to the famous legend, spread by Voltaire, who claimed he got it from Newton's niece, Newton was led to study gravity when hit on the head by an apple from a tree against which he was reclining in 1666. The tree at his native Woolsthorpe was exhibited until 1820 when it was cut down because of its decayed condition. In any event, by the 1680s Newton was devoting himself wholeheartedly to devising a theory of the world that would replace Aristotle's in conformance with the progress of knowledge.

Newton's law of gravitation and his laws of motion, in relation to the universe, were the best-known parts of his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687). This work also contained material on topics only incidentally related to astronomy, such as the velocity of light and sound, reflection and refraction, the tides, hydrodynamics, conic sections and differential calculus.

Newton was now established as the foremost scientific man of his day. He spent the rest of his life in constant correspondence with the leading intellectuals of England and the continent. Not averse to taking political stands, Newton opposed James II's encroachment on university privileges and was a friend of John Locke. In 1697 Newton accepted a governmental position which seemed to offer some opportunities for his scientific brain, Master of the Mint. During his term of office, Newton drew up a very

extensive table of assays of foreign coins and composed an official report on the coinage. He had at first continued to hold his professorship but in 1701 thought it best to resign it.

In 1701 Newton was elected to Parliament by the University, but he held his seat only until the dissolution of 1702, not running the next time. In 1705 he stood for election as a Whig and lost.

In 1703 Newton was elected president of the Royal Society, and he was annually re-elected to the post for twenty-five years until his death. In that capacity he came into close contact with the Prince-Consort, Prince George of Denmark, a fellow of the society, who reported enthusiastically about Newton to Queen Anne. In 1705, during a visit to Cambridge, Queen Anne knighted him.

During his final years, Newton continued to be much honored and a favorite of the new royal family from Hanover. What works he now published were of an entirely different nature than before, dealing with the Bible and with prophecies in the Bible. After 1725 he gave up his duties at the Mint, his final years being burdened by various ailments.

After his death at 85, Newton was buried at Westminster Abbey. It was said that he introduced a new scientific age, the Newtonian Age, accompanying the Age of Rationalism. His concept of the universe has been described as a rationalist one, with a universe consisting of complex but carefully created sets of mechanical devices set in motion by God, then abandoned like a toy thrown away. In more recent times, many of Newton's basic premises have become discredited and replaced by new theories, the Age of Newton giving way to the Age of Einstein.

Reference: Barth, 23-24; Mayne, 77, 263.



WILLIAM BENTINCK, EARL OF PORTLAND (1649-1709)

Dutch English statesman.

Descended from a noble family of Gelderland, one of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, Bentinck became in the 1660s a page of honor and gentleman of the bedchamber of his namesake, the young prince of Orange, at the time with poor prospects. However, as a result of the Dutch revolution of 1672, the prince became William III (q.v.), regaining the family honors as Stadholder and Commander-in-Chief of the Netherlands.

Shortly after this, William was attacked by smallpox and came close to death, being saved only by the devoted nursing of his beloved friend Bentinck. As recorded in the stately prose of Macaulay's *History of England*, with quotations from William:

From the hands of Bentinck alone William took food and medicine—by Bentinck alone William was lifted from his bed and laid down in it. "Whether Bentinck slept or not while I was ill, I know not. But this I know, that through sixteen days and nights, I never once called for anything but that Bentinck was instantly at my side," recalled William later. Before the faithful servant had entirely performed his task, he had himself caught the contagion.

After this, Bentinck became for the rest of his life William's most valued and intimate friend and adviser, though with the passing of years the personal intimacy inevitably declined.

In 1677 Bentinck went to England to arrange William's marriage to Princess Mary, the niece of Charles II and the daughter of his successor, the future James II. Bentinck was again in England on missions for William in 1683 and 1685 and most notably in 1688, when he made the final arrangements for William to be invited to liberate England from his father-in-law. Bentinck also superintended the arrangements for the expedition and sailed with it.

When William became William III of England, Bentinck in 1689 received appointments of First Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Master of the Robes, and Privy Councillor, as well as various titles, notably Earl of Portland. He accompanied William to Ireland in 1690 and led a cavalry detachment at the Battle of the Boyne. When William went to campaign on the continent in the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97), Bentinck again went along, being wounded at the Battle of Landen. He helped thwart the assassination plot of 1696 and, as a skilled diplomat, arranged the Treaty of Ryswick (1697).

Jealous of the rising powers of William's new gentleman of the bedchamber, the young Arnold van Keppel, soon Earl of Albemarle, Bentinck resigned all his offices in the royal household in 1699. Anxious to prove himself not ungrateful for past services, William loaded him with enormous gifts of money and

lands which brought him great unpopularity with the English, and sent him as ambassador to Louis XIV, where he won further unpopularity as the supposed dupe of Louis XIV in agreeing on the partition of the Spanish empire, in order to avoid a war which came nevertheless. He was later impeached for his conduct on the treaties, but proceedings were dropped.

While in Paris, apparently with many young homosexuals in his suite, Bentinck seemingly became much less restrained than he had been and was the object of much gossip and scandal, all of which reached the ears of the letter-writing wife of Philip of Orleans (q.v.).

After William's death (1702), Bentinck was occasionally employed by Queen Anne on public business.

His great-grandson, the Duke of Portland, was twice Prime Minister (1783 and 1807-09) and was home secretary under Pitt (q.v.) during the crucial years of the French Revolution.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 672.



PETER I (1672-1725)

Russian tsar (1682-1725).

He was born at Moscow, the son of Tsar Alexis, and thus the grandson of the first tsar of the Romanov dynasty. Unlike his male successors, Peter was entirely Russian on both sides, his mother being a Russian noblewoman. When Peter was four, his father died and was succeeded by Peter's older half-brother, Feodor (Theodore) III. During his reign (1676-82), the ever-turbulent and rebellious *boyars*, or great feudal nobles, stirred up savage mobs and reduced the countryside to anarchy. Among Peter's earliest memories was that of an uncle being dragged from the palace to be butchered by a mob, and a beloved family adviser dragged from his own boyish grasp, bruised and bleeding, to be hacked to death.

Upon Feodor's death in 1682, an effort was made to pass over his sickly and moronic younger brother, Ivan, in favor of the late tsar's promising and sturdy young half-brother, Peter. The reactionary faction, however, opposed this by brute force, and Peter was made only co-tsar with Ivan, whose sister Sophia served as regent. Brought up with little education in a suburb of Moscow, Peter had as his playmates rough, lower-class boys,

whom he nevertheless soon dominated and organized under his leadership to play military games.

In 1689 Sophia, fearful of losing all power to the increasingly favored Peter, tried to have Peter murdered. Forewarned, he escaped to Troitsa, rallied all his friends and drew to his support the most influential leaders of Russia. The deserted Sophia was forced to enter a convent, while Ivan was allowed to live on as a titular and powerless co-tsar, fasting and breeding children, one of whom became the Tsarina Anna (1730-40). He died an insane paralytic in 1696.

Although without any real rival in 1689, the 17-year-old Peter allowed others to attend to affairs of state for several years, especially his capable mother. He continued to devote himself to such favorite occupations as building and sailing ships and drilling soldiers. Under the influence of a Swiss adventurer named François Lefort, who gave him ideas about what was expected of a strong ruler, Peter developed what were described as vicious tastes. His constant companion was Lefort's protégé, Alexander Menshikov (q.v.), a handsome and sharp-witted boy Lefort had picked up in the slums of Moscow. Menshikov was to stand in much the same role to Peter as Bentinck (q.v.) did to William III of England (q.v.), but with much more personal power. Hoping to counter these influences, Peter's mother married him to a beautiful but stupid young girl named Eudoxia, whom he deserted about a year after their marriage, after the birth of their ill-fated son Alexis.

With his mother's death in 1694, Peter no longer had any restraints upon him. He also began to act as decisively as Lefort suggested. Extremely fascinated by the western mechanical and technical arts, and very partial to western men, Peter surrounded himself with those who could provide useful applications of these interests. A Dutchman taught him the use of the astrolabe as well as the rudiments of geometry and fortification. Peter had long since learned how to build a ship, launching his first one in 1684.

Determined to build a Russian navy, he needed a sea, and since the Baltic was then a Swedish lake, he turned southward against the Turks who held, none too firmly, Russia's Black Sea littoral. After failing in his attack on the key port of Azov,

Peter sent to Austria and Prussia for sappers, miners, engineers and carpenters. Workmen were rounded up to labor night and day to fell timber in the forests along the Don while the technicians turned them into ships. Peter himself worked along with the men, living in a two-room hut. By the middle of 1696 he had acquired a good-sized flotilla with which he sailed down the Don from Voronezh to the Sea of Azov, cut off Azov from Turkish relief ships and forced its surrender.

Realizing that a full-scale war with Turkey would be inevitable, and that Russia could not win it unaided, Peter decided to send an embassy to the western powers early in 1697 to solicit their aid and cooperation against the Turks, who had recently been taking a beating from the Austrians. The embassy, nominally headed by Peter's beloved Lefort, included one Peter Mikhailov, sometimes listed as a private gentleman and at other times as a volunteer sailor.

As it turned out, the mission failed in its objective since the western powers were more concerned with Louis XIV than with the Turks, but it proved a wonderful experience for Peter Mikhailov, who was of course the tsar himself. Although there were severe penalties for addressing him by his royal titles or mentioning his presence, his disguise fooled no one. The local rulers, or their representatives, in general did everything to comply with his whims, seeing great potentialities in Russia, and they even pretended to be unaware of his identity when he seemed to really want it that way.

Peter learned gunnery in Prussia and ship-building in Holland (where he worked as a journeyman carpenter at a shipyard and lived in a hut). In Holland he also studied anatomy and engraving before he was called away at the invitation of the ruler of Holland and England, William III.

As the guest of William III, Peter arrived in England on January 20, 1698, the private gentleman disguise business dropped, on board the royal yacht. Assigned fine lodgings for himself and his suite (which they turned into a stable), Peter was taken by William to meet his sister-in-law and heiress apparent, the future Queen Anne, whom to compliment Peter called "a veritable daughter of our Church." Peter visited such tourists' attractions as the Royal Society, the Tower of London, the

Observatory and the Mint, where he presumably met Isaac Newton (q.v.). After seeing the play *Rival Queens*, he demanded the leading lady for his own use. Peter had to resist the efforts of the indefatigable Bishop Burnet to convert him to the Anglican Church. Less successful than he had been with the dying Rochester (q.v.), Burnet had to lament that Peter "did not seem disposed to mend matters in Muscovy." He likewise resisted the efforts of William Penn to make a Quaker out of him, though he very decorously attended a Quaker meeting.

Always drawn towards ships, Peter rented a house for two months at Deptford, the shipbuilding center, where he added to his knowledge of naval architecture, spending many nights at waterfront inns carousing with English sailors. Considerable carousing was apparently also done at the rented house which was so devastated by Peter and his suite that Christopher Wren was retained to supervise its reconstruction after the Russians departed.

Peter was so impressed by a naval battle staged in his honor that he told Admiral Mitchell he'd rather be an English admiral than tsar. William III having given him a free hand to do so, Peter engaged many Englishmen for service in Russia, giving them advances from funds derived by the sale of a Russian tobacco-import monopoly to the Duke of Leeds, a few years earlier England's virtual prime minister. When Peter left England in May, he took over 600 technicians who went on to Archangel while Peter debarked in Holland to rejoin his embassy. Headed for Venice by way of Germany, Peter visited Cleves, Leipzig and Dresden, and then arrived at Vienna, where he had a confused secret meeting with the emperor.

Peter was to get no further than Vienna, for while there he received news of the revolt of the *stryeltsy* or musketeers who served as an elite palace guard. Leaving dramatically with thirty companions late in July, Peter travelled day and night toward Russia. He had gotten just past Cracow in Poland when he learned the revolt had already been suppressed. He continued home at a more leisurely pace, stopping to visit Augustus, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. After his return to Moscow early in September, Peter took terrible vengeance on the rebels, hoping that the exemplary punishment would demonstrate to all that

a new era of progress was coming to Russia, and that all who tried to block this advance or to thwart the tsar's will, even if in the name of old values like the rebels, would be dealt with ruthlessly.

Convinced of the inherent superiority of the West, and feeling familiar enough with the distinctive Western earmarks to be able to impose them on Russia, Peter began his program of progress by edict. In April, 1698 he personally cut off the beards and mustaches of the chief men of his empire, and in September he imposed a special tax on those who continued to wear them. By an edict of 1700 old-style Russian costumes were ordered replaced by German jackets and hose. And so on.

Peter's energies were soon diverted from internal progress to efforts at external progress, or expansion. Peter had made a secret alliance in 1699 with the kings of Denmark and Saxony-Poland, directed against the Swedes, with whom they began in 1700 the long struggle called The Great Northern War or the Twenty-one Years War (1700-21). Peter's hopes for quick and easy expansion now that Sweden was ruled by a mere boy proved premature, for the boy turned out to be a military genius, Charles XII (q.v.). In 1700 Charles knocked Denmark out of the war and then defeated the Russians at Narva. Fortunately for Peter, Charles was diverted away from Russia by the need to finish off first the stronger Saxons and Poles. After his invasion of Poland, it took Charles until 1706 to crush Augustus and force him to abdicate the Polish throne and abandon his Russian alliance. By this time Peter had managed to conquer much of the Baltic littoral and to found in 1703, at a tremendous loss in Russian lives, his future capital of St. Petersburg.

When Peter refused to accede to Charles' demand that he give up his new city, Charles struck out boldly for Moscow, but then turned south into the Ukraine, where a rebellion under Charles' ally, the Ukrainian *hetman* (chieftain) Mazeppa, was supposed to be coordinated with his advance but failed to materialize. Charles having gotten himself far inland from his Baltic bases, the Russians intercepted a Swedish relief column and defeated it, then at last summoned the courage to confront Charles' invincible army. In July, 1709, the Russians came upon the Swedes as they were beginning the siege of the fortress of

Poltava, exhausted by long marches and lack of food. The Swedes were decisively defeated by the more numerous and well-equipped army of Peter. Although many Swedes were captured, Charles escaped to Turkey and spent two years trying to persuade the sultan to resume his war with Peter. Russia, in consequence of the Battle of Poltava, was now established by Peter as a great power of Europe.

Two years later Peter, puffed up by pride, saved Charles from the need for any further efforts to bring on a Russo-Turkish war. Peter attacked the Turks in what is now Rumania, and at the Battle of Pruth (1711) he was surrounded by the Turkish army and faced extermination. Unaccountably, the grand vizier commanding the Turkish army let Peter escape, and at no greater price than his surrender of the naval fortress of Azov, Peter's first conquest.

Peter now took advantage of the Swedish disarray after their defeat and their king's disappearance to conquer most of the Baltic littoral from Riga to the Karelian isthmus. The return of Charles to Sweden had little effect other than his stubborn prolongation of the fighting until he was shot by a sniper (1718). The Swedes having continued even then to fight stubbornly, the peace that came in 1721 proved favorable only to Peter, who kept all his conquests except the Finnish provinces.

Meanwhile Peter turned again to his program of modernizing Russia, as ruthlessly as necessary. New government bureaus were set up in 1718, and the nobility was made to serve the state by the establishment of a hierarchy of offices. Women were released from servile status. Universal taxation and a unified currency were introduced. State encouragement was given to trade, industry and education, and in 1721 the patriarchate, a center of reaction, was abolished, with imperial control of the Russian Church assured by the tsar's appointment of a lay procurator to preside over the church's council, the Holy Synod.

The most dramatic proof that Peter would allow nothing to stand in the way of his dreams for Russia was the incredibly melodramatic saga of his relations with his son and heir apparent, Alexis. Born in 1690 to Peter's detested and deserted first wife Eudoxia, Alexis was brought up by reactionary priests and *boyars*, devoted to his mother and regarding his father as the

“tsar-antichrist.” Both as idealistic and as stubborn as his father, Alexis believed in all the old values Peter hated, and hated all the new western values Peter glorified. All those Russians of every class opposed to Peter’s supposedly godless western innovations waited hopefully for Peter to die and be replaced by Alexis.

Having become aware of all this, Peter drove Alexis ruthlessly, hoping that with responsibilities he would see things his father’s way. Alexis was given military commands during the war against Charles XII, and then was sent to Dresden to learn French, German, mathematics and military science. He married a German princess, by whom he became the brother-in-law of Emperor Charles VI, in his twenty-first year. Peter at once separated Alexis from his wife, sending him to join the army in Pomerania, or to inspect Finland, or to supervise shipbuilding on Lake Ladoga. When Peter demanded that Alexis draw some mechanical thing to prove the success of his training, Alexis suffered a nervous breakdown after the long strain and shot himself in the hand.

For a few years Peter gave up all hope in his son and left him alone. In 1715, however, Peter again resumed his efforts to bring Alexis into line, spurning Alexis’ offer to renounce the succession and become a monk. Threats were followed by a peremptory summons. Terrified, Alexis fled to his brother-in-law, Emperor Charles, in 1716, accompanied by his Finnish mistress. Alexis was lodged first in Germany, then in Naples. The scandal of the heir to the Russian empire fleeing to a foreign potentate for protection was more than Peter could tolerate, and like his Communist successors, he sent envoys to Alexis with authority to promise anything if he would return.

Peter having taken at Alexis’ insistence an oath “before God and His judgment seat” that if Alexis returned he would be allowed to live in peace, Alexis returned to Moscow in January, 1718. Peter got his priests to release him from his oath, and after extorting from Alexis a confession of a plot with many accomplices, Peter instituted a reign of terror in which all friends and supporters of Alexis were arrested, impaled, broken on the wheel, or otherwise tortured to death. As for Alexis’ fate, it was decided that further evidence of his personal guilt was needed. To make

him properly communicative, Alexis was given twenty-five strokes of the knout (thirty being considered the limit for survival) on June 19, followed by another fifteen on June 24. He died two days later. The Western powers were shocked by this unspeakable Russian barbarism, but got over it soon enough, as they usually do.

Peter's eventual choice of a new heir was to be as incredible as his manner of disposing of an old one. In 1711 Peter had divorced Eudoxia and married his adored mistress, a girl of Lithuanian Catholic origin formerly married to a Swedish dragoon, whom he had met after she was acquired as a kind of war booty by Peter's boyhood friend, now Prince Menshikov, Marshal of Russia. Martha Stavronska accompanied Peter on all his campaigns after their marriage, and he credited her courage and good sense with getting him out of the Turkish net in 1711. After his son Alexis was whipped to death in 1718, Peter declared succession by primogeniture to be replaced by succession by the sovereign's will (hardly very Western, that!), and passing over Alexis' 6-year-old son, proclaimed Martha, now Catherine, his heir. In 1722 Catherine was proclaimed Tsarina and co-ruler, formalized by a coronation ceremony in 1724. Indeed if not very eighteenth-century European-like, it was perhaps rather twentieth-century American-like.

The last few years of Peter's life were taken up with more warfare, this time against the Persians in the south, and the strain on these campaign hastened his death after his health broke down. He almost lost faith in Catherine when she was accused of adultery with a handsome foreign adventurer, but she managed to clear herself to Peter's satisfaction by not batting more than one or two eyelashes when she found the young man's severed head, preserved in alcohol, in her apartments, at Peter's orders, and posing no objection to its remaining.

On Peter's death in 1725, the succession of Catherine was made to prevail thanks to the support of Menshikov, who became Russia's real ruler. Upon Catherine's death in 1727, Menshikov produced a forged will whereby the throne went not to one of the daughters of Peter and Catherine but to Alexis' son, who became Peter II. After his premature death in 1730, the throne went to the daughter of Peter's moronic half-brother, who as

Anna ruled 1730 to 1740. Only after her death, and the one year reign of her grandnephew, did the throne at last go to the daughter of Peter and Catherine, Empress Elizabeth (1741-62). Elizabeth was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III, and more notably by his wife, Catherine the Great (1762-96), mother of Paul I (q.v.) and grandmother of Alexander I (q.v.).

The most notable quotation about Peter as a homosexual came from none other than Bismarck. In a book of court memoirs (*Secret Life of the Kaiser*, 1919), Bismarck is quoted as saying, "There have been clever warriors amongst the homosexuals—Alcibiades, Caesar, Peter the Great and many Turkish sultans, whose names I forget—but never a diplomat of distinction." (One very obvious name in rebuttal to Bismarck's contention being outside the author's self-imposed limits, the names of Languet (q.v.), Eulenberg (q.v.) and Kaunitz (q.v.) may at least be suggested.)

Of bearlike constitution, gigantic stature and herculean physical prowess, Peter was enthusiastically devoted to excesses in everything, including drinking and sex, in all its forms. Admired in the eighteenth century as a forerunner of the enlightened despot and in Soviet Russia as a sort of unconscious honorary Bolshevik, he was regarded by his contemporaries in western Europe as the embodiment of Russian barbarism. Like some ancient god of prehistoric times, his gigantic personality matched his gigantic frame and ran the gamut from bestial and sadistic cruelty to selfless devotion to duty.

Reference: Bulliet, 212; Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 669; Mayne, 78.



LOUIS, DUKE OF VENDÔME (1654-1712)

French general.

His father was the son of César de Vendôme (q.v.), that legitimized bastard of Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées, who at one time had prospects of becoming king of France. Louis' mother, Laura Mancini, was one of the five famous nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, who were courted by many of Europe's crowned and uncrowned chiefs. A sister of Laura's became the mother of Eugene of Savoy (q.v.), one of Louis' most famous antagonists.

Entering the army at 18, Louis of Vendôme soon distinguished himself by his energy and courage in the Dutch wars of Louis XIV. In the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97), Vendôme rendered conspicuous service to Luxembourg (q.v.) towards his victory at Steenkirk (1692) over William III (q.v.) and to Catinat towards his victory in Italy at Marsaglia (1693).

In 1695 Vendôme was given command of the army operating in the Spanish province of Catalonia, where he captured Barcelona. Vendôme's strategy in this operation was coupled with an apparent instance of ill luck in the course of the passive relations to which he was partial to produce the *bon mot*, "Vendôme took both Barcelona and the pox on the wrong side."

In 1701 began the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), the most serious and costly war of Louis XIV, a sort of world war with related actions in northern and eastern Europe (The Great Northern War) and in North America (Queen Anne's War). Although the basic issue was Louis XIV's willingness to use French armies to support the inheritance of the Spanish empire by his grandson, much of the early fighting was in Italy. After Vendôme's first cousin, Eugene of Savoy, invaded Italy with an Austrian army in 1701 and scored early successes over both Catinat and his successor, the incompetent Villeroy, who was taken prisoner, Vendôme was given command of the Franco-Spanish army in Italy.

Proving himself a worthy opponent of his famous cousin, Vendôme halted the Austrian advance at Luzzara (1702), where both sides claimed victory. Shortly after this, Eugene was called north to cooperate with Marlborough's English army in central Europe, where in 1704 they won a great victory at Blenheim. During Eugene's absence, Vendôme scored many successes against the Duke of Savoy, who had deserted the French side and joined the allies. In 1705 Eugene was sent back to Italy and the two brilliant cousins marched and counter-marched against each other like two fencers or chess-players, until finally they met in a deadly engagement, three years after their last battle, at Cassano (1705). Vendôme was considered the victor over Eugene, who was wounded.

Shortly afterwards, Vendôme was transferred to the northern front in Flanders, taking command again from the incompetent

Villeroy, who had been badly defeated by Marlborough at Ramillies (1706). Operating as the subordinate of Louis XIV's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, Vendôme was unable to attain the freedom of action that had produced his past successes, and on May 23, 1706 he was decisively beaten by Marlborough at Oudenarde. Meanwhile, his successors in Italy were beaten and driven out. Disgusted, Vendôme laid down his command and went into retirement.

Louis XIV was by now convinced of the hopelessness of his cause and even ready to recognize his grandson's rival, the Austrian archduke, as king of Spain. But when preliminary negotiations produced a demand from the allies that French troops be used to drive his grandson, Philip V, out of Spain if he refused to leave, Louis balked. He made a successful appeal to the French people for more sacrifices and the war continued. Vendôme was recalled to take command in Spain.

In Spain he scored his last victories, defeating the English at Brihuega and the Austrians at Villaviciosa in 1710, leading to the withdrawal of the allies from Spain and ensuring the Bourbon succession. Two years later, while the peace treaty was still being negotiated, Vendôme suddenly died.

He was considered one of the best French generals of his century, having the skill and fertile imagination of the military genius, as well as the courage and influence over his men characteristic of the successful commander. According to a letter of the Duchess of Orleans dated November 17, 1718, Vendôme's two big shortcomings were his aversion to bathing and his debauchery with men.

Reference: Jacobus, 164.



PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY (1663-1736)

Franco-Italian Austrian general.

He was born at Paris of the cadet branch of the house of Savoy, whose dukes ruled northwest Italy. From his father's older brother were descended the princes who succeeded the extinct senior line of Savoy in the nineteenth century and became kings of Italy. More famous than Eugene's father, Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan and Count of Soissons, was his mother, the beautiful and witty Olympia Mancini, another of the famous

and much-courted nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, Richelieu's successor and ruler of France during Louis XIV's minority. A sister of Olympia's, Laura Mancini, was the mother of the Duke of Vendôme (q.v.), who was to be one of Eugene's major antagonists.

Eugene's father, the son of a princess of the Bourbon-Condé line, was brought up at the French court, and after his marriage to Mazarin's niece had received high military and diplomatic posts. Young Eugene, at first intended for the Church, had drawn the nickname of "le petit abbé." When he determined instead on a military career, his application for a commission was repeatedly turned down by Louis XIV, mainly because his dissipated mother had fallen into disgrace, being suspected of having poisoned his father (1673) and others.

The resentment of both his mother and himself turned Eugene into a lifelong enemy of Louis XIV, his hatred becoming a consuming passion. Having left France in disgust, Eugene was well received at Vienna by Emperor Leopold I, who gave him a military command. He served with distinction in the campaign of 1683 against the Turks, and in 1685 he was in a cavalry battle related to the relief of Vienna, then under siege by the Turks during their last great advance. In command of an imperial regiment of dragoons, Eugene took part in the capture of Budapest (1686) and the siege of Belgrade (1688), where he was seriously wounded. At this time a decree of banishment was imposed on all Frenchmen (as Eugene was heretofore considered) who continued to serve in foreign armies. "The king will see me again," was Eugene's proud and bitter response.

Eugene's emergence as one of the leading generals of his day began in Louis XIV's third war, the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97). After first serving the emperor in a diplomatic capacity, persuading his cousin the Duke of Savoy to switch from the French to the allied side, Eugene served on the Rhine front, where he was wounded. After recovering, Eugene received his first command on the Italian front, where Marshal Catinat had been successful over the allies. Reorganizing the allied forces, Eugene moved to the offensive and not only decisively defeated Catinat in 1691 but invaded France, capturing Embrun, a stunning humiliation for Louis XIV. With the desertion of Eugene's

cousin, the Duke of Savoy, from the coalition, the Italian campaign was brought to a halt and Eugene was called back to Vienna.

On the recommendation of the veteran imperial commander, Rüdiger von Starhemberg, the defender of Vienna against the Turks, the 30-year-old Eugene, until recently a Frenchman, received the Austrian supreme command. Taking over the fight against the Turks in Hungary, he won a great victory over the Turks at Zenta (1697), one of the most decisive victories ever won by Austrian arms, which after two more years of minor actions produced the Peace Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), formalizing the return of Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia to the empire. During this period Eugene also indignantly rejected an offer by Louis XIV that he switch sides and become a Marshal of France.

After the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), Eugene was sent into Italy again. After a brilliant crossing of the Alps, Eugene outmaneuvered his old adversary, Marshal Catinat, and defeated him. When Catinat was recalled in disgrace, he was replaced by the incompetent Villeroy. After defeating Villeroy, Eugene led a raid of 2,000 dragoons into Cremona, taking Villeroy prisoner. The French command now fell to Eugene's able first cousin, the Duke of Vendôme, who halted the Austrian advances and fought a drawn battle with Eugene at Luzzara (1702). A stalemate resulting, Eugene was called back to Vienna.

After some ineffective operations against Hungarian insurgents, Eugene took command in Bavaria, where he cooperated for the first time with Winston Churchill's ancestor, now the illustrious Duke of Marlborough, previously noted as the treacherous and double-dealing opportunist troublesome to both James II and William III (q.v.). Marlborough became Eugene's firm and close friend, with obviously beneficial results for the alliance. In 1704 they won together at Blenheim, over a top-notch French army, one of the great victories of the war.

The Italian front now became so critical in the face of Vendôme's advances during his absence that Eugene was sent back. The two brilliant cousins marched and counter-marched for weeks before meeting at Cassano. Due to Eugene's being seriously wounded, Vendôme was victorious. Fortunately for the

allied cause, Vendôme was summoned to the Flanders front, and his successors in joint command, Marshal Marsin and the Duke of Orleans, the son of Philip of Orleans (q.v.), were soon decisively defeated by Eugene. After some smaller victories, the allied cause was triumphant in Italy, where Austrian influence now became predominant. In 1707 Eugene became the emperor's viceroy in Italy. Curiously, his namesake, Napoleon's stepson, was to hold exactly the same position a century later.

An invasion of southern France by Eugene in 1707, aimed at the great naval base of Toulon, failed because many of the troops intended for the invasion were diverted to Naples. Returning without any loss of honor to Vienna, Eugene was hailed by the emperor and the people as a national hero. He was then sent to various German courts and to Holland to coordinate plans for the great campaign of 1708.

In 1708 the imperial and German forces under Eugene and the English forces under Marlborough, operating with beautiful coordination, scored a decisive victory at Oudenarde over the French forces under the divided command of the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme. Shortly after, Eugene besieged Lille, valiantly defended by the able Marshal Boufflers, and in a gesture that could only have happened in the eighteenth century, allowed Boufflers to write his own articles of capitulation with the guarantee, "I subscribe to everything beforehand, well persuaded that you will not insert anything unworthy of yourself or me."

Eugene and Marlborough then went on to the Dutch capital, The Hague, where they were received as heroes. The promising peace negotiations, however, broke down when Louis XIV refused to consider the use of French troops to drive his grandson from Spain if he refused to give up the Spanish inheritance. As the French people rallied to Louis' call for more sacrifices, a new army was raised under the very able Marshal Villars (q.v.). In the new campaign, roughly similar to the Hundred Days of Napoleon (q.v.) in 1815, there were bloody battles with heavy losses on both sides, culminating in the Battle of Malplaquet (1709), where Eugene and Marlborough emerged more or less victorious, but with casualties almost as enormous as those of the French. Dutch losses were so great it was said the Dutch army never again played a significant military role. The reaction

to the losses was so strong in all countries that the demand for peace became irresistible.

Eugene again became something of a diplomat, coordinating consultations amongst the allies. Two breaks of a political nature helpful to Louis XIV hastened the peace. With the death in 1711 of Emperor Joseph I, his younger brother, formerly the candidate of the allies for the Spanish throne, became emperor, and a new Charles V was the last thing the allies wanted. Secondly, Marlborough was dismissed that same year by Queen Anne as a byproduct of the dismissal of his wife, Sarah Churchill, whose aging charms began to seem less impressive to England's pseudolesbian queen than those of young Mrs. Masham. Eugene made an unsuccessful trip to England to try to get his friend restored.

With Marlborough an exiled civilian, and England out of the war, Eugene had only the Dutch as allies in 1712, but they were knocked out by the resurgent French, who had now invaded Germany. Eugene advised the emperor to make peace, which was duly accomplished by the Treaty of Utrecht, which confirmed the Bourbons in Spain, the Austrians in Italy and Belgium, and the British at Gibraltar and in much of North America.

Eugene was made governor-general of the now Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), but in 1716 he was recalled to military duty when Austria again went to war with Turkey. Eugene scored a great victory over a Turkish force twice as large as his, and in 1717, with about 40,000 men, he besieged Belgrade, which had a garrison of 30,000 and a relieving army of about 200,000 Turks on the way. Eugene attacked, with his usual daring and initiative, and although wounded (for the thirteenth time) forced the Turks to capitulate in a week, after enormous losses. For this service, Eugene received from the pope a consecrated sword and hat, bestowed on those who triumphed over the infidel. It was the second time Eugene captured Belgrade, but after the first time (1688) the Turks had recaptured it two years later.

After returning to Vienna in triumph and receiving a priceless jeweled sword, Eugene took to the field again in 1718, hoping to reach Constantinople and dictate peace terms there. However, the emperor suddenly made an advantageous peace treaty with

the Sultan, frustrating Eugene's hopes. The Netherlands having meanwhile been given to the emperor's sister to govern, Eugene was again made Viceroy of Italy, at an enormous salary. He now became a great patron of the arts and literature and a correspondent of many European intellectuals, amassing a great collection of books and paintings.

When war broke out again between France and Austria in 1734 over the Polish succession, Eugene, though 71, was appointed supreme commander. Too old to act with his old energy and resourcefulness, and having advised against the war, he accomplished little except to limit the French successes in Italy. He welcomed the peace settlement in 1735. The strain of these responsibilities at his age having led to a further decline in his health, he died the following year. Being unmarried and childless, Eugene's vast possessions went to a niece.

The great genius of Eugene in war was his combination of methodical preparation and strategy with fiery energy and imagination in execution, with no qualms about risking the lives of his men or himself as the situation might warrant. Under his leadership, the Austrian army attained an eminence it had never previously held, and was never again to hold.

Because of his cold and severe disposition, coupled with apparently virtuous and ascetic behavior, at least as indicated by complete indifference to women, Eugene was called "a Mars without a Venus." However, his homosexuality was widely known to his contemporaries, being alluded to in memoirs, notably in a letter dated October 30, 1720 of the bitchy wife of Philip of Orleans (whose son Eugene defeated in Italy). It was even said that in his earlier days he affected a homosexual version of the Empress Messalina, wife of Claudius (q.v.), in prostituting himself disguised as a common soldier. On appropriate occasions he had himself addressed as Madame Simoni or Madame Putana. Like his cousin Vendôme, he was apparently partial to passive sodomy.

Reference: Bulliet, 209; Hirschfeld, 661; Mayne, 238, 419.



ALEXANDER DANILOVICH MENSHIKOV (c. 1672-1729)

Russian general and statesman.

Born in the slums of Moscow, the son of an ostler or a barge-

man, Menshikov grew up as a handsome and sharp-witted boy of the streets, selling meat pies. Possibly he may also have had some experience as a male prostitute. When in his teens, Menshikov was discovered one day by the Swiss adventurer, François Lefort, the close friend and mentor of the young co-tsar, the future Peter the Great (q.v.). In but a short time, Menshikov was on the most intimate terms with both Lefort and Peter.

Peter was greatly attracted to Menshikov, of about the same age as himself, and from his boyhood on, Menshikov became Peter's most valued aide, whether in sexual orgies, drinking bouts, war or administration. With Lefort's death (1699), Menshikov was clearly established as Peter's "first favorite." Although ignorant, brutal, grasping and corrupt, Menshikov's keen wits and abundant energy made him a man after Peter's own heart. In the words of one biographer, "He could drill a regiment, build a frigate, administer a province and decapitate a rebel with equal facility."

Menshikov took an active part in Peter's first campaign, resulting in the capture of Azov (1706). When Peter went abroad on his fantastic embassy of 1697-98, Menshikov was his constant companion, whether Peter was working as a carpenter in the Amsterdam dockyards or demanding honors as a sovereign in England. He rapidly mastered colloquial Dutch and German during the trip.

When Peter returned to Russia to institute his much-opposed reforms, Menshikov became a valued instrument in the brutal enforcement of the reforms. When after the turn of the century Peter became engaged in his great struggle with Charles XII of Sweden (q.v.), it was Menshikov as field commander who was chiefly responsible for the destruction of the Swedish relief column, the annihilation of Charles' Ukrainian allies, and finally the defeat of the Swedish invaders at Poltava (1709).

Now created Prince Menshikov, Marshal of Russia, he fought in the campaigns in northern Germany and Poland against the Swedes, and then served as governor of the newly conquered Baltic provinces, where he exhibited the necessary ruthlessness. Menshikov increasingly developed a propensity for looting and fraud in order to amass a fortune appropriate to a serene highness. When he was denounced to Peter, the Tsar flew into a rage but

in the end extended his pardon. Peter was now anew in Menshikov's debt, for it was at his palace that Peter met the Lithuanian Catholic girl named Martha, previously bought by Menshikov from a general who'd carried her home as war booty. Having been Menshikov's mistress, she became Peter's. In Martha, or Catherine as she was renamed, Peter found just what he wanted in a woman, and after divorcing his wife in 1711, Peter married her. For Menshikov it meant a friend who could always be relied upon to intervene for him with Peter. And so highly was Catherine valued by Peter that he made her his co-ruler and heir before his death.

On Peter's death in 1725, Menshikov helped to put down what opposition there was to the succession of Catherine I (1725-27), and during her reign, Menshikov virtually ruled Russia. Upon Catherine's death, he produced a forged will whereby the throne went not to one of the daughters of Catherine and Peter, but to Peter's grandson, who became Peter II (1727-30). As regent, Menshikov overreached himself by trying to marry young Peter to his daughter. His enemies combined against him, and Menshikov was deprived of all his dignities and offices. Subsequently, he was also deprived of his enormous wealth and sent to Siberia where he died two years later.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 669.



DUKE CLAUDE DE VILLARS (1653-1734)

French general.

He was born at Moulins, the son of an undistinguished marquis. After serving as a page at the court of Louis XIV, Villars in 1671 began his military career in the French army, where he was to become the last of the great generals of Louis XIV.

During the Dutch wars of Louis XIV, Villars served in the cavalry under Turenne, Condé (q.v.), and Luxembourg (q.v.). Though he distinguished himself by daring and resourcefulness, his advance was held up for many years by the enmity of the all-powerful war minister, Louvois. In the 1680's Villars was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Elector of Bavaria, with whom he became so close a friend that he secured permission to serve under the elector when he fought against the Turks.

During the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97), Villars

at last got the opportunity to advance after the death of his enemy, Louvois (1691). He commanded the cavalry in Flanders under Luxembourg and did much to secure the stalemate that frustrated all the plans of William III (q.v.) to ruin Louis XIV. After the conclusion of another peace treaty, Villars' diplomatic talents were again employed when he was sent as ambassador to Vienna (1698-1701).

When hostilities between France and Austria broke out in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13), Villars once again switched from diplomat to general. In 1702 he gained a brilliant success at Friedlingen on the Alsace front, for which he became a Marshal of France and duke. In 1703, in cooperation with the forces of his friend, Maximilian II of Bavaria, he won another great victory at Höchstadt (actually the same field where the following year the French and Bavarians suffered a catastrophic defeat, a battle that took its name from the nearby village of Blenheim), Villars losing only about 1,000 to the enemy's losses of 11,000. Although Villars' decisive victories might have led to the conclusion of the war if properly followed up, poor planning at higher levels (where his old enemy Louvois was sorely missed) led to the French advantage being frittered away. Disgusted, Villars resigned and was replaced by Marsin, whose incompetence led to the terrible French defeat at Blenheim (1704) by Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy (q.v.).

That same year, 1704, Villars was assigned the most unusual job of his career, requiring a judicious interplay of his military and diplomatic skills: pacification of the mountainous Cevennes area, where an extremist Protestant sect called the Camisards, reacting to the loss of freedom of worship and the increasing Catholic persecution following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) had started murdering priests and royal officials in 1702. Practicing guerilla warfare under Jean Cavalier, a brilliant youth in his early twenties, who was a persuasive orator as well as a partisan warfare genius, the Camisards routed three royal armies that with papal blessing, much as in the days of the "crusade" against the Albigensian heretics, had burned villages and massacred whole populations. Villars, who entered the scene after both sides had been horrified by the excesses, arranged an honorable meeting with Cavalier at Nîmes in May, 1704.

According to the agreed terms, both sides renounced the use of force and Cavalier was to become a colonel in the royal army, with a pension from Louis XIV. The great credit won by Villars for his settlement of the bitter struggle was only slightly undone by subsequent developments: Cavalier's settlement was denounced by his followers as not guaranteeing free worship, leading them to resort to arms again; but being without Cavalier's leadership, they were wiped out. As for Cavalier himself, after an interview with a far from friendly Louis XIV, and having been castigated by his former followers, he fled abroad, ending up as an English major-general.

Still far from restored to royal favor, his resignation from his high command still being viewed by Louis XIV as insolence, Villars commanded only small forces in minor actions for several years. However, when Louis XIV's peace feelers after the disastrous French defeats at Ramillies (1706) and Oudenarde (1708) elicited unacceptable terms from the overbearing allies, under threat of an invasion of France, Louis XIV made his stirring appeal to the French people, and to his best generals. As recruits flocked to the colors, Villars made his peace with Louis XIV, who had never ceased to respect his genius, and supervised the training of the recruits as well as the reorganization of the shattered French armies. Villars was given the supreme command, with even the old veteran Marshal Boufflers willing to be his subordinate.

In September, 1709, Villars' army marched against the Anglo-Dutch army of Marlborough and the German armies of Prince Eugene of Savoy, headed for a thrust deep into France, and met them at Malplaquet, where one of the war's bloodiest battles took place. Villars was wounded, and although Boufflers, who took command, had to withdraw, the French losses were only 12,000 to 20,000 for the allies. The wounded Villars wrote Louis XIV, "If God gives us another defeat like this, your majesty's enemies will be destroyed."

Villars' prediction proved most appropriate, since the "butchery" of Malplaquet led to the fall of the Whigs from power in England, in consequence of which Marlborough, after complex but inconsequential manoeuvres against Villars in 1710-11, was removed from his command. Marlborough's removal, which was

also related to his wife's being replaced by a younger woman as the favorite of Queen Anne, came just as he seemed about to break through Villars' defenses. The English forces were now pulled out of the war, Marlborough's Dutch forces coming under the command of Eugene, who now stood as Villars' main antagonist.

The political objective of the allies having been completely undermined when their candidate for the Spanish throne became the new Emperor Charles VI in 1711, Louis XIV, now 73 but still going strong, suddenly had hopes of emerging as the substantial victor, if only Villars could hold on. Villars not only prevented any breakthrough by Eugene but even managed to defeat him at Denain in 1712. As the allies fell apart and more princes pulled out their forces, the imperial armies retreated and Villars was about to invade Germany again, when peace terms were agreed upon, much to the advantage of France. Preliminary negotiations had taken place between Villars and Eugene.

When in 1715 Louis XIV, after the longest recorded reign in European history (seventy-two years) died and was succeeded by his infant great-grandson as Louis XV, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, son of Philip of Orleans (q.v.), Villars remained as France's supreme military commander and as a member of the regency council.

When a brief war with Austria broke out again in 1734, the War of the Polish Succession, Villars, now over 80 (and thus even ten years older than his old antagonist Eugene, who was given the supreme Austrian command) was put in command of the French armies with the title "marshal-general of the King's armies," a title held previously only by Turenne. The aged Villars' efforts to act with the fire and energy of his youth proved too much for him, as the like efforts proved for Eugene, and he died at Turin while preparing for a campaign in Italy.

Villars wrote memoirs which were highly valued by historians. He was among the homosexuals cited in the letters of Madame, the wife of Philip of Orleans.

Reference: Caufeynon, 22; Hirschfeld, 672.

CHARLES XII (1682-1718)

King of Sweden (1697-1718).

The only surviving son of Charles XI of Sweden, he was carefully educated by the best of tutors, who were dazzled by his talents. At an early age Charles gave evidence of his keen intelligence and astonishing memory, in the academic field being outstanding in mathematics and languages. His physical development was equally promising. He learned to ride before he was 4, by 8 was at home in the saddle, and by 11 had brought down his first bear with a single shot. After he turned 13, his adoring and adored father took Charles on all his royal rounds, reviewing troops, inspecting foundries, dockyards and granaries, and the like.

At 15 Charles lost his beloved father, and as Charles XII was first subject to a council of regency. However, the Swedish Riksdag or parliament, bearing in mind both the precocious maturity of Charles and the hostility to themselves of the regents, offered him full sovereignty. Sagely declaring himself unable to resist the urgent appeal of his subjects, he humbly accepted "in the name of God." Shortly afterward he made it clear that he meant that he was answerable only to God, according to the divine right theories widely followed in imitation of Louis XIV, for Charles refused to take the usual coronation oath to respect the traditional privileges of his subjects. One of the first of traditional privileges which he withdrew was the right of torture as an instrument of judicial investigation.

Whatever internal reforms Charles may have had in mind in pursuit of his divine right theories, he had little chance to try them, since almost his entire reign was to be spent in warfare, in the first years of which his fine mathematical mind was to turn him into one of the great geniuses of modern military history. In 1699 Peter the Great of Russia (q.v.) and the kings of Denmark and Saxony-Poland signed a treaty aimed at ending Swedish supremacy in the Baltic and dividing the Swedish empire, which included most of the islands and littoral of the Baltic. With a mere boy as Sweden's king, the allies anticipated little trouble.

When the resulting war, usually called the Great Northern War or the Twenty-one Years War (1700-21) broke out, Charles

startled his enemies by promptly taking the offensive. With great daring, he first attacked his nearest enemy, Denmark, landing on Zealand Island a few miles from Copenhagen in August, 1700. Unable to dislodge Charles and appreciating his hopeless situation, the Danish king in two weeks agreed to withdraw from the alliance and pay Charles a large indemnity.

In October, 1700, Charles XII crossed the Baltic to Livonia with 8,000 men. Against the advice of his generals, who feared the effects on untried troops of a week's march on boggy roads through a wasted land, Charles marched at once towards Narva, under siege by Peter. On November 20 Charles launched an attack during a snowstorm on the Russian fortified camp, which resulted in the virtual annihilation of Peter's army. He again disregarded the advice of his generals, unfortunately as it turned out, who now with unlimited faith in him urged Charles to turn all his energies at once against the panic-stricken Russians, fanning into a flame all the smoldering discontent resulting from Peter's reforms.

Considering the Saxons and Poles much more dangerous enemies than the barbarous Muscovites, and fearful of getting deep into Russia with these enemies at his back, Charles now launched all his forces against the Poles and Saxons. By the middle of 1701 he had achieved Swedish repossession of Livonia and Courland (roughly modern Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). By 1702 Charles had reached Warsaw and forced the deposition of the Elector Augustus of Saxony as king of Poland. A few months later he captured the fortress and coronation city of Cracow and victory followed victory. Although not naturally cruel, Charles was carried away by his role as the ruthless young god of war and became addicted to such orders as "ravage, burn and singe all about, and reduce the whole district to wilderness," "sweat well contributions out of them" and "rather let the innocent suffer than the guilty escape."

Despite Charles' victories, the war dragged on, delayed by the need for long sieges of well-defended fortresses in Poland and Saxony. After seeing the coronation of his candidate as king of Poland and routing a new Russian army in Lithuania in 1705, Charles invaded Saxony in 1706, a most opportune diversion in Germany for Louis XIV, then at the nadir of his military

fortunes. In 1707 Augustus finally signed a peace with Charles, renouncing all alliances against him and formalizing his abdication as king of Poland.

By the fall of 1707 Charles was at last in a position to turn all his forces on Peter the Great of Russia, who had meanwhile raised and trained, with the help of west European officers, a splendid army and built, at a great cost in Russian lives, his new Baltic city of St. Petersburg. With his largest army ever, 50,000 men, a large proportion cavalry, Charles crossed the Vistula on January 1, 1708. On July 4, in his last great victory, he inflicted a crushing defeat on a Russian army near Holowczyn and compelled it to retreat. As the Russians were later to do against Napoleon (q.v.) and Hitler, they burned and destroyed during their retreat everything in the path of the invader.

As the Swedish army got deeper into Russia during the advancing winter, it began to suffer from shortage of food for the men and fodder for the horses. By December 20 Charles gave up hopes of reaching Moscow that winter, but refusing to consider retreat, he accepted the advice of his generals to move south and join the rebellious Cossack chieftain of the Ukraine, Ivan Mazeppa, who was supposed to have 100,000 men and a land of milk and honey. But when Mazeppa joined Charles a year later, it was as a ruined man whose forces had been annihilated by Menshikov (q.v.).

A worse blow followed. A relief column heading toward Charles from Livonia with hundreds of loaded wagons was almost completely destroyed by Peter and Menshikov in November, 1708. The ensuing winter, the coldest for a century, would have completely demoralized the hard-pressed Swedes except for their devotion to their undaunted king, who mixed freely with them and shared their every hardship. Saliva congealed on the way from mouth to ground and birds on the wing fell frozen, but Charles, in his finest hour, moved about serene and imperturbable, a seeming superman.

After the end of the winter in February, 1709, and the spring floods in May, Charles rallied his army and marched on the fortress of Poltava, intending to make it an impregnable base while awaiting reinforcements. Hardly had the wearied Swedes reached the fortress to begin their siege than Peter's army caught

up with them. In the opening action, a bullet wound put Charles out of action, whereupon Peter threw most of his forces over the river separating the two armies, and after a week's fighting established a solid bridgehead. When Charles threw all his forces against the Russian bridgehead, the initial Swedish success was undone by some tactical blunders and by the terrible toll of Swedes taken by the ultramodern artillery recently acquired by Peter. The Swedes were surrounded in a sort of small-scale preview of Stalingrad 233 years later, and after most of the Swedish infantry was annihilated, 14,000 exhausted cavalymen surrendered. The Battle of Poltava was to be taken as a turning-point in history, Russia's defeat of the invincible Swedes marking her emergence as a great power.

Accompanied by 1500 cavalymen, Charles crashed through the Russian pincers and rode south toward Turkey. He reached Constantinople where he kept tarrying, unwilling to leave until he had persuaded the Turks to undertake all-out war against the Russians. Although Charles actually managed to procure appointments and dismissals as he wanted, war when it came was initiated by Peter. Rashly attacking the Turks, Peter was surrounded just as Charles had been, but somehow the Turkish commander was persuaded to let Peter go merely in exchange for his return to Turkey of the naval fortress of Azov. Charles, an increasingly unwelcome guest, remained in Turkish territory for four years, eventually making his headquarters at Bender in Bessarabia, where the Turks attacked him, without success, in an effort to make him leave. He also spent a year at the city founded by Hadrian (q.v.) and since become the number two city of European Turkey, Adrianople, where Charles feigned illness.

Finally giving up all hope not only of an all-out Turkish war with Russia but even of a large Turkish escort back northward, Charles sneaked quietly homeward late in 1714 through Germany with a single squire, much like Richard the Lion-hearted (q.v.) in the late twelfth century.

More fortunate in this like trip than Richard was, Charles safely reached the port of Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania. All his old enemies had again allied themselves to partition his empire, awaiting only his return from his Turkish exile to

formalize the seemingly inevitable without more fighting. This time the allies were not expecting Charles to give up all his overseas possessions, only some. However, he refused to consider any settlement that sanctioned the abandonment of any territory that his father had passed on to him, so the war dragged on, his chief enemies being the Danes and the Prussians. Stralsund was destroyed in the course of Charles' stubborn defense of the port.

In 1715 Charles returned to Sweden, after an absence of over fourteen years. He raised a new army of 20,000 men and defied his enemies to attack him in Sweden. When they failed to do so, Charles again took the offensive, invading Denmark's Norway in 1717. He hoped to gain territory which he could trade off against formerly Swedish territory that had been captured. During his Norwegian campaign of 1718, while participating in the siege of Frederiksten (Halden), Charles was fatally wounded by a sniper's bullet as he raised his head from the foremost trench.

The tragic loss of one so brilliant having spent almost his entire reign in warfare, and warfare that served no ultimate purpose, recalls the similar tragic ill luck of Emperor Frederick II (q.v.) and Emperor Manuel I (q.v.).

The best known lovers of Charles XII, whose name frequently appears on lists of famous homosexuals, were Axel Wachtmeister, Prince Maximilian of Württemberg, General Rehnsköld and General Stenbock.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 666; Mayne 78, 192.



EDWARD HYDE, VISCOUNT CORNBURY (1661-1724)

English colonial governor of New York and New Jersey (1702-08)

He was the son of the third Earl of Clarendon, a minor political figure whose own father, the first Earl of Clarendon, had been one of the leading political figures of Restoration England. The first earl's daughter, Anne Hyde, had married Charles II's brother, the Duke of York, later James II, and had become the mother of both Queen Mary, wife of William III (q.v.), and Queen Anne (1702-14). Cornbury was accordingly a first cousin of Queen Anne.

After receiving from his royal cousin appointment as governor

of New York and New Jersey, Cornbury conscientiously sought money and supplies for colonial troops, feeling that his military experience during the last war would provide his most fruitful area of service as governor. When Cornbury arrived in New York in 1702, he found the colony torn by bitter factionalism, involving the so-called Leislerians, who had recently secured power and acted ruthlessly against their opponents, the anti-Leislerians. Actually, the adherents of Leisler, a Dutchman who had been at odds with the authorities over repayment of funds advanced by him for defense of the colony, were those tending to oppose the domination of the landowning class, both English and Dutch, but they were far from being a democratic party. During their tenure of power, the Leislerians had outraged the anti-Leislerians by voting £2700 to Leisler's son.

Cornbury, although instructed to avoid partisan alliances, promptly assumed leadership of the anti-Leislerians, sensing in them the aristocratic party. By the weight of his authority, not to mention his relationship to the queen, Cornbury succeeded in removing the dominant Leislerians from the key offices, which he filled with his anti-Leislerian partisans. Cornbury went on to associate the Leislerians with anti-English treason, accusing them of a plot to remove all Englishmen from office in favor of their own "Black Party." He dissolved the Assembly and disallowed the acts of its last session.

Carried away by these successes into considering himself a sort of uncrowned king of New York (or queen?), Cornbury was soon at odds with the new assembly. In his ambitious plans for building up the local forces, he demanded funds far beyond what the legislators were willing to vote for. Unable to get the funds legally, Cornbury began to impose his own special taxes and to extort bribes. He also began to use much of the funds acquired purely for his own pleasure.

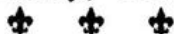
In New Jersey, Cornbury acted much the same, extorting bribes from wealthy landowners for securing legislation in their favor. Since there was an official order of 1703 from Queen Anne barring the acceptance of gifts by the governors, whose salary was doubled to £1200, the New Jersey Assembly prepared an address to the queen in 1706 asking for his dismissal. In 1708 the New York Assembly had its Committee of Grievances prepare

a report to the queen on Cornbury, citing his arbitrary collection of illegal fees and granting of illegal monopolies. He was officially recalled in 1708, but no sooner had his removal become official than his enemies imprisoned him for debt in New York. He remained in prison until 1709, when by his father's death he became fourth Earl of Clarendon and presumably acquired sufficient funds to satisfy his creditors. He returned to England. Curiously, Cornbury's name appears as deputy-governor of North Carolina for 1710-12.

Although none of the charges against Cornbury appear to have been on moral, or at least sexual, grounds, he suddenly acquired a new claim to fame in 1881. In that year, the *Chicago Medical Review* (August 20, 1881) came out with an article by a Dr. Spitzka indicating that while he served as governor of New York and New Jersey, Cornbury used to disguise himself in women's clothing and go about the streets plying the trade of a prostitute. The famous Dr. Krafft-Ebing, who picked up this item for his world-famous *Psychopathia Sexualis*, testified that an accompanying illustration furnished by Dr. Spitzka showed a narrow brow, a symmetrical face, feminine features and a sensual mouth.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 661; Jacobus, 119.

Historical Reference: Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the 18th Century*, 1924, II, 61-94.



ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD (1661-1724)

English statesman.

He was born in London, the eldest son of a prominent Herefordshire landowner. After an undistinguished local education, Harley first came into prominence as a result of his father's foresight in raising a cavalry troop to seize Worcester on behalf of William III (q.v.) in the Glorious Revolution. Under the patronage of a powerful Whig family, the Boscawens, young Harley was sent to the Commons as M.P. for the Boscawen pocket borough of Tregony. In the following Parliament, Harley represented Radnor, continuing as such till becoming earl (1711).

Impressing all his fellow members with his respect for the forms and ceremonies of the House, if not much else, Harley was elected speaker in 1701. William III died in 1702, and in the ensuing reign of his sister-in-law, Queen Anne, Harley's fortunes

began to rise rapidly, even though he had switched to the less favored Tory party. One of the first politicians to fully appreciate the power of the press, he used the pamphleteering services of both Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift, whom he carefully cultivated. Equally valuable to Harley was the esteem of the Duke of Marlborough who, by the prestige of his victories over the French in the War of the Spanish Succession, and the intimate influence of his wife over Queen Anne, was the dominant figure in English politics.

Despite the Whig predominance, the Tory Harley was given a post as a lesser secretary of state in 1704 and then assigned in 1706 to the commission negotiating the union with Scotland, which produced "Great Britain" in 1707. However, when the queen began drifting towards partiality to the Tories, the blame was put on the influence of her new favorite, Abigail Hill (later Mrs. Masham), who happened to be a relative of Harley's. Marlborough began working for his dismissal, which was duly forced on the Queen in 1708 after a clerk in his office was found to have made copies of confidential political documents for the Tories.

Harley's dismissal proved providential, for the tide was turning against Marlborough and his bloody war. In the election of 1710 the Tories, stressing the terrible English losses at the Battle of Malplaquet, won a clear majority and produced the first occasion of a peaceful transfer of power by a change of ministry in the wake of an election, which was to become the heart of the parliamentary-cabinet system of government. Parallel to the change in Parliament went a change in Queen Anne's boudoir and Abigail, now Mrs. Masham, replaced Sarah, still Duchess of Marlborough. And her cousin, Robert Harley, became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the new cabinet.

In 1711 Marlborough was dismissed as commander-in-chief, a shock to the public similar to the shock to the American public some centuries later when General MacArthur was dismissed. English forces were pulled out, and in the ensuing peace negotiations, the English diplomats were hardly in any position to make any demands. Harley was among those blamed for this English humiliation, after all England's sacrifices in the war, and his

popularity began to decline despite the public relations work of Swift and Defoe.

Harley's career was again advanced by a piece of luck, though of a rather grim sort. He was stabbed in the chest with a pen-knife by a French refugee being examined by the privy council on charges of espionage and subversion. As Harley hovered between life and death, the queen, both Houses and much of London gave expression to their anxiety. Shortly after his recovery, he was created Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, and the following year a Knight of the Garter. It was said that Harley, or Oxford as he now was, had "grown by persecutions, turnings out and stabbings."

Oxford soon became the dominant figure in the government, the virtual prime minister, his leadership being contested only by the ambitious Bolingbroke. Oxford continued the secret negotiations for peace, and when the Whig majority in the Lords opposed the proposed terms, Oxford had Queen Anne create twelve new peers. The far from glorious Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713 and cost Oxford much of his popularity. He also suffered from the results of trying to please all the rival factions and making irreconcilable promises. When Bolingbroke won over Mrs. Masham, Oxford's days were numbered, and in 1714 he was dismissed by Queen Anne, just five days before her death.

None of Queen Anne's seventeen children having survived, the throne now went to the House of Hanover, descended from that daughter of James I (q.v.) who had married Frederick of the Palatinate, whose election as king of Bohemia had started the Thirty Years War. The Whigs had thrown in their lot with the new dynasty in advance and the Tories, anticipating their total fall from power, had begun negotiations with the Stuart pretender. When the Hanoverian George I had been securely established on the throne, a strong reaction against the treasonable Tory activities followed. Impeachment proceedings were started against Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond, Marlborough's successor as commander-in-chief. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled the country, but Oxford, who had merely remained on his estate, was arrested and thrown into the Tower in July, 1715.

In the impeachment proceedings that began in 1716, Oxford

was accused of improper conduct in the peace negotiations and treasonable dealings with the Jacobites. The evidence, however, being insufficient, he was acquitted and freed in 1717.

Taking little part in public affairs for his remaining years, Oxford devoted himself to his famed collection of books and manuscripts which was carried on by his son and eventually became the Harleian collection in the British Museum.

In addition to being the subject of the literary praises of Defoe and Swift for his statesmanship and character, Oxford was also the target for literary comment of a much less flattering nature from the poisoned pen of Alexander Pope (q.v.).

Oxford's only son had an only daughter who married the son of William III's favorite, Bentinck, Duke of Portland (q.v.).

Reference: Hirschfeld, 664.



ALEXANDER POPE (1688-1744)

English poet.

He was born in London, the son of a wealthy Catholic linen draper. Around 1700 Pope's father retired and settled on an estate near Windsor Forest. Unable to get into any of the great public schools because of his religion, and probably equally because of being a deformed cripple, young Pope had to receive his education from tutors and by his own prodigious efforts. Determined to attain fame by his literary efforts, he did an immense amount of reading in many languages, having mastered Greek, Latin, Italian and French by the age of 12.

Influential persons in other Catholic families were anxious to do all they could for the young prodigy, and by the age of 17 he was admitted into the fashionable society of Queen Anne's London as a friend of such luminaries as Congreve, Wycherley and Addison. The period was one of constant and bitter political intrigue accompanying the sudden turns in the bloody War of the Spanish Succession and the uncertainties of the English succession after Queen Anne's death, and in the literary world, writers were as embroiled in the "dog eat dog" attitude as the politicians. Pope was to be especially typical.

In 1711 there appeared Pope's first important work, the anonymous *Essay on Criticism*, a poem outlining the critical tastes and standards of his time. Shortly thereafter, he brought

out *The Rape of the Lock*, a delicate and ingenious satire based on an incident in contemporary high society, better known in its revised version of 1714. In the poem *Windsor Forest*, Pope revealed his Tory sympathies, thereby losing the friendship of Addison, to whose *Spectator* he had contributed, and Addison's group. However, Pope gained thereby the friendship of Jonathan Swift, who was of great assistance in getting Pope subscriptions for his translation of Homer's *Iliad*, of which the first volume appeared in 1715 and the last in 1720. Although a far from accurate translation, it proved a great literary and financial success. Subsequently, Pope collaborated on a translation of the *Odyssey*, published 1725-27. Meanwhile he had also published a collection of his own poetry in 1717, including the popular *Eloisa to Abelard*.

By now prosperous, and continuing to flourish under the new Hanoverian dynasty, Pope moved in 1718 to a famed estate he had acquired at Twickenham and there edited a Shakespeare edition (1725). The editor's poor scholarship was revealed to the world, point by point, in 1726 by the poet-critic Lewis Theobald, in *Shakespeare Restored*. Not one to take such a slap lying down, Pope replied with *The Dunciad*, a scathing satire on pedants and literary hacks, with Theobald as its hero. The market for this sort of thing was then considerable, and it went through numerous editions with many changes until in its final version of 1743, even the hero was changed from Theobald to Colley Cibber. This work started Pope on the third period of his fame, as a moralist and satirist.

Between 1732 and 1734, Pope composed one of his best-known works, the *Essay on Man*, a poetical summary of current philosophical speculation, striving to put religion on a rational basis. The *Essay on Man* was intended as a part of a systematic larger work, but Pope never got any further except for some pieces of the other intended parts, notably *Moral Essays* (1731-35), which were epistles in verse heavy in political backbiting. Pope's last significant works were his *Imitations of Horace*, ethical satires written between 1733 and 1738, including in the prologue the celebrated "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot," a bill of complaint against the vulgarity and dullness of the times.

In his final years, Pope was among London's leading literary

lions, moving from one great social gathering to another, hostesses competing for his presence.

Pope's most important poetry was written in the heroic couplet, in the proficiency of which only Dryden rivalled him. Byron (q.v.) was a great admirer of Pope's and imitated him in his early days.

Pope was not married, and by his will the income from his property was to go, until her death, to Martha Blount, his platonic "great love," who played for him apparently a role much like that of Vittoria Colonna for Michelangelo (q.v.).

Reference: Mayne, 356.



GUILLAUME, CARDINAL DUBOIS (1656-1723)

French statesman.

He was born at Brive, the son of a rural doctor and druggist. Educated at the local school of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, Dubois received the tonsure at 13. In 1672 he received a scholarship to the Collège de Saint Michel in Paris, whose head, from the same province, befriended him and after his graduation found him a position as a tutor.

It was Dubois' great good luck, to which he owed his career, that the job secured him was as tutor to the Duke of Chartres, the son of the homosexual Philip of Orleans (q.v.), Louis XIV's brother, and of his letter-writing, homosexual-spotting German wife. Astute and ambitious, Dubois did everything possible to ingratiate himself with his pupil, for besides giving him capable tutoring, Dubois acted as a sort of pimp for the young duke who, unlike his father, might be called a notorious heterosexual. When he persuaded the young duke to marry Mlle. de Blois, the illegitimate but adopted daughter of Louis XIV, he earned also the king's esteem.

New prospects opened up for Dubois as his pupil came of age. He was present with his pupil at the Battle of Steenkirk (1692) and impressed all by his coolness under fire. During the short peace that began in 1697, Dubois accompanied the French ambassador to England, but the ambassador became so alarmed by Dubois' talent for intrigue that he had him recalled.

For the next few years, Dubois occupied various minor diplomatic, or clerical posts, before becoming secretary to his former pupil, who in 1701 succeeded his father as Duke of Orleans.

In 1715, when the aged Louis XIV finally died and was succeeded by his infant great-grandson as Louis XV, Dubois' former pupil, the Duke of Orleans, became Regent of France. The regent's trusted secretary became councillor of state, and thanks to the regent's interests being centered principally on the pleasures of life, Dubois soon had most of the powers of state in his hands. He made his policy the maintenance of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which had ended the bloody and costly War of the Spanish Succession, sometimes called Europe's first world war. His principal opponent was to be Cardinal Alberoni (q.v.) of Spain. To counter Alberoni's intrigues to get Sardinia and Sicily restored to Spain, Dubois formed a new alliance which included France's former enemies, Holland, Austria and England, and thereby proved how absurd had been the basic premise that had caused the late war, that if a Bourbon prince was on the Spanish throne, the policies of France and Spain would become as one.

In 1719 Dubois sent an army into Spain and forced the dismissal of Alberoni and the surrender of the recently seized Sardinia and Sicily.

After the collapse in France of the wild speculation schemes of John Law involving Mississippi and Louisiana, Dubois did a creditable job of cleaning up France's financial mess. These successes strengthened him in his inevitable struggle with the courtiers, who despised the lowborn upstart. Feeling that he would be most secure with church honors, Dubois got the regent to obtain for him the archbishopric of Cambrai, the richest in France. Then, after sending a substantial portion of his newly acquired wealth to Rome, Archbishop Dubois obtained from Pope Innocent XIII in 1721 his cardinal's hat. The cost of becoming Cardinal Dubois was said to have been eight million francs.

In 1722 Cardinal Dubois was officially named prime minister of France and also became president of the Assembly of the French clergy. He was also received at the French Academy.

Even after Louis XV attained his majority in 1723, at the ripe old age of 13, the services of Dubois were retained. However,

later in the year he required surgery, said to be connected with his debaucheries, and he died as a result of the operation.

Dubois' former mistress, mistress in the employment sense, the Duchess of Orleans, referred in one of her letters to Dubois' homosexual relations with a page in his service.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 661.



GIULIO, CARDINAL ALBERONI (1664-1752)

Italian Spanish statesman.

He was born near Piacenza, the son of a gardener. As a young verger in the Cathedral of Piacenza, Alberoni caught the eye of Bishop Barni, who became his good friend and patron. The bishop had Alberoni take priest's orders and after Barni's death, he accompanied the bishop's son, also a very intimate friend, to Rome.

The foundations for his spectacular career were laid when in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession he rendered some valuable services to the French commander in Italy, the duke of Vendôme (q.v.). No longer to be an obscure Roman priest in his thirties, Alberoni accompanied Vendôme in 1706 to Paris and was well received by Louis XIV. In 1711 Alberoni accompanied Vendôme to Spain as his secretary, and saw his patron win those victories that assured the successful establishment of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain.

After Vendôme's death in 1712, Alberoni secured an appointment as the Duke of Parma's ambassador to the new Bourbon king, Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV. He also received the title of count. His chief assignment was to arrange for the widower Philip V to marry the Duke of Parma's niece, Elizabeth Farnese. Alberoni accomplished this successfully by winning over the king's powerful mistress, Princess des Ursins.

The marriage took place in 1714, and Spain's new queen proved a handsome, energetic and ambitious woman, intent on securing Italian thrones for the children she bore Philip, since Spain seemed assured to the children of his first marriage. (As it turned out, they died out in 1759, and a son of hers got Spain, too.) Alberoni being her proven friend, Elizabeth used her

influence to assure his rapid rise: a member of the king's council, bishop of Malaga, and, by 1715, prime minister. Two years later, the pope obligingly made Alberoni a cardinal.

Cardinal Alberoni proved a vigorous and energetic statesman. Internally, he sought Spain's economic revival by reorganizing her finances, abolishing internal customs and expanding trade with the Indies. It was his foreign policy, aimed at the return of the Spanish possessions lost by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), that proved his undoing. When the Spanish in 1717 seized the recently lost Sardinia from Austria and in 1718 seized Sicily from Savoy, the recently hostile powers of England, France, Holland and Austria formed an alliance directed against Spain. A British fleet landed an Austrian army in Sicily while a French army invaded northern Spain, thus incidentally proving the basic fallacy that caused the bloody War of the Spanish Succession, that a Bourbon king on the Spanish throne would forever preclude divergent policies between the two nations.

Spain was forced to bow to this pressure, and by the Treaty of The Hague (1720), Sardinia was surrendered, not back to Austria but to Savoy (whose ruler now became king of Sardinia), in exchange for which Sicily went to Austria (though after another war it went in 1738 to Elizabeth's oldest son). As consolation for the Spanish, the soon-to-be-vacant throne of Parma and Piacenza was promised by the powers to Elizabeth's son, with the possibility of an additional throne, that of Tuscany, to follow after the death of its dissipated homosexual Grand Duke Gian Gastone (q.v.).

Alberoni, made the scapegoat for the disastrous Spanish foreign policy, was abandoned by Elizabeth, who took an active part in procuring his banishment late in 1719. He returned to Italy, where he tried to go into hiding to escape persecution by his long-time enemy, Pope Clement XI. He was arrested and questioned by a papal court in connection with his licentious private life. The death of Clement in 1721 apparently signalled the end of Alberoni's papal troubles and he boldly took part in the conclave that elected Innocent XIII. However, the new pope was obliged by strong pressures from Spain to imprison Alberoni, who knew too much. Eventually other pressures, probably from France, secured his release. After the death of Pope Innocent, Alberoni

himself was a candidate and secured ten votes in the conclave that elected Benedict XIII in 1724.

Pope Benedict named Alberoni legate of Ravenna, where his tendency to act forcefully in any post led him to adopt strong measures to bring the venerable Republic of San Marino into subjection. Displeased by the ill will engendered thereby, Benedict removed Alberoni in 1730 and made him administrator of the San Lazzaro hospital at Piacenza, a mediaeval foundation for the benefit of lepers. There being few lepers in Italy, the hospital had been allowed to fall into ruin. Alberoni obtained papal consent for his plan to rebuild the hospital as a school for the education of poor boys for the priesthood. Upon Alberoni's death in 1752, his institute, which still bears the name of Collegio Alberoni, received 600,000 ducats out of the vast fortune he had acquired in Spain. The balance went to a favorite nephew.

Alberoni's homosexuality was referred to, like that of so many other notables, by the letter-writing German wife of Philip of Orleans (q.v.).

Reference: Hirschfeld, 658.



COUNT CLAUDE DE BONNEVAL (1675-1747)

French Austrian and French Turkish general and adventurer.

Born to an old noble family of Limousin, Bonneval joined the Royal Marine Corps in 1688 at the age of 13. Three years later, the 16-year-old Bonneval joined the French army, in which he rose to the command of a regiment. He served with distinction under Catinat, Villeroi, and Vendôme (q.v.) in the Italian campaigns of the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97) and in the early years of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13). During the course of the latter war, Bonneval was transferred to the northern front, where he served under Luxembourg (q.v.). Although he displayed great courage and military skill, he became embroiled in a bitter feud with the French minister of war and behaved with such insolence that he was arrested and court-martialed. After being condemned to death, he saved his life by flight.

Reaching the Austrian lines, Bonneval ingratiated himself with

Prince Eugene of Savoy (q.v.), who procured for him a general's command in the Austrian army. Under Eugene he fought with great distinction and bravery against his abandoned native country, notably at the bloody battle of Malplaquet (1709), and later against the Turks, notably at Peterwardein (1716), where he was seriously wounded.

After receiving assurances of an amnesty, Bonneval visited Paris during his recuperation and married a daughter of Marshal Biron. He returned to Eugene in time to join him for the epic siege and capture of Belgrade (1717), and might have attained through Eugene the highest honors had he not begun to make himself disagreeable to his benefactor. To get rid of him, Eugene made him master of the ordnance in what was now the Austrian Netherlands, of which Eugene was nominally governor-general. In the Netherlands (Belgium), Bonneval's insolence and bad temper led him to quarrel with Eugene's deputy, whom he challenged to a duel. For an answer, Bonneval was arrested, imprisoned, court-martialed and sentenced to death. The Emperor commuted the sentence, in view of past services, to one year's imprisonment and banishment.

After serving his sentence, Bonneval decided to abandon all the ungrateful Christian princes, and made his way to the Balkans where he offered his services to the Turks. Professing the Mohammedan faith, Bonneval became Ahmed Pasha and was appointed to reorganize and command the Turkish artillery. Having rendered valuable services to the sultan in his war against Nadir Shah of Persia (1730) and against the Russians (1737), he was made governor of the strategic island of Chios. At Chios he fell under some suspicion for his apparent intrigues, and in consequence was banished to the shores of the Black Sea. Bonneval-Ahmed was contemplating a return to Europe and Christianity when he died at Constantinople, after leaving behind interesting memoirs subsequently published in his name.

Bonneval's homosexuality was implied in his memoirs and was openly referred to in the memoirs of Vandal, a French ambassador, published in 1887.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 659.

GIAN GASTONE (1671-1737)

Grand Duke of Tuscany (1723-37).

He was the son of Grand Duke Cosimo III by his wife, Marguerite Louise of Orleans, the daughter of Gaston of Orleans (q.v.). After bearing Gian Gastone, her third child, Louise's hatred for her vain and bigoted husband increased so greatly that she tried to obtain a divorce, failing which she retired to France. Cosimo taxed his subjects ferociously, spending the money on luxuries for his palace and for pet Church projects. Under his misrule, crime and poverty increased, and the once flourishing Medici realm, the Athens of the Renaissance, fell into total decay. Meanwhile, to the despair of his subjects, Cosimo lived on into his eightieth year.

Cosimo's elder son and original heir, Ferdinand, having died childless in 1713, it was soon evident that the younger son, Gian Gastone, would be the last of the Medicis. Aside from having an unbearable wife, a coarse and hulking German princess, Gian Gastone was an extremely active homosexual. The future status of Tuscany became a major subject of discussion among the powers even before the death of Cosimo, whose plan to revive the republic they refused to permit. By a treaty of 1718, Tuscany was to go, after Gian Gastone's death, to a younger son of Philip V of Spain by his second wife, Elizabeth of Parma, for whom Alberoni (q.v.) had worked so assiduously.

In 1723 Cosimo finally died and Gian Gastone became grand duke at 53. Although somewhat the worse for a life of dissipation, he proved a pleasant surprise for his subjects. Although he staged ambitious homosexual orgies, and surrounded himself with young men for his pleasures, he kept the costs of his vices within reasonable bounds. He lightened the tax burdens of his subjects, dismissed the spies employed by his bigoted father and took many measures to restore a free and gay atmosphere to Tuscany. As a result, even though his subjects whispered with good-natured shrugs about his orgies, he came to enjoy a "beloved father of his people" status and revived the attachment of the Tuscans to their near-extinct Medici dynasty.

Meanwhile, the negotiations for the disposition of his realm continued. Shortly after Gian Gastone became reconciled to the Spanish Bourbon succession and the admission of a Spanish

garrison, all these arrangements were ended. In 1735, in connection with a general exchange of territories following the War of the Polish Succession, Tuscany was assigned to Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa of Austria, with his lost Lorraine going in compensation to the loser in Poland, Stanislaus Leszczynski, who happened to be the father-in-law of Louis XV, whose armies had driven Francis out of Lorraine. Austrian soldiers entered Florence and in February, 1737, swore fealty to Gian Gastone. A few months later, he died. When Francis, having lost Lorraine and gained Tuscany, went on to be elected emperor in 1745, Tuscany passed to his Hapsburg descendants, under whom it remained a well-ruled and flourishing land until 1860 (except for French occupation during the Revolution).

Gian Gastone's indispensable aide, sexually and politically, was a former stable-boy of great beauty, Giuliano Dami, who had early established himself as Gian Gastone's great love. As he grew older, he became his master's procurer of handsome young men, from all nations, for the pleasure of his master, himself, and when the master wished only to watch, for each other. A highly detailed account of the orgies, including the names of over 300 of the male whores, is included in a biography of Gian Gastone, apparently authored by Dami. The grand duke's reliance on him became so great that in his later years he entrusted Dami with many of the cares of government. This allowed Dami to sell offices and privileges to the highest bidder, thus obtaining ample funds for the palace pleasures without any need for renewing those vexing taxes of the previous reign.

Dami's account of Gian Gastone's reign was published in 1886 in a Florentine history series. An English translation, published in Florence in 1930 as *The Last of the Medici*, was prosecuted in the courts. The publisher having been the same who had previously done *Lady Chatterly's Lover*, the prosecution was viewed as belated retribution for the earlier work, and it was not successful.

Reference: Acton.



COUNT NIKOLAUS VON ZINZENDORF (1700-1760)

German religious and social reformer.

Born in Dresden of a noble family, Zinzendorf lost his father

when he was six weeks old, and after his mother's remarriage, he was educated at Halle by his pious grandmother, a fervent practitioner of the Pietist creed. In 1716 Zinzendorf entered the University of Wittenberg, intending to study law and become a diplomat. In 1719 he set out on a tour of Germany, France and Holland, but instead of making the acquaintance of men of affairs, as he was expected to, Zinzendorf tended to meet everywhere with religious-minded men.

Giving up his plans for a diplomatic career, Zinzendorf settled down on a family estate and married a suitable local girl, intending to become a model Christian landowner. Soon, however, he became involved with various local pastors in a sort of crusade for the revival of religious fervor which was carried on by preaching, by printing and by distributing tracts, hymnals and cheap Bibles. Zinzendorf came to believe that local church groups, without state support, offered the best avenue to true Christianity.

When refugees from the Hapsburg persecution of the extreme Protestant sects of Moravia appeared, Zinzendorf provided a haven for them, creating for them their own community at Herrnhut. Aiming to be merely a peacemaker and conciliator among the hate-filled rivals, Zinzendorf gradually persuaded all the factions in 1727 to accept a common order of worship and a common organization, based on the family. And thus Zinzendorf became the founder of a new religious sect, the Moravian Brethren, who, filled with missionary enterprise, rapidly spread through Germany to Denmark, to England, even to Russia, Greenland, America and India. Converts were to include American Indians, Negroes in West Africa, Negro slaves in South America, and natives of Travancore in India.

Zinzendorf spent many of his later years visiting the outposts of the Moravian Brethren. In 1741-42 he was in America and in 1750 in London. In 1750 he went bankrupt, having carelessly expended all his family holdings in support of the missionary work. Thereafter he had to accept control by business-minded men over the Brethren's headquarters at Herrnhut.

His final years were marked by further misfortunes, such as the loss of his wife and son, but with his great faith in the value of his work, he endured his misfortunes with a fortitude that greatly impressed his contemporaries. Despite his frequent cita-

tion as a homosexual (he is even the subject of Freud's eighth study of famous persons) it may be that this Zinzendorf has been confused with a homosexual Austrian ambassador to France, also named Count von Zinzendorf, referred to in the Duchess of Orleans' letter of December 23, 1701.

Reference: Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 673; Mayne, 238.



JOHN, LORD HERVEY (1696-1743)

English statesman and writer.

Known as Lord Hervey of Ickworth, he was the eldest of ten sons (and six daughters) of the Earl of Bristol by his second wife. After being educated at Westminster School, Hervey entered Clare Hall, Cambridge. He received his M.A. in 1715, and the following year was sent by his father to Paris and then on to Hanover, where England's new king, George I, continued to spend much of his time. Back in England, Hervey cultivated George I's son, the Prince of Wales, at his Richmond court, and in 1720 married Mary Lepell, a lady-in-waiting to the Princess of Wales.

In 1725 Hervey entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Bury St. Edmonds, and soon after he became embroiled in the highly personalized politics of eighteenth-century England as both a writer and subject of nasty pamphlets. He became an enemy of Frederick, Prince of Wales, the son of his friend who had been George II since 1727, and also of Frederick's ally, the Earl of Bath. At the same time, he became a firm adherent of Sir Robert Walpole, whose tenure from 1721 to 1742 is generally considered that of England's first true prime minister.

Hervey was assumed to be the author of the pamphlet *Sedition and Defamation display'd with a Dedication to the patrons of The Craftsman* (1731), to which Pulteney, the obvious target of the pamphlet, replied with *A Proper Reply to a late Scurrilous Libel*, and eventually challenged Hervey to a duel, from which Hervey barely escaped with his life. Somewhat chastened in his efforts to serve Walpole by pamphlets, Hervey undertook to do so by continuing his influence over the king and queen, being a vice-chamberlain of the royal household and a member of the privy council.

In 1733 Hervey, who had taken the mere courtesy title of

Lord Hervey on the death of his older half-brother in 1723, was obliged by legal procedures to give up his Commons status and take his seat in the House of Lords, where he found his political power much reduced. In 1740, however, he managed to get appointed Lord Privy Seal. Two years later he was out of office with the fall of Walpole, and the following year he died.

Hervey left very detailed and brutally frank *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, in which the king and the Prince of Wales came off very badly, all the Hanoverian family squabbles being carefully recorded. The memoirs were only published in 1848, and then with some deletions. They have proven especially valuable for corroborating those of Horace Walpole (q.v.).

Hervey's pamphlet war with Pulteney, later Earl of Bath, was overshadowed by his feud with Pope (q.v.), supposedly jealous of Hervey's friendship with Pope's powerful friend, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Pope savagely satirized Hervey as Lord Fanny, Sporus, Adonis and Narcissus in various works, most notably in his *Imitations of Horace*, where Hervey appeared as Lord Fanny, in *Letter to a Noble Lord* (1733), and in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (1735), in which Hervey appeared as Sporus, originally the name of the boy-eunuch bride of Nero (q.v.). Pope referred to Hervey as "familiar toad, half froth, half venom." Meanwhile, Hervey had retaliated in kind by his part in *Verses to the Imitator of Horace* (1732) and *Letter from a Nobleman at Hampton Court to a Doctor of Divinity* (1733), in which Pope's humble birth and monstrous deformity were scoffed at.

Hervey was outlived by his father, and the earldom of Bristol passed on to three of his sons in succession. His wife, a Stuart partisan and one of the century's great ladies, was the recipient of English verses by Voltaire.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 664.



BARON THEODOR VON NEUHOF (1686-1756)

"Theodore I of Corsica" (1736-43).

He was born at Metz, the son of a Westphalian nobleman, and educated at the court of Louis XIV. After some service with France, Neuhof switched to the Swedish army. His talent for intrigue came to the attention of Goertz, the Swedish prime minister, who employed Neuhof on diplomatic assignments, first

in England and then in Spain to negotiate with Cardinal Alberoni (q.v.), the Italian who had become Spain's prime minister. Unsuccessful in his Spanish mission, he returned to Sweden and was dismissed. Going back to Spain, Neuhof received a colonel's commission and married a lady-in-waiting to the queen, the ambitious Elizabeth of Parma.

Shortly after his marriage, Neuhof deserted his wife and went to France, where he became mixed up in the financial skulduggery of John Law, involving speculation in Mississippi and Louisiana, which culminated in a shattering of the financial structure and of almost the entire economy of France in 1720. Thereafter Neuhof wandered adventurously in Holland, Portugal and Italy.

In Genoa Neuhof persuaded patriotic Corsican exiles that he could free the island from Genoese tyranny if they made him king. With their help, and that of the Bey of Tunis, Neuhof landed in Corsica in May, 1736. The Corsicans, believing his statement that he had the support of the great powers, proclaimed him King of Corsica.

As King Theodore I of Corsica, Neuhof issued edicts, instituted an order of knighthood, and waged war on the Genoese, at first with some success. By the end of 1736 the Genoese had put a price on his head and publicized his spurious background. Outraged at having been made fools of, Neuhof's Corsican subjects revolted. Neuhof fled to the continent, ostensibly to seek foreign assistance. Among his warmest supporters was Rousseau.

While trying to raise money in Amsterdam, Neuhof was arrested for debt and imprisoned. After his release, he sent his nephew with arms to Corsica, and himself returned for short stays in 1738, 1739 and 1743. By this time the French had given assistance to the Genoese in driving out Neuhof's partisans, and his supporters dwindled. Neuhof gave up the struggle in 1743, willing to consider himself a dethroned king. The French, however, continued their close interest in Corsica, culminating in their annexing it in 1768, just in time for their new Charlemagne, Napoleon Bonaparte (q.v.), to be born a French citizen the following year.

Resuming his wanderings around Europe, Neuhof came to London in 1749 and was again arrested for debt. Regaining his

freedom by mortgaging his "kingdom" of Corsica, he subsisted on the charity of Horace Walpole (q.v.) and some other friends until his death in 1756.

His only son, Frederick, the product of his brief Spanish marriage, wrote an account of his father's life, published in 1768. Neuhof had previously been a character in a book, appearing grotesquely caricaturized in Voltaire's *Candide* (1759).

Reference: Hirschfeld, 668.



LUDWIG ANDREAS KHEVENHÜLLER (1683-1744)

Austrian general.

Born of a noble Carinthian family, he first saw active service under Prince Eugene (q.v.) in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13), and by 1716 he had risen to the command of Prince Eugene's own regiment of dragoons. Khevenhüller distinguished himself greatly at the battles of Peterwardein (1716) and Belgrade (1717) against the Turks. In 1723 he became major-general in command of cavalry and by 1733 had attained the rank of lieutenant field marshal.

In 1734, during the brief War of the Polish Succession, Khevenhüller took over the temporary chief command of the Austrian army in Italy after its commander, Count Mercy, was killed at the Battle of Parma. Subsequently, as second-in-command to the new theater commander, he distinguished himself at the Battle of Guastalla, and in subsequent operations he was given important military and diplomatic assignments in Italy till the close of the war in 1735.

In 1737, on the recommendation of the aged Prince Eugene, Khevenhüller was made field marshal and supreme commander. In the war against the Turks, which began shortly after his promotion, he cut his way through a greatly superior Turkish army at Radojevatz.

Khevenhüller's principal fame was attained during the War of the Austrian Succession when, as commander-in-chief on the Danube, he not only drove the French and Bavarian invaders out of Austria in 1742, after a few days' fighting, but overran southern Bavaria, captured Munich and forced a large French corps to surrender at Linz. Subsequently, due to inadequate support, he had to evacuate the area, but later he reconquered it. He was ordered,

against his own advice, to cross the Rhine. Being obliged to fall back, he conducted his retreat with as much skill as he had displayed on the offensive.

On Khevenhüller's return to Vienna, the new Hapsburg ruler, Maria Theresa, whose throne he had saved, decorated him with the highest Hapsburg decoration, the Order of the Golden Fleece, usually reserved for royalty. He died shortly afterwards.

Reference: Mayne, 238.



SAMUEL FOOTE (1720-1777)

English actor, dramatist and wit.

Born at Truro in Cornwall of prosperous gentry, Foote was educated at Worcester Collegiate School and at Worcester College, Oxford. At Oxford he became famous for mimicries and pranks of various sorts, and though he left without securing a degree, he acquired sufficient classical training to introduce classical quotations and allusions into his subsequent famous repartee.

Foote next set himself to studying law, but in his chambers at the Temple, and at the nearby Grecian Coffee-house, he was soon concentrating mainly on mocking the legal jargon, imitating the mannerisms of lawyers and satirizing the entire profession. Suddenly affluent thanks to an inheritance from a murdered uncle, Foote gave up serious study and began frequenting the Bedford Coffee-house that was the principal hangout of the theatrical world. After he had run through the fortune inherited from his uncle, and another inherited from his father, Foote went through some months of poverty before emerging as a professional actor in 1744.

He proved a flop at first in his efforts to rival Garrick in serious parts. When he applied himself to refined comedy roles, he was well received, however, and in the winter of 1745-46 he enrolled in the Drury Lane company. His efforts to win recognition as even a comedy actor proving unsatisfactory under the auspices of others, Foote engaged his own small company of actors, determined to find a proper outlet for his talents for mimicry.

In 1747 Foote presented in the Haymarket Theater what he called "Diversions of the Morning," in which he did imitations of and satirical comments on other actors and well-known persons, followed by satirical dialogues by members of his company about

his imitations. Those lampooned at first tried to get the law to prevent further performance, but eventually they gave up in the face of Foote's ingenious dodges. He became a great hit and was dubbed by an enthusiast the English Aristophanes.

Foote took his company on tour and expanded their repertoire to include his own farcical comedies, notably *The Knights* (1749), *The Minor* (1760), *The Orators* (1762) and *The Maid of Bath* (1771). He occasionally played female roles himself. In the course of a bawdy drinking session, Foote was challenged by a party including the Duke of York to try his horsemanship and then was deliberately put on a dangerous horse as a prank. He was thrown and broke his leg so badly it had to be amputated. By way of reparation, the Duke of York secured for Foote a lifetime license in 1766 for his theater in the Haymarket. He turned his limp with his wooden leg to good account with two more works, of course written for himself as usual in the starring role, called *The Lane Lover* and *The Devil on Two Sticks*. Among his warmest fans was Samuel Johnson.

Foote continued his merciless exposure to public ridicule of pedants, medical quacks, religious nuts and antiquarians. In 1775, however, he went too far when he proposed to bring on the stage in the character of Lady Kitty Crocodile in *The Trip to Calais* the notorious Duchess of Kingston, whose trial for bigamy was pending. The duchess, no woman to be trifled with, prevailed upon the Lord Chamberlain to prohibit the performance and had agents circulate material vilifying Foote's character. After he made his peace with her, Foote brought upon himself more trouble by lampooning the duchess' chief agent, known as Reverend Doctor Jackson, in the character of Viper in a slightly rewritten version of *The Trip to Calais*, now called *The Capuchin*, and actually performed in 1776.

Foote's enemies now responded energetically. They had a discharged servant swear out a warrant against Foote in 1777 affirming homosexual assault on the young man. Although Foote was ultimately cleared because of insufficient evidence, he concluded that many of his former supporters had lost faith in him and decided to retire and take a trip to France. However, he fell sick at Dover, where he died. He was buried at Westminster Abbey.

Lord Mansfield, in acquitting Foote at his trial, could not resist the pun that "it was the most infamous conspiracy that was ever set on foot." However, shortly after Foote's acquittal, there appeared a work of thirty-odd pages, in couplets, entitled *Sodom and Onan. A Satire Inscribed to [engraving of Foote] Esqr. alias The Devil on Two Sticks*. It emphasized the well-grounded belief in Foote's guilt, anger at Mansfield's acquittal, supposedly dictated by powerful influences, and bemoaned the advances of the sodomites in contemporary England. The dedication was signed Humphrey Nettle; the author was believed to be one Kenrick.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 662.



FREDERICK II (THE GREAT) (1712-1786)

King of Prussia (1740-86).

He was the grandson of Elector Frederick III who, in 1701, with the approval of the emperor (anxious for his support in the War of the Spanish Succession), styled himself "King of Prussia" and became Frederick I. The latter's son and successor, Frederick William I, was an iron-willed ruler who laid the foundations of Prussia's future power by wise economic and military severity, creating a standing army of 83,000 out of a population of two and a half million. Ties of the dynasty with the new Hanoverian dynasty of England had been made very close, a sister of George I having married Frederick I, and their son, Frederick William I, having married George I's daughter.

For Frederick William's son, the future Frederick the Great, a harsh and extremely rigorous education was devised, his father's aim being to make him a hardy soldier. Everything not contributing to this end was excluded from the schedule. Young Frederick, however, encouraged by his English mother and his devoted sister Wilhelmina, rebelled against the official schedule and devoted himself more and more to French, literature and music. Through his mother's influence he acquired a French governess and a French tutor.

As Frederick grew into adolescence, he made a very effeminate impression, and seemed to be absorbed in frivolous and effeminate diversions and in passionate friendships with young men, notably a handsome lieutenant named Katte. Frederick William

I, outraged by his son's behavior, conceived an intense dislike for him, much like that of Peter the Great (q.v.) for Alexis. This dislike took the odd turn that the king broke off his son's projected marriage to a daughter of George II of England (part of a double marriage, with Frederick's beloved sister Wilhelmina to marry the Prince of Wales), merely because he found that Frederick was enthusiastic about it and was already writing to the English court that he would marry no one but this Princess Amelia. The dislike now turned into outright mutual hatred, in which the king publicly insulted and abused his son. Frederick, like Alexis some ten years earlier, resolved on flight from his father.

In 1730, the flight was finally attempted by the 18-year-old Frederick during a visit to south Germany with his father. With the help of Frederick's beloved Lieutenant Katte, preparations were made to flee to England. The plot was betrayed by Katte's indiscretion and both Frederick and Katte were placed under arrest. Frederick was deprived of his rank as Prussian crown prince, court-martialed and imprisoned in the fortress of Cüstrin. As a final blow against his son, the King changed Katte's sentence of two years' imprisonment to the death sentence and then forced Frederick to witness his beloved's beheading from his window.

His spirit completely broken by the turn of events, Frederick agreed to reform himself and to be amenable to his father's wishes. The delighted king put Frederick on a period of probation. For fifteen months he was put to work on administrative reports dealing with war, agriculture and government. After proving his diligence, Frederick was released on parole, given a regimental command and in 1733 married to the daughter of a minor German duke. Although satisfied with his son's new conduct, the King still regarded Frederick with a personal distaste as an effeminate esthete, and fearing that personal contact would lead to new quarrels, he gave Frederick his own estate.

Here Frederick remained for the next seven years, the happiest of his life, working conscientiously on government work assigned him, but also finding time to study poetry, philosophy and history, and to carry on a lively correspondence with Voltaire and other French men of letters. Frederick also wrote two works, one a political one in which he advocated the development of Prussia

as a third force between the dominant powers of France and Austria, and the other, called *Anti-Machiavelli* (published by Voltaire in 1740), an idealistic refutation of Machiavelli (q.v.), in which he wrote of the duties of sovereigns and included the famous sentence, "The prince is not the absolute master, but only the first servant of his people."

In May, 1740, his father died and Frederick succeeded to the Prussian throne. Although he maintained all his father's basic patterns of government, Frederick instituted many of the reforms characteristic of an eighteenth-century "enlightened despot," such as complete religious toleration, the abolition of torture and procedures for appeals on all grievances. When it came to foreign affairs, however, Frederick at once proved himself a worthy heir of Hohenzollern expansionism.

Some years previously the Emperor Charles VI, having only his daughter Maria Theresa to succeed him, had had his envoys at the courts of Europe negotiate for acceptance of the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, involving acceptance of the indivisibility of the Austrian empire and of its inheritance by a female. Although Frederick's father had conditionally indicated acceptance, Frederick claimed that the conditions had not been met, and when Maria Theresa acceded to her throne in October, 1740, a few months after his own accession, Frederick demanded Silesia as the price of his support.

Maria Theresa haughtily refused Frederick's demand, so Frederick led his crack army into Silesia. After an initial defeat, Frederick won a number of victories. In 1742 Maria Theresa, confronted by wars also with France and Bavaria, whose ruler had been elected emperor, made peace with Frederick at the cost of Silesia. By 1744, however, the Austrians, thanks to the brilliant generalship of Khevenhüller (q.v.) and the successes of their English allies, were in so favorable a position that Frederick came back into the war, reasonably enough feeling certain he would be attacked by the triumphant Austrians. Frederick's re-entry into the War of the Austrian Succession, followed by his usual string of victories, reversed the tide. By the peace settlement of 1748 Frederick was left in firm possession of Silesia. By his mid-thirties he had now become the most conspicuous sovereign in Europe and Prussia, having humiliated Austria, had

started a long feud for the leadership of Germany. Since Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, was elected emperor (and started the new dynasty of Hapsburg-Lorraine), the Austrians were still able to claim German leadership.

Having attained great prestige in war and international politics, Frederick now set himself to be first in peace amongst the sovereigns of Europe. A keen judge of character, he filled the Prussian public offices with faithful, capable and energetic men whose performance was kept to the highest standards by their awareness of Frederick's close attention to all details of administration. Elementary education was widely promoted. The Prussian Academy of Sciences was vigorously supported and earned new distinctions. New industries were given every assistance by the state. Agriculture was scientifically advanced, with swamps being drained. The condition of serfs was made more tolerable. Nor was the army neglected, Frederick raising its number to 160,000 and keeping it in a state of constant readiness.

In cultural matters, Frederick considered the Germans bores and preferred to surround himself with those with whom he could talk French. French visitors at his court were frequent, and in 1752 Voltaire was invited to reside there as Frederick's personal guest. However, Voltaire's caustic wit gave offense to Frederick, and by 1753 Voltaire had decided it would be prudent to leave Prussia. He was arrested at Frankfurt by Frederick's agents and all his effects searched. At length released, Voltaire became a bitter and mocking enemy of Frederick for some years, but eventually the two were reconciled and resumed their lively correspondence.

Meanwhile the Austrian desire for revenge against Frederick had produced the so-called "diplomatic revolution," whereby Maria Theresa's brilliant ambassador to France (and later chancellor) Kaunitz (q.v.) had secured France's alliance with Austria, her traditional enemy. The feat was said to have been accomplished through the influence of Louis XV's mistress, Mme. de Pompadour, who had been convinced that Frederick had insulted her. The Empress Elizabeth of Russia, the daughter of Peter the Great, another woman who felt she'd been insulted by Frederick, adhered to the new alliance. It was first arranged for the Russians to be subsidized by the English but George II, fearing French

designs on his German possessions, concluded an alliance with Frederick early in 1756. It was thus Prussia and England against most of Europe.

Hostilities had already broken out between France and England in America in the French and Indian War in 1755, and they began in Europe in the middle of 1756, when Frederick decided to seize the initiative by his invasion of Saxony, a French ally. In two months Frederick had defeated the Saxon and Austrian armies and secured Saxony's withdrawal from the coalition.

Driven to extremes, Frederick's enemies now made treaties for the partition of Prussia and things took a further bad turn. Frederick invaded Austria's Bohemia, but after an initial victory was driven out. Meanwhile, Frederick's English allies withdrew from the war after the French occupied Hanover and forced the British army to surrender, though English subsidies to Frederick continued until 1760. The Swedes were now encouraged to enter the war against Frederick and a Russian army invaded East Prussia. In this dark hour, Frederick won some of his greatest victories. In November, 1757, he crushed the French army at Rossbach, and a few weeks later defeated the Austrians at Leuthen. In 1758, though he suffered a minor defeat by the Austrians, he won a great victory over the Russians at Zorndorff.

Despite these individual successes, Frederick's prospects began to look even darker in 1759 as new Russian armies, fed by the seemingly inexhaustible pool of Russian serfs, poured into Germany and cooperated closely with the Austrian armies. In his desperate position, Frederick had to summon all his military genius and all the devotion of his subjects to save himself and Prussia from annihilation. Although occasional victories continued, Prussian defeats became more frequent and in October, 1760, came the ultimate humiliation when Berlin was surprised and burned by the Russians in a lightning strike.

An almost miraculous stroke of luck saved Frederick when Empress Elizabeth died early in 1762. Her nephew and successor, Peter III, a great admirer of Frederick's, withdrew Russia's armies and allied himself with Frederick. Although Peter was soon displaced by his German wife, the future Catherine the Great, and she reversed Peter's position, the Russian armies did not resume active operations against Frederick.

Encouraged by this stroke of luck, the Prussians put new heart into their fight, now far from hopeless. Sweden dropped out of the coalition by the middle of 1762, and a few months later the French were negotiating peace with the English after their defeats in America and India. After Frederick won some more victories over the Austrians, they agreed to peace on a *status quo ante* basis. So Silesia still remained Prussian, and Prussia was far from partitioned.

With the same tremendous energy he had shown in warfare against hopeless odds, Frederick now devoted himself to the reconstruction of his ravaged country, giving effective government support in the restoration of agriculture and industry. Within a few years Prussia was again flourishing and the strongest military power in Europe. Determined that friendship with Russia must be the keystone of Prussia's foreign policy, Frederick made the first fruit of his policy the First Partition of Poland in 1772, bringing further Prussian expansion. Still fearful of Austrian revenge, Frederick opposed the Austrians in another brief war, and in 1785 organized a League of German Princes against Maria Theresa's equally energetic son, Joseph II.

Frederick's final years were devoted to supervising Prussian jurists in the creation of a great new legal code, combining German and Roman law. Popularly known as "Old Fritz," Frederick died at 74 from a fatal illness brought on by reviewing his army, now 200,000 strong, in a pouring rain. It was a death that would have made his father proud of him.

In his palace of Sans Souci, built in imitation of Versailles, Frederick lived surrounded by brilliant courtiers, mostly French or French-speaking. The lack of women in sight (in marked contrast to Versailles) was the object of considerable comment. Frederick's relations with his wife Elizabeth were never more than cold and distant, though always courteous. Frederick wrote many works in French on politics, history, military science and philosophy, and also wrote some poetry that nauseated Voltaire. A capable flutist, Frederick also composed music, both concertos for the flute and marches. In general, Frederick was the very model of the eighteenth-century "enlightened despot." But it was as a military genius, the last thing that his father would have anticipated, that Frederick remained most famous, and his campaigns

were studied by many generals, including Napoleon (q.v.).

Frederick's homosexual inclinations, of which Lt. Katte in his youth was the principal object, were attested to by many authorities, notably Voltaire and Frederick himself. In a letter warning his nephew against sodomy, he wrote (in French): "I can assure you, from my own personal experience, that this Greek pleasure is not a pleasant one to cultivate." The other young men besides Katte who were the objects of Frederick's passion included Baron Frederick Trenck (whom he imprisoned in a jealous rage over his sister's intimacy with Trenck), Count Keyserlingk, Count Görz and an Italian named Barbarini. In his later years, Frederick was said to have made much use of make-up.

Frederick also had a homosexual brother, Prince Henry (q.v.), at one time a candidate for the putative United States throne.

Reference: Burton, 248, 252; Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 662; Mayne, 192-93.



PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA (1726-1802)

Prussian general.

A younger brother of Frederick the Great (q.v.), Henry was only 14 when their stern martinet of a father, Frederick William I, died and thus was not old enough to have suffered much at his hands. Enjoying the warmest of relations with Frederick, Henry was able to secure a broad and liberal education under Frederick's supervision. When Henry decided on a military career, he was given training sufficient to make him thoroughly competent in his chosen field.

During the Seven Years War, when Frederick conducted his brilliant defense of Prussia against the combined armies of France, Austria and Russia, Henry proved one of his ablest and most dependable generals. At the Battle of Rossbach (1757), the scene of one of Frederick's most spectacular victories, Henry commanded the infantry and was wounded. The following year, after his recovery, he commanded the Prussian right wing in Frederick's attack on Olmütz.

After the peace settlement of 1763, Henry served his brother with equal energy in the rebuilding of devastated Prussia and became renowned as a patron of arts and letters. Though like

Frederick he was married to a princess with whom he did not live, Henry did not feel it necessary to try to repress his homosexual inclinations, as Frederick probably did. In a scandalous work published on the eve of the French Revolution, *The Secret History of the Court of Berlin*, a special French envoy named Mirabeau (q.v.), destined to be a leading figure in the French Revolution, wrote as follows of Henry:

An old servant of Prince Henry's, apt in serving his master's passion for pederasty, became his favorite at first and was then made canon of Magdeburg where the prince was bishop . . . The aristocracy of the army knows that with Prince Henry the Ganymedes have always made and shall always make the decisions.

Henry's best-known young men were Kaphengst, the singer Mara and the 17-year-old Count of Roche-Aymon. Henry's affair with the latter caused so much scandal that Frederick felt obliged to intervene, and the once close relations between the brothers became rather strained. Frederick did, however, call on his brother's military talents once more when he made Henry his deputy-commander in the short and insignificant War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-79).

It was a few months after Frederick's death that Henry was the subject of an intrigue of most interest to Americans. During the 1780s, after many influential Americans became disgusted with the weakness of the central government under the Articles of Confederation, much consideration was given to the possibility of a constitutional monarchy. Washington (q.v.) having indignantly declined to be considered a candidate for the putative U.S. throne, European royalty was considered, and Henry's name was suggested as that of a charming, cultured and liberal-minded soldier who would make a fine American king. On November 2, 1786, Henry's old friend, Baron von Steuben, former Inspector-General of the Continental Army, wrote to him to convey the support of his candidacy by many prominent Americans, including Alexander Hamilton, James Monroe and Rufus King. Most impressive of all, Steuben attached a letter promising support from the nearest thing to the new nation's chief executive, Nathaniel Gorham, president of the Continental Congress.

Unfortunately or fortunately as the case may be, Henry,

perhaps too busy with his Ganymedes, neglected to respond to the letters until April, 1787, and even then refused to commit himself until he could be assured of general American sentiments. By this time a new approach to a stronger government had been found, and in May, 1787, the Constitutional Convention assembled in Philadelphia. In due time some of the American leaders who had backed Henry doubtless read, or heard about, Mirabeau's *Secret History*, which was published in 1789.

Although he had passed out of the historical limelight into obscurity, Henry lived on through the French Revolution and died at 76. Some two decades after his death, the John Quincy Adams administration was rocked by a scandal involving Henry when Rufus King, a veteran New York politician, with an appointment as minister to Great Britain up before the Senate, was exposed by his enemies as one of the group which had offered the putative U.S. throne to Prince Henry. The President and Secretary of State Henry Clay had to go through the motions of making a careful inquiry to establish the innocence of King, who died anyway the following year.

Whether the "scandal" also involved implications about Henry's homosexuality has never been made quite clear. It is, however, an interesting subject for speculation whether, had the childless Henry become king of the United States, Alexander Hamilton would have turned upon him the charms which proved so effective on Washington and wound up adopted as crown prince.

Reference: Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 664; Mayne, 238; Moll, 55-56.

Special historical reference: Richard Krauel, *Prince Henry and the Regency of the United States*, 1786. American Historical Review, October, 1911.



PRINCE WENZEL ANTON VON KAUNITZ (1711-1794)

Austrian statesman.

He was born at Vienna of an ancient noble family believed to be of Slavic origin. As a second son Kaunitz was originally trained for the Church, but on the death of his older brother, he took up training for the law and diplomacy, studying at Vienna, Leipzig and Leiden. In customary fashion his education was further advanced by a grand tour of Europe.

Entering the service of the Hapsburgs shortly before the accession of Maria Theresa and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). Kaunitz received his first important appointment in 1742 as minister at Turin. In 1744 he became minister in Brussels and witnessed the campaigns in which the Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), Charles of Lorraine, was repeatedly defeated by French armies under Maurice de Saxe, the bastard son of Augustus of Poland and Saxony, that great friend of Peter the Great (q.v.) and great enemy of Charles XII (q.v.). Disgusted at the ineptitude displayed by his side, Kaunitz asked for his recall. Maria Theresa accepted his attitude as indicative of fervent patriotism and made him her representative at the Peace Congress of Aachen, which terminated the war in 1748. In the negotiations Kaunitz established a great reputation for tenacity and dexterity in diplomatic discussions.

Kaunitz was among the advisers whose opinions were sought by Maria Theresa as to the policy to be pursued by Austria in the face of the rising threat of Prussia. Contrary to the prevailing advice of continued alliance with Holland and England, the proponents of which included even Maria Theresa's imperial husband, Kaunitz proposed the revolutionary idea of alliance with France, preferably with Russian backing. As this happened to be Maria Theresa's own view, the advice was eagerly accepted.

Kaunitz was appointed ambassador to Louis XV, and during his two years at Paris (1750-52) accomplished the seemingly impossible, a "diplomatic revolution" which brought the two traditional foes, France and Austria, into alliance. Kaunitz was said to have owed his success to his assiduous courting and flattery of Mme. de Pompadour, the royal mistress. Kaunitz showed Pompadour some scandalous verses written about her by Frederick the Great (q.v.), and then had Maria Theresa write Pompadour a friendly "my dear" letter. That did it.

Returning in triumph to Vienna, where he was hailed as one of the most astute statesmen of the century, Kaunitz in 1753 was appointed chancellor and foreign minister, posts which he held until his death under Maria Theresa and her sons Joseph II (1780-90) and Leopold II (1790-92). From Maria Theresa herself Kaunitz enjoyed a warm, personal affection much like that Victoria was to have for Disraeli.

As it turned out, Kaunitz' policy failed to win its anticipated fruits in the Seven Years War (1756-63). Frederick emerged still in possession of Silesia, with Prussia still Austria's dangerous rival. During the reign of the strong-willed and reform-minded Joseph II, Kaunitz's influence diminished. When the French Revolution broke out, he had little appreciation of its scope and meaning, though he did lay the foundations of the "legitimacy" policy that Metternich subsequently made the keystone of the anti-French alliance.

Kaunitz's effectiveness was generally considered surprising in view of his personal characteristics, which made him something of a laughing-stock of Europe. Pompous, conceited, given to unending streams of pedantic and garrulous chatter, Kaunitz was usually surrounded by sycophants and buffoons of various sorts. Once during an interview with Frederick the Great (concerning the First Partition of Poland in 1772), Kaunitz gave Frederick a two-hour lecture after securing a promise of "no interruptions."

Kaunitz also had various incredible manias associated with hypochondria: no fresh air, a handkerchief over his mouth whenever venturing outdoors, rides only in sealed coaches, no contact with the sick, no mention within his hearing of a word about death. Since he lived to be 83, Kaunitz may have considered his odd manias as proven justified.

Kaunitz married into the great von Starhemberg family and had four sons.

Reference: Mayne, 238.



THOMAS GRAY (1716-1771)

English poet and writer.

He was born at London, the fifth and sole surviving of twelve children. His mother ran a millinery shop with her sister, his father being their landlord. A rather selfish and brutal man, Gray's father quarreled frequently with his wife, absenting himself for long periods but apparently turning up often enough to collect the rent and impregnate his wife.

With money saved up by his mother, Gray entered Eton in 1727, and there formed close friendships, dubbed "The Quadruple Alliance," with three other studious and literary boys

who had no use for their raucous classmates. One of them was Horace Walpole (q.v.), another was Richard West, the grandson of that Bishop Burnet who converted the dying Rochester (q.v.) but had less luck with Peter the Great (q.v.).

In 1734 Gray entered Peterhouse College, Cambridge, where he managed to maintain contact with Walpole, attending King's College. West, of whom he was especially fond, was at Oxford. A new passionate friendship was formed at Cambridge with Thomas Wharton. Supported by his mother and a small scholarship, Gray lived in great poverty but devoted himself assiduously to his studies, except for mathematics, which he couldn't stand. He was especially diligent in mastering Italian and made translations of Dante and Tasso (q.v.).

Gray suddenly left Cambridge in 1738 before receiving his degree, accepting the patronage of his affluent friend Walpole. In March, 1739, they went off together on a tour of the continent. After a stay in Paris devoted to art, drama and opera, they moved on to Italy. After visiting various Italian cities, they settled for a while in Florence at the home of Walpole's good friend, Horace Mann, the British ambassador (not to be confused with the nineteenth century American educator).

From Florence they moved on to Rome, Naples and the ruins of Herculaneum. In April, 1741, they were setting out for Reggio when they had their famous quarrel, apparently resulting from Gray being too pedantically critical and Walpole too frivolously patronizing. After a brief visit to Venice with two other friends, Gray returned to England in September. Two months later his father died and left enough money and property for his mother and aunt to give up their millinery business.

For about a year Gray, now in his late twenties, lived with his mother and aunt at the home of another aunt at Stoke Poges, writing his first poems, most notably *Ode to Spring*, *On a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, and after the death of his dear friend, *Sonnet upon the Death of Richard West*.

In 1742 Gray managed to return to Peterhouse College, Cambridge, as a fellow-commoner, and in 1744 secured an LL.B. degree. The following year he was reconciled with Walpole. For the remainder of the decade, Gray divided his time between his female relatives at Stoke, his graduate studies at Cambridge

and "flaunts about" with Walpole's crowd in London. The only new poem he completed was an ode on his cat, published anonymously, together with the odes on Eton and on spring, in 1746 in Dodsley's *Miscellany*.

In 1750 Gray finally completed a poem he had been working at on and off for many years, the famous *An Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, more familiarly known as "Gray's Elegy." He sent it to Walpole, who circulated it enthusiastically. After a pirated printing appeared, Gray had it properly published by Dodsley "in self defense." It was a great success, but his satisfaction was soon tempered by the death of his beloved mother in 1753, a year which saw a collection of all his poems to date published.

In 1754 Gray completed the ode *Progress of Poesy*, and three years later the ode *The Bard*. Both were printed together in 1757 by Walpole on his fancy new private press set up on his Strawberry Hill estate. Written in imitation of Pindar (q.v.), they were not too popular. After spending several years studying Scandinavian literature, Gray in 1761 completed his Norse odes, *The Fatal Sisters* and *The Descent of Odin*, which in style and form were to be found by critics strangely anticipatory of Scott and Coleridge.

Most of the 1760s Gray spent in travels all over England and Scotland, in part as tourist, in part as art-critic, and in part as antiquarian. In 1768 he at last got an academic break, being appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. Out of appreciation for the patron who got him the post, the Duke of Grafton (a great-grandson of one of Charles II's bastards), Gray wrote in 1769 his *Installation Ode*, commemorating Grafton's appointment as Chancellor of Cambridge.

In his few remaining years, Gray became most noted for his passionate friendships with handsome young men. One of these, Norton Nicholls, introduced Gray in 1769 to a visiting Swiss friend, Charles-Victor de Bonstetten. Gray was so smitten by Bonstetten that in the words of one biographer, "All his defenses were swept away . . . he understood the secrets of his own nature." Gray wrote rapturously to Nicholls about Bonstetten, and to Bonstetten himself after his departure for Paris in April, 1770, he wrote such sentiments as the following:

My life now is but a perpetual conversation with your shadow—The known sound of your voice still rings in my ears I cannot bear this place, where I have spent many tedious years within less than a month, after you left me

Gray became somewhat disillusioned by the frivolous affectations reflected in Bonstetten's letters and puzzled by the nature of the trouble his dear boy seemed to have gotten into with his family. Nonetheless, Gray responded favorably to Bonstetten's suggestion that they take a trip together in Switzerland in the summer of 1771. However, the trip was never to take place, for Gray's health deteriorated rapidly and he died in July, 1771. Bonstetten meanwhile became beloved of another great man who wrote him passionate letters, the future Swiss historian Müller (q.v.).

As a poet, Gray's output was limited by the years of labor he put into revising and revising each work. His poems are noted for both their learning and their tinges of melancholy. Gray was something of a link between the classical period, reflected in his early poems, and the romantic period, reflected in his later poems.

Gray's letters, reflecting his shrewd observations during his extensive travels and otherwise, are considered amongst the finest in the English language, and are thus comparable to those of his friend Walpole.

Reference: Anderson, 197-201.



HORACE WALPOLE (1717-1797)

English writer.

He was born in London, the third son of Robert Walpole, a dominant political figure in the reigns of George I and George II, usually considered England's first true prime minister. In 1727 Walpole entered Eton, where his close friends included the future poet Thomas Gray (q.v.). In 1735 Walpole entered King's College, Cambridge. After securing his degree, he persuaded Gray to leave his college (before getting his degree) to accompany him on a grand tour of France and Italy. After two years together (1739-41) in France and Italy, they had their

famous quarrel in southern Italy, and Gray went back to England. Walpole followed toward the end of the year.

On his return to England, Walpole found that his brother had meanwhile had him elected to Parliament. He continued to sit in the House of Commons until 1768, representing in succession three constituencies and getting various lucrative sinecures which enabled him to live comfortably in his elegant bachelor quarters in London and, after 1748, in a villa on the Thames called Strawberry Hill. During most of his life he was devoted to literary pursuits of one sort or another.

In 1754 Walpole began alterations on his villa in the Gothic style, alterations which were to take twenty years to complete and to result in something unique in all Europe. Walpole's "little Gothic castle" became a showplace of England, highly influential on subsequent architecture. In 1757 Walpole established his own printing press there, publishing his own works as well as those of friends like Gray, with whom he had become reconciled in 1745.

Of Walpole's own works, the best-known is *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), a new type of novel, the Gothic or terror novel, which became widely imitated and was considered the ancestor of that favorite Anglo-American literary genre, the detective story. Walpole's building and writing both influenced the Gothic revival in the arts. He also wrote a number of essays, of which the best-known is *A Letter from Xo Ho* (1757), concerning the unique and highly un-English execution of Admiral Byng for having failed to win his objective. A gruesome tragedy written by Walpole, *The Mystrious Mother* (1768), highly praised by Byron (q.v.), was considered too horrible for representation. Other varied minor literary endeavors of Walpole's included an historical work on Richard III (1760), of the earliest efforts at his rehabilitation, reflecting both research and acuteness; reference books on English painters (1762-71); on English engravers (1763); and on English authors (1768).

However, it was from his letters and memoirs that Walpole secured his principal reputation. A frequent visitor to Paris, he became acquainted with Madame du Deffand in 1765 and carried on with her a famous correspondence until her death (1780). He also kept voluminous diaries (1750-83) published in various

editions in the nineteenth century. These works, as well as his *Reminiscences* and his collections of letters to leading literary and political figures, have provided the most valuable source of intimate data on Georgian England. Practically no event or name of importance for over half a century escaped his recording, no matter how trifling it might have seemed at the time. His conclusions, however, have not always been borne out, notably concerning the talents of Johnson, Goldsmith, Gibbon and Hume, all of whom he denigrated. In 1791 he inherited his father's title of Earl of Orford.

The names principally associated with Walpole's homosexuality, which was probably sublimated, are those of the eccentric wit, George Selwyn, and of his cousin and lifelong friend, Seymour Conway, a general and politician to whom Walpole wrote rather fervent letters.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 672; Mayne, 355-56.



GEORGE III (1738-1820)

King of England (1760-1820).

He was the son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the grandson of George II. One day in 1747 the boy's father, the Prince of Wales, having been prevented by a downpour of rain from leaving a racetrack, summoned to his tent an obscure and untalented 34-year-old Scottish nobleman, the Earl of Bute, to make up a whist party. Frederick found Bute an agreeable companion, and his German wife Augusta sharing his opinion, he made Bute an aide. In 1750 Bute received appointment as a lord of the bedchamber. After Frederick's death in 1751, his widow Augusta insisted on the retention of Bute's services. Since he was rumored to be her lover, there was considerable scandal.

Equally the source of scandalous comment was how the teenage Prince George, now the heir of George II, shared the warm regard of his father and mother for Bute. Bute became George's constant companion and confidant, and George was apparently to be noted as hanging on his every word adoringly. In 1756 George, now 18, insisted that his grandfather appoint Bute groom of the stole at his residence, Leicester House, even though George II detested Bute.

In 1760 George, in his twenty-second year, succeeded to the

throne as George III. He was the first English-born Hanoverian king, speaking English as his native tongue, and was urged by both his mother and Bute to assert himself with the aid of dependable personal advisers who enjoyed his confidence. With Bute the king made careful plans to proceed against the Whig leaders by dividing them against each other wherever possible, gradually getting power out of their hands. In October, 1761, England's great popular leader in the Seven Years War, William Pitt, resigned when George III refused to accept his advice. In November George appointed Bute prime minister. Bute became at once a subject for derision and hostility, for his Scottish nationality and accent, for his background as a politically untried royal favorite, obscenely of both mother and son, and finally for being an advocate of a speedy conclusion to the war. Although by the peace settlement of 1763 England won much of both North America and India, Bute was blamed for some disappointments in the peace terms, burned in effigy and almost lynched. Two more acts on his part, an ill-advised tax on cider and the wholesale removal of Whigs from office, made the hostility to Bute almost unanimous, and George III accepted his resignation in April, 1763.

Hoping to rule personally through pliable puppets, George III was disappointed in both Bute's successors and in the failure of his policy of using his "king's friends," backed up by lavish dispensation of patronage (much like that of the Whigs he affected to despise), to have his way. Greville lasted only two years, followed by Rockingham for a year, then Pitt back again (as Earl of Chatham) for a year, and then a record three years under the Duke of Grafton, ironically an illegitimate scion of the rival Stuart dynasty (the great-great-grandson of Charles II by his mistress Barbara Villiers).

Strongly feeling the need for an issue around which to rally popular support, George III felt that he had found it in the 1770s on the right to tax America, since the English people saw no reason why the prosperous American colonists shouldn't bear part of the costs of the recent war, and thereby show themselves useful and submissive to that great rock of English liberties, the Parliament. Lord North, sharing the view of both the king and Parliament, began his long tenure as prime minister (1770-82)

by introducing the taxation program that brought on the American Revolution and eventually war also with France, Spain and Holland. When the Americans under Washington (q.v.) were enabled by the assistance of their French allies to prosecute the struggle successfully against the armies of England and her German mercenaries, the expensive war became increasingly unpopular. In March, 1782, some months after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, North lost on a no-confidence motion in the Commons and resigned. Having intended his reign to produce a diminution in the powers of Parliament, George III found that instead, thanks to the American fiasco, a new landmark had been reached in the powers held by the House of Commons over the king's government.

Rockingham came back briefly as prime minister, concluding the peace settlement of 1783 whereby England gave up her American colonies and returned Florida and Minorca to Spain and Senegal to France. Rockingham inevitably faced unpopularity as a scapegoat for this humiliation, and he was further attacked for the scandalous cynicism of including in his ministry such Whig notables as Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke (and also in a minor office, the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan).

Upon Rockingham's resignation in 1783, the son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, likewise named William Pitt (q.v.), became prime minister at 24. The youngest prime minister in English history, he was also to last the longest, till 1801. George III had learned his lesson about the limitations of his personal power, and with full confidence in Pitt for many years was content to bask in popularity reflected from Pitt's stable government, from industrial and scientific progress, and from the new moral and religious fervor set in motion by John Wesley.

When the first American ambassador, John Adams, was presented to his former sovereign in 1785, George III made the following speech:

Sir, I wish you to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the

separation: but the separation having been made and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power.

In 1788 George III had his first attack of insanity. His recovery in 1789 coinciding with the union of the Tories and Whigs to confront the menace of the French Revolution, he received enthusiastic acclaim on his public appearances. The energetic and reliable Pitt was left to prosecute the war with vigor until 1801, when he and George fell out over the Irish Catholic issue. George III refused to sanction the concessions to Irish Catholics promised by Pitt as part of the Act of Union by which the two legislatures became one under the new "United Kingdom." Pitt resigned. The thought of being left naked in the face of his enemies without the irreplaceable Pitt brought on a new attack of insanity. George recovered briefly, saw himself as Pitt's successor rather than the weak new prime minister, Addington, and began reviewing volunteers in Hyde Park. The strain brought on another attack of insanity. From this spell he recovered in 1804, in time to veto a new coalition government under Pitt that would include the profligate Fox, whom he hated.

After Pitt's death (1806), George III was forced to bow to the demands for a coalition government. During the elections of 1807, George played his last significant role in English history, having been given enthusiastic support by the electorate in his strong stand against the concessions to Catholics favored by his government. This served to hold back toleration for Catholics for many years.

In 1811 George suffered another attack of insanity upon the death of his favorite daughter, Amelia. This one proved so serious he never recovered, and subsequently he became blind also. His profligate oldest son, the Prince of Wales, became the Prince-Regent until George III finally died in 1820, upon which the Prince-Regent became king in name also as George IV.

George III's wife, his partner in an exemplary married life worthy of his granddaughter Victoria, bore him eight sons and six daughters, of which all but two sons and the daughter Amelia survived him.

The homosexual allegation about George III is based entirely on his feelings toward and relations with Lord Bute during his adolescence. Apparently the scandalous conclusions were rather openly expressed by the enemies of the young king and Bute at the time, even in some of the pamphlet-type literature. Curiously, despite his greater maturity, Lord Bute himself does not seem to have been the subject of homosexual allegations on any list. Considering George III's prodigious heterosexual accomplishments, the alleged youthful homosexuality had little permanent effect.

Reference: Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 663; Mayne, 236-37.



JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN (1717-1768)

German archeologist and art historian.

He was born at Stendal in Prussia, the son of a poor shoemaker. Winckelmann's bright mind secured for him influential support for a good education. In 1738 he was induced to go to the University of Halle to study theology, but having no real vocation for it, he devoted himself instead to Greek art and literature. For a period he determined to become a physician and attended medical classes at Jena, but he gave this up because of insufficient means.

After working for about a year as a tutor near Magdeburg, Winckelmann was appointed associate rector of a school at Seehausen. There he made a valuable acquaintance through whom he secured a position at last really to his liking, librarian and researcher for a Saxon nobleman named Count von Büнау, who was working on a history of the Holy Roman Empire. In his spare time Winckelmann studied with tremendous interest the art treasures at the Dresden gallery, developing especially his knowledge about classical art.

Determined that he must visit Italy to pursue his studies properly, Winckelmann obtained a position as librarian in Rome, reluctantly accepting conversion to the Catholic Church as the price of the appointment. Just before leaving for Italy, Winckelmann, now in his late thirties, published *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755). His method of criticism was greatly admired by many influential

intellectuals and brought the offer of patronage from Augustus III of Saxony and Poland.

In Rome various librarianships now became available to Winckelmann in succession, while much of his time was spent in studies at the Vatican Library. In 1763 he was appointed Prefect of Antiquities at the Vatican. Meanwhile, Winckelmann had been conducting his own archeological research at Naples and elsewhere in southern Italy, and he had written a number of technical works that established him as Europe's foremost authority on ancient art. His masterwork, *History of Ancient Art*, appeared in 1764.

Aside from setting forth the history of Greek art and the principles on which it seemed to him to be based, Winckelmann broadened his scope to present a glowing picture of the political, social and intellectual conditions tending to foster creative activity. This book, as well as other works which preceded and followed it, was distinguished by both fervor and grace of style and exercised a profound influence on the best minds of the Enlightenment. Winckelmann did much to foster that reverence for Greek and Roman institutions that reached its climax in the French Revolution.

Winckelmann's passion for the ways of the ancient Greeks had of course a highly personal motivation. His homosexuality began flowering in Italy, and in 1762 he met in Rome a young German nobleman named Reinhold von Berg. He left a record of his passionate attachment to von Berg in letters containing such sentiments as the following:

As a solicitous mother inconsolably mourns her beloved child, so, my sweet friend, I deplore our separation with all my heart. . . . My beloved and very beautiful friend, all the names I could call you are not tender enough and do not express the fulness of my love I love you more than any living thing, and neither time nor chance nor age can ever lessen this love.

All of this is of course reminiscent of Languet (q.v.) with Sidney (q.v.), and Gray (q.v.) with Bonstetten.

It was a much less elevated affair than the one with the noble von Berg that proved fatal to Winckelmann. In 1768 Winckelmann was in Trieste on his way back to Rome from Vienna,

where Maria Theresa had received him with honor and presented him with a collection of ancient gold coins. In Trieste he fell in with a handsome young ex-convict, an unemployed café waiter or cook named Arcangeli. The young man having indicated his homosexual availability, Winckelmann took him to his room to see the gold coins. He was strangled and robbed by the youth, who was subsequently arrested and executed. Winckelmann was buried in the churchyard of the Cathedral of St. Giusto at Trieste.

Winckelman was the subject of essays by Goethe (q.v.) and Pater (q.v.). There is also a still untranslated nineteenth-century German novel about him, *Künstlerbilder*, in which the author, Alexander von Sternberg, deals quite explicitly with the circumstances of his murder.

Reference: Bulliet, 301; Burton, 248; Carpenter (I), 148-49, Hirschfeld, 673; Mayne, 275-76; Moll, 54-55.



CHRISTIAN VII (1749-1808)

King of Denmark and Norway (1766-1808).

He was the son of Frederick V by his first wife Louisa, the daughter of George II of England. Although Christian had both a winning personality and considerable talents, he was badly educated and was said to have been systematically debauched. Noting his effeminate tendencies, influential nobles who hoped to dominate him during his reign supplied him with amoral youths, such as his page Sperling and his valet Kirchhoff. At the same time, Christian was given a brutal tutor who terrorized him. The combination of terror and debauchery served to weaken his mental faculties, his father having little interest in his heir.

By 1766, when Christian succeeded to the throne at 16, he was on the verge of insanity. He was married to his first cousin, Caroline Matilda of England, a sister of George III (q.v.), and in 1768 she became the mother of the future talented Frederick VI. After making a tour of various European capitals, where his mental instability was noted, Denmark's new king returned to Copenhagen, where he devoted himself to such favorites as Enevoldt Brandt and Count Holck.

In 1770 the administration came into the hands of Christian's charming personal physician, Johann Struensee, a German who knew no Danish. Playing far more recklessly the role attributed

in England to George III's Lord Bute, Struensee became the queen's lover, and with her help strengthened his own great influence with the king. Christian was persuaded to remove all Struensee's opponents, and in 1771 he gave Struensee authority to issue cabinet orders even without the royal signature. A charlatan who fancied himself a capable benevolent despot, Struensee sought to reform in a hurry the whole shaky administrative system of Denmark and Norway. In his ten months as a near dictator, Struensee issued 1069 cabinet orders, an average of three a day, and dismissed whole departments of government, in which he installed friends who had neither knowledge nor training. Most of the funds he saved by cutbacks Struensee spent on extravagant balls and masquerades.

Brandt, the lover of Christian VII, was encouraged by Struensee to treat him roughly. On one occasion, when the king tried to assert himself, Brandt went into a room with him alone, locked the door and beat Christian with his fists until he begged for mercy. Outraged by Struensee's official behavior and his personal arrogance, which led him to insult all Danes with an attitude of superiority, the Danes decided the last straw had come when the queen had a daughter by Struensee, who had meanwhile made himself a count.

In 1772 a conspiracy against Struensee was successfully carried out in the name of the dowager queen. Struensee, Brandt and the queen were all arrested. Brandt and Struensee were convicted of usurping the authority of the king and condemned to lose first their right hands, then their heads, after which they were drawn and quartered. Christian, hailed as a liberated king, was driven around Copenhagen by his deliverers in a gold carriage and received with universal rejoicing. However, the reactionary conspirators who had carried out the palace revolution soon put Christian back in his place as a puppet, running the state to their own interests. Christian was permitted to divorce Caroline Matilda (the divorce proceedings with all their homosexual references having been kept as highly classified Danish state papers).

In 1784 another palace revolution made Christian's talented 16-year-old son regent. In the new regime an outstanding statesman, Count Andreas Bernstorff, reversed both the recent aristo-

cratic reaction and the ill-conceived harebrained schemes of Struensee and brought lasting liberal reforms to Denmark, including the abolition of serfdom, judicial reform, regulation of landlord-tenant relations and freedom of the press.

Thus it turned out that a large part of Christian's reign was a period of peace and prosperity for Denmark, despite his mental state. Except for a brief war with Sweden in 1788, the peace was unbroken until the early 1800's when Denmark was caught in a three-way squeeze between England's Pitt (q.v.), France's Napoleon (q.v.), and the armed neutrality of Russia's Alexander I (q.v.). When the British refused to accept the neutrality forced on Denmark by Russian pressure and arrogantly destroyed the Danish fleet and bombarded Copenhagen, the Danes were drawn to the French side. When Christian died in 1808, this was still the winning side. It was his son as Frederick VI who had to bear the onus of the loss of Norway when Denmark's side ultimately proved the losing one in 1814-15.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 660-61.



GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799)

American general and statesman.

He was born on February 11, 1732 (or 1731 under the Julian calendar, abandoned by the British empire only in 1750, in which the new year started on March 25), on the family estate, subsequently known as Wakefield, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. His father, Augustine Washington, was a wealthy planter who had four children by his first wife and six by his second, George being the eldest child of the second marriage. In 1735 the family moved to Washington's estate on the Rappahannock, subsequently known as Mount Vernon.

In 1738, when George was 6, his half-brother Lawrence returned from his English school and at once became George's idol. While George was receiving a routine local education, Lawrence was his constant source of advice. Lawrence became even more of a hero to George in 1741 when he served as a captain in the Virginia contingent with Admiral Vernon (for whom Mount Vernon was named) in his attack on the Spanish colony of Cartagena in South America, a counterpart to the War of the Austrian Succession. Lawrence's superior had been Colonel

William Fairfax, the proprietor of the neighboring estate of Belvoir and the agent for the vast estates of his cousin, Lord Fairfax, and after their return, Lawrence became a frequent visitor at Fairfax's estate. Finally in 1743 Fairfax's daughter Anne (or Nancy) became his wife. The Washingtons were now related to one of Virginia's most influential families.

That same year, 1743, George's father died. Lawrence, who inherited the favorite estate and named it Mount Vernon after his former admiral, also became George's guardian. Counting on his influence with Admiral Vernon, Lawrence urged George, who had been poor in all his studies but mathematics, to take up a naval career. Although a commission as a midshipman was made available for him, the proposal was vetoed by George's mother.

George had already earned some small fees at surveying, and in 1748, when Lord Fairfax came to Virginia, he was prevailed upon to appoint George Washington, at 16, surveyor of the vast Fairfax holdings. The following year, through Fairfax influence, George received his first public office, surveyor of the newly created Culpeper County. In response to Lawrence's advice, George invested his savings in the new western lands of the Ohio Company.

After three years on Virginia's western frontier, George accompanied Lawrence, now stricken with consumption, to Barbados, where recovery was hoped for. The principal result of the stay was that George got smallpox, which if it left him marked for life also rendered him immune to the plagues that beset his forces later. Lawrence died in 1752, shortly after their return to Virginia, leaving the stricken George as his executor and residuary heir of Mount Vernon (which he inherited in 1761 when Lawrence's widow died). Devoted to Lawrence with a passionate intensity the significance of which doubtless escaped him, George reacted to his death apparently much as the somewhat similar Cato (q.v.) did to his brother's death.

Among the appointments brought Lawrence by his Fairfax connections was that of adjutant of Virginia. The office was now divided among four men, one of whom was George. As district adjutant with a major's commission, George was charged with training the local militia assigned to him. Having come so far

before even his twenty-first birthday, largely thanks to Lawrence's influence, George Washington now began to feel a burning ambition for distinction, to be worthy of Lawrence.

Late in 1753 Washington volunteered for a dangerous assignment. Accompanied by the frontiersman Christopher Gist, the Ohio Company's official explorer, Washington took a message from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the French at Fort Le Boeuf (now Waterford, Pa.), warning them that the Ohio Territory was claimed by the English. Twice the life of Washington was saved by Gist, who perhaps to some small extent replaced Lawrence for him. On Washington's return, he had to report that the French, far from acceding to the English demands, were planning to advance further.

Dinwiddie at once commissioned Washington a lieutenant-colonel and gave him about 400 men, with orders to reinforce the hastily constructed Fort Duquesne (subsequently Pittsburgh, Pa.). Before Washington could reach it, he learned that it had been captured by the French, who were now advancing to meet him. With the advice of Gist, again at his side, Washington built an entrenched camp which he named Fort Necessity (near present Uniontown, Pa.). Late in May, 1754, Washington won his first victory (and promotion to colonel) when he surprised a small body of French troops. Early in July, however, the main French force utterly defeated Washington's troops and took the survivors prisoner. Under the easy surrender terms, they were released and sent home.

In the summer of 1755 the newly arrived British commander-in-chief in North America, Major-General Braddock, set out with a mixed force of British regulars and colonial militia to capture Fort Duquesne. Washington, who had written Braddock a very carefully worded letter offering his services, held an appointment as Braddock's aide. Gist again accompanied Washington. Braddock turned a deaf ear to Washington and others who tried to persuade him to have his regulars adopt colonial tactics. While crossing the Monongahela, the English were attacked by a much smaller force of French, Canadians, and Indians. The panic-stricken British regulars bolted, and in the shattering defeat, two third of the English forces were killed or wounded, including Braddock (allegedly by a disgusted Virginian). Washington,

recklessly riding back and forth, an open target seemingly courting death, remained unwounded and was the only hero of the disaster as he evacuated the surviving Virginians.

In no way blamed for the disaster, Washington at 33 was now appointed commander-in-chief of the Virginia militia on the frontier. In 1758 he served under another English general, Forbes, leading one of the three brigades that took Fort Duquesne after it had been abandoned by the French. However, Washington gained no distinction in this campaign, the only part he played in the French and Indian War, the American counterpart of Europe's Seven Years War (1756-63). At the end of the war, Washington resigned his commission.

Sexual and marital curiosity about the distinguished young Washington were now becoming greater in Virginia's society. With all fighting over, any anticipation of a heroic death in battle was now forestalled. For some time Washington told those closest to him that there was only one woman who could ever mean anything to him and since the lady, Sally Fairfax, happened to be the completely virtuous wife of his friend and neighbor George William Fairfax (Lawrence's brother-in-law), there just didn't seem to be any room for a woman in his life. However, Washington was finally persuaded to reconsider the awkward status of an ambitious leading public figure without a wife.

Accordingly, in 1759 he married a young (28) widow who offered a remarkable assortment of virtues. Martha Dandridge Custis was very rich, very amiable, charming and understanding, and perhaps best of all, offered George a ready-made family with a son and daughter. (The son, John Parke Custis, on his death in 1781 left four children, of whom Washington adopted the youngest, a boy and a girl. The boy, George Washington Parke Custis, became the father-in-law of Robert E. Lee.)

The year of his marriage Washington was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses, serving in it till 1774 and becoming a leader of the Virginian opposition to British colonial policy. Meanwhile Washington had also become, thanks to Martha's \$100,000, one of the richest men in the colony. In 1774 Washington was chosen as a delegate from Virginia to the First Continental Congress, and though not yet taking an extreme position, was ready to consider all possibilities.

When Congress adjourned, Washington returned to Virginia and devoted himself to the organization, training, and equipment of troops, whom he undertook to drill. When Washington appeared at the Second Continental Congress in 1775, again as a Virginia delegate, he was usually in uniform. He was appointed to military committees concerned with the fortification of New York, the raising of money and arms, and the formulation of army rules. It was expected that in the event of war Washington would command the Virginia forces. However, when the actions at Lexington and Concord brought on the American Revolution, Washington was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United Colonies on the motion of John Adams, one of the New England leaders most anxious to secure southern support, especially that of Virginia.

Protesting his unworthiness, Washington agreed to submit to the unanimous will of his fellow delegates, refusing any pay except for expenses. On July 3, 1775, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, Washington took command of his army, consisting of unorganized, poorly disciplined, short-term enlisted militia, officered by men usually insubordinate. Soon he was also to be confronted by the additional handicap of constant congressional interference, commencing what was to prove a hallowed and unchanging American tradition.

Washington's first action, the occupation of Dorchester Heights, proved an excellent strategic move and forced the British to evacuate Boston in March, 1776. The central theater then shifted to New York, where political considerations obliged Washington to undertake the hopeless defense of New York City against the large British land and sea forces under the command of Sir William Howe. To the handicap of poorly equipped and untrained forces he added the blunder of detaching part of his troops to Brooklyn, where they were defeated and surrounded in the Battle of Long Island.

With his military record so far about equally good and bad, Washington managed to pull the remnants of his forces into Westchester County, fighting delaying actions at Harlem and White Plains and then crossed the Hudson to continue his retreat through New Jersey into Pennsylvania. In crossing the Hudson, unnecessary losses were sustained through the insubordination of

Charles Lee, a former British officer determined to replace Washington (whose path had first crossed his when Lee served under Braddock) and hopeful a last-minute victory over the British would ensure his triumph. Lee was captured by the British, and for two years the principal villain of the Revolutionary War was removed as the principal thorn in Washington's side.

Hastily regrouping and training his forces in Pennsylvania, Washington invaded New Jersey with a crossing of the Delaware, the scene of the famous tableau, on Christmas night, 1776. The British forces (mostly German mercenaries) at Trenton were surrounded and defeated, and early in 1777 a second British force was defeated at Princeton. Most of 1777 was spent in securing the defenses of the American capital, Philadelphia, but in the end the defeats suffered by Washington in the fall at Brandywine and Germantown led to Philadelphia's occupation by the British. At this low point in Washington's career, the so-called Conway Cabal was formed in response to the desire of disgruntled officers and congressmen to replace Washington with Horatio Gates, a national hero because of his command at Saratoga, where only a few days after Washington's Germantown defeat the American forces (thanks mostly to Benedict Arnold rather than Gates) won a great victory over Burgoyne's British army.

Washington emerged still in command and was soon to reap the benefit of the great victory won by others. Generally taken as a turning-point in the war, since it proved that the American forces could defeat trained British forces, the Battle of Saratoga resulted in vital assistance being furnished the American revolutionaries by England's European enemies, notably France. From France came also the idealistic 20-year-old Marquis de Lafayette, who promptly received from Congress the rank of major-general (the brilliant Arnold remained a brigadier), and later command of a division.

The winter of 1777-78 was the famous one at Valley Forge, the low point of the Revolution, despite the recent Saratoga victory. However, thanks to Washington's indomitable courage and the stern training and discipline given his troops by the Prussian Baron von Steuben, a former key aide of Frederick the Great (q.v.), Washington was able to set forth in the spring

of 1778 with a well-trained and devoted army. He also had a devoted aide-de-camp and secretary in the handsome young Colonel Alexander Hamilton (taken on at 19 in 1777), who was to arouse those passionate sentiments apparently dormant since the death of Lawrence, though perhaps slightly stirred by Lafayette. And he also had back with him General Charles Lee, who despite having traitorously assisted the British in taking Philadelphia, had been exchanged and foisted back on Washington by his congressional backers.

The British were persuaded to evacuate Philadelphia, and Washington ordered Lee to attack the retreating British forces at Monmouth. A great American victory was thrown away by the treacherous Lee, who like the villain of a third-rate melodrama ordered a retreat. A near disaster was threatened by the British counterattack, only the arrival of Washington, Steuben and Nathaniel Greene averting it. Lee was suspended from his command and subsequently court-martialed and dismissed after he continued to abuse Washington.

Meanwhile in November, 1777, the Articles of Confederation had created a perpetual union to be named the United States of America. In February, 1778, France, anxious to avenge her defeat in the Seven Years War, switched from secret assistance to open alliance, and later was joined by Spain, hoping to get back Gibraltar and Florida. In June, 1778, Congress rejected a British peace offer based on the renunciation of the right of taxation, and in July a French fleet under Count d'Estaing, and including Suffren (q.v.), arrived to assist in the struggle. Plans for a joint attack on the British base at Newport, R.I., were brought to naught, however, by a storm after which the French put into Boston for repairs for the rest of the year.

The war now shifted to the South, and for two years Washington played only an indirect role. With the aid of southern loyalists, a British expedition attacked and captured Savannah in 1778 and began the occupation of Georgia and South Carolina, culminating in the capture of Charleston in May, 1780. Another low point in American fortunes was reached, climaxed by the attempted treachery at West Point of its commander, the brilliant Benedict Arnold, who had become disgusted by congressional irresponsibility.

After a year of mixed victories and defeats in fighting the able American leaders in the south, Greene, Sumter, Marion and Morgan, the British commander, Cornwallis, handicapped by decreasing support from his war-weary government, concentrated his forces in the Yorktown peninsula in Virginia. He was soon cut off from assistance by the French fleet in Chesapeake Bay. Washington now laid siege to the British positions at Yorktown, being reinforced by 6,000 French troops under Rochambeau, including Custine (q.v.) and Fersen (q.v.), secured largely through the efforts of Lafayette in his mission to France on Washington's behalf (1779-80). In October, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered with 7,000 men, and the fight was essentially over, though the peace treaty was delayed two years.

In December, 1783, Washington retired from the army, now 51 and by all odds the leading citizen of the new nation. After spending some years in private life, inspecting his local and western estates, and finding himself increasingly bored, he began to edge his way back into public life. He shared the dissatisfaction of many with the weakness of the new government under the Articles of Confederation and conducted an enormous correspondence with the leaders of all the states, many of whom came to visit him. However, he indignantly rejected the suggestion of those disposed towards a constitutional monarchy that he accept the royal office, leading the monarchical-minded to sound out Prince Henry of Prussia (q.v.).

In 1785 commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met at Mount Vernon to settle a dispute concerning navigation of the Potomac, and this led to the Annapolis Convention (1786) and finally to the Constitutional Convention (1787). Elected a delegate to this convention, Washington was of course unanimously elected its president and used all his influence to secure the adoption of the new Constitution.

Unanimously elected the first President of the United States, Washington took office on April 30, 1789, at Federal Hall, on the corner of Wall and Broad Streets in the new American provisional capital, New York. John Adams, to whom he owed his command of the Continental Army, was his vice president, and his handsome ex-secretary, Alexander Hamilton, became Secretary of the Treasury, in which capacity he was to render

outstanding service and become the nominal originator of Republican Party principles. Anxious to have all political sentiments represented, Washington set off the conservative Adams and Hamilton with the liberal Thomas Jefferson as his Secretary of State.

As President, Washington with his poise, prestige and dignity made the new government respected at home and abroad. When he made inspection trips of his realm, notably New England in 1789-90 and the South in 1791, Washington was received by local leaders in a manner befitting the head of a great nation. He maintained executive prerogatives vigorously against the Congress. However, despite his efforts at nonpartisanship, Washington was impelled to side with the conservative position of Hamilton on financial matters, and he further offended Jefferson by refusing to honor the American alliance with France when that nation in 1793 became embroiled in war with Britain (and most of Europe) in the wake of the French Revolution.

Accordingly, Jefferson resigned and organized the Republican Party (later the Democratic Party), while a Federalist Party (later the Whigs and Republicans) was organized by Hamilton and Adams. It was as the candidate of the Federalist Party that Washington was re-elected president in 1792, and during his second term he was subject to much criticism by Jefferson's party as an aristocrat hostile to democratic ideals. Further abuse fell on him for his hostility to revolutionary France, for the excise tax on domestic spirits (which produced the vigorously-suppressed Whiskey Rebellion of 1794) and for the inadequacies of Jay's Treaty with England (1794). Washington was accused of aping monarchy and of being not the father but the stepfather of his country.

Disgusted with political abuse and partisanship, Washington decided in 1796 against a third term. Shortly after delivering his Farewell Address (September 17, 1796), a monument of American oratory mostly ghost-written by Hamilton, he retired to Mount Vernon. He returned to public life only briefly in 1798, when he was given the command of the army in the face of impending war with France, which was in the end averted. Washington died on December 14, 1799, "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." He had no children by

Martha, who survived him by three years, but as already mentioned, adopted the two younger children of Martha's son.

Even Washington's closest admirers and most devoted biographers have always found themselves perplexed by a seemingly inexplicable coldness and aloofness. In fact, this is the completely "normal" characteristic of the repressed homosexual in public life, and by a curious coincidence, was even shared by contemporary leaders of France and England, i.e., Robespierre (q.v.) and Pitt (q.v.). There may possibly have been a breath of innuendo in the course of the Conway Cabal against Washington. It may also be that the contemptuous hostility of Charles Lee to Washington derived from something he "found out" during that Braddock expedition of 1755, in which they both served. The subject has of course been an absolutely taboo one with Washington's better-known biographers, or at least it has as their books finally emerged in print.

Of all the objects of Washington's homoerotic passions, Hamilton undoubtedly provided the nearest occasion of an almost open manifestation. Born in the West Indies, the illegitimate son of a Scotch merchant and a Frenchwoman unhappily married to a Danish Jew named Levine, Hamilton was sent by his mother's relatives to be educated in New Jersey, where he entered a preparatory school at 15. In 1774 Hamilton entered King's College (Columbia) but quit at the outbreak of the Revolution to become a pamphleteer and artillery captain. He made such an impression on Washington during the fighting around New York that at 19 he became Washington's aide-de-camp and private secretary, and remained his constant companion for most of the war. After they had what one biographer (Nash) refers to as "a sort of lovers' quarrel" in 1781, probably resulting from Hamilton's recent marriage to Elizabeth Schuyler, of a leading New York family, Hamilton insisted on being given a field command at Yorktown, where he distinguished himself in leading the final American assault on the British defenses. Thanks to his marriage, Hamilton became no longer dependent on Washington for his advance, and he became a leading New York politician and political philosopher (*The Federalist Papers*). Reconciled with Washington after he had become a mature married man and father, and an established politician, Hamilton became the

guiding strong man of Washington's administration, the architect of the new nation's sound fiscal and commercial growth, and even the author of most of Washington's last testament to the American people, his famous Farewell Address.

Reference: Nash, 44-49.



GUSTAVUS III (1746-1792)

King of Sweden (1771-92).

He was the eldest son of Adolphus Frederick, who in 1751 founded a new dynasty, and thus only a distant cousin of Charles XII (q.v.). His mother was the sister of Frederick the Great (q.v.). Since the Swedish nobles, long engaged in a struggle for supremacy with Sweden's kings, were anxious to make the dynasty toe the line, they imposed on the royal family two leading statesmen of their ranks as governors of young Gustavus. He was more influenced, however, by the French works of the Enlightenment recommended to him by his mother, and also by the venerable poet and historian who became his tutor.

Gustavus exhibited both a brilliant mind and charming manners, and he was encouraged by his parents to deceptive falseness in dealing with representatives of the arrogant nobility, thus early acquiring a talent for intrigue, which went well with his histrionic abilities. In 1766 Gustavus married Sophia of Denmark, but the marriage proved unhappy.

In 1768 Sweden was virtually in a state of anarchy due to bitter party strife between the rival factions called Caps and Hats. Completely unable to cope with the situation, his father entrusted to Gustavus more and more of his limited authority. Gustavus insisted on elections for a new parliament, hoping it would produce reforms for stability. The electoral winners, however, reneged on their promise of reforms.

In January, 1771, Gustavus opened the parliament as regent and delivered a stirring speech, the first from the throne in Sweden for over a century, that had as its larger audience the intelligentsia of all Europe. As "the first citizen of a free people," Gustavus offered to mediate and called for sacrifice of all party animosities for the common benefit. As it turned out, when a coalition was formed, neither group proved willing to make any sacrifices. The dominant Caps stood for the maximum curtail-

ment of the royal power at home and for a foreign policy co-ordinated with Russia's abroad.

Meanwhile in February Gustavus had gone off to visit Paris where for almost two months he was hailed by poets, philosophers, courtiers and great ladies as the very model of the ideal king demanded by the new age. He signed a secret treaty of alliance providing for annual subsidies to Sweden and for the appointment as French ambassador at Stockholm of the top French diplomat, Vergennes (who subsequently as foreign minister turned the tide for the American Revolution by signing a treaty of alliance with Benjamin Franklin in 1778). On his way home, Gustavus visited his famous uncle and was advised by Frederick the Great to assume a strong role as mediator between the factions to end the anarchy.

In June, 1771, Adolphus Frederick died and Gustavus became king in name as well as in fact. As the coalition grew more and more hopeless, Gustavus was approached at various times by enemies of the Caps for his reaction to a coup. He at last fell in with elaborate plans for coordinated revolts in Finland and southern Sweden, by the crushing of which he would be able to assume full power. Before these plans could be carried out, his Cap enemies precipitated a showdown in Stockholm. After careful negotiation with dozens of loyal officers, who were absolved of their previous oaths and took a new oath to him, Gustavus effected a brilliantly executed military *coup d'état* in August, 1772. Appearing before the Swedish parliament in full royal regalia, Gustavus delivered from the throne a speech considered a masterpiece of Swedish oratory, in which he reproached the estates for their unpatriotic venality and license. A new constitution was presented by Gustavus, and after its unanimous acceptance by the dazzled and cowed legislators, the parliament was dissolved.

Relying on counselors of his own choosing, Gustavus set out to become a model "enlightened despot" and took an active part in every field of government. His reforms included the abolition of torture, religious toleration, freedom of the press, new laws to encourage fiscal soundness, trade, and industry, and welfare legislation for the poor. The national defenses were improved sufficiently to put Sweden back into great power

status, and the navy was enlarged to become one of the most formidable in Europe. Although determined to end Sweden's recent obsequious deference to Russia, Gustavus proceeded to act with moderation and prudence towards his powerful neighbor.

In 1778 a new parliament was convened, and Gustavus modestly gave it an account of his six-year stewardship. The deputies responded to their gracious king with unanimous approval of all his measures, and as it was cynically put, "There was no room for a single no during the whole session."

In succeeding years, however, the seeming loss of all powers to an absolute monarch created rising animosity toward Gustavus by many with special interests. When a new parliament convened in 1786, the long-repressed resentments burst forth violently, and Gustavus met with objections to all his proposals. When the hostile nobility even failed to support him during his war with Russia in 1788 and obliged him to make a disadvantageous peace with Catherine the Great after the Danes attacked him, Gustavus determined on resolute action once again.

He turned on the Danes, and immediately after defeating them, promulgated his Act of Unity and Security in February, 1789. With the support of the three lower estates, he overrode the opposition of the estate of nobles and gentry, branding them as unpatriotic traitors. A new constitution made Gustavus an even more absolute monarch. And to cap his triumph, on the eve of the ratification of the peace with Russia, Gustavus' new navy won at Svenskund the greatest naval victory in Swedish history, the Russians losing one third of their fleet and 7,000 men.

With the outbreak of the French Revolution later in 1789, Gustavus had second thoughts about the end results of too much concern for the common man. He made energetic efforts to organize a league of sovereigns against France's Jacobins, and in 1791 signed an alliance with Catherine of Russia providing for Russian subsidies (his French subsidies being of course no longer available). Mutual jealousies, however, thwarted Gustavus' diplomatic efforts.

The appeal to violence and bloodshed that was now everywhere in the air also affected Gustavus' longtime enemies among the Swedish nobility. A number of aristocrats formed a plot against him, and on March 16, 1792, Gustavus III was shot in the back

during a midnight masked ball at the Swedish opera-house by a young aristocrat named Ankarström. He died on the twenty-ninth. His unhappy marriage had produced an unbalanced son, Gustavus IV, who was eventually forced to abdicate and was replaced by Gustavus III's aged brother as Charles XIII. The latter, being childless, adopted as his heir the Napoleonic marshal of France, Bernadotte, who founded a new dynasty.

Always interested in literature, Gustavus III was not only a generous patron of science and literature and founder of the Swedish Academy (1786), but was himself the gifted author of notable dramas, an opera, poems, historical essays and published letters to friends. His own orations are also among the best of their type. He ranks with Emperors Frederick II (q.v.) and Manuel I (q.v.) as a gifted genius by chance born to the purple.

Gustavus' homosexual intimates, aside from the well-known Axel Fersen (q.v.), included Adolf Muell (sometimes alleged the real father of Gustavus IV), Johann Aminoff, Ribbing, and Gustav Armfelt, who became an important political figure in his own right, somewhat like Hamilton. There was also some suspicion that homosexual jealousies and vengeance may have played a part in the conspiracy as the tool of political wirepullers, with the assassin Ankarström himself possibly having been homosexually involved with Gustavus, allowing for some similarity to the circumstances of the assassination of Philip of Macedon (q.v.).

Reference: Hirschfeld, 663; Mayne, 192, 232, 368.



JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE (1749-1832)

German poet, dramatist, novelist and philosopher.

He was born at Frankfurt, the son of a wealthy innkeeper's son. The elder Goethe, having studied law and yet having failed to gain an official post, had become a dilettante and married the daughter of a Frankfurt mayor. Young Goethe inherited from his father his earnestness and stability of character and from his mother his lively disposition and imaginative powers. He enjoyed a happy, sheltered childhood.

After receiving a careful education from his culture-minded father and from tutors, Goethe went to Leipzig in 1765 to study law. At Leipzig, however, excessive studies, and apparently dis-

sipations, led to a hemorrhage and a breakdown of his health in 1768. During a long convalescence at his home, Goethe took lessons in drawing and painting, and made his first efforts at writing poetry.

In 1770 Goethe went to Strassbourg to complete his law studies and there he met the leader of the German Romantic literary movement, Herder, who with his associates awoke in Goethe a romantic interest in Germany's mediaeval past. At the same time he became greatly influenced by Rousseau's love of nature and Spinoza's mystical view of nature. A scholarly byproduct of this nature worship was the beginning of his life-long scientific study of plants and animals.

In 1772 Goethe secured a position as a lawyer at the imperial court of justice at Wetzlar. In his spare time he began his literary career by writing the romantic drama *Götz von Berlichingen* (1772). Goethe also developed one of those "alas, it's hopeless!" grand passions, the girl being Charlotte Buff, who was engaged to another. Goethe managed to overcome his supposed impulses to suicide by writing *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774), which made him famous almost overnight at 25 and was to be translated into every major language—even Chinese! In 1775 young Goethe was invited to the court of Charles Augustus, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and at Weimar he was to maintain his residence for the rest of his long life.

For ten years Goethe served as a sort of prime minister of Weimar, carrying out his duties in an exemplary manner. After resigning his office in 1785, Goethe was once again a private citizen, though he did retain the directorship of the state theater and of the scientific institutions. He made a trip to Italy 1786-88, which fired his enthusiasm for the classical period, though his account of it was published only in 1816-17.

In 1788, Goethe completed his psychological drama *Egmont*, followed by *Torquato Tasso* (1789) and the epics *Reynard the Fox* (1794) and *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797). His novel *Wilhelm Meister* was published in 1796. Meanwhile, he had again become involved with the state when in 1792 he accompanied his duke as official historian in the allied campaign against revolutionary France. Goethe's sense of justice and of historic evolution made him appreciate the principles involved in the

French Revolution, but his love of order and respect for authority made him condemn the methods of the revolutionary leaders. To Goethe, revolutions imposed from above seemed most appropriate and most likely to be fruitful.

After his return from Italy, Goethe had set up a household with his mistress, Christiane Vulpius, whom he married in 1806. Meanwhile, they had a son named August (1789-1830). Goethe became a close friend of the dramatist Schiller, whose death in 1805 affected him deeply. That same year he wrote a work of aesthetic criticism on Winckelmann (q.v.). Most of his creative efforts, however, were now devoted to his great dramatic poem, *Faust*, of which the first part was published in 1808 (the second part was to be published only posthumously).

A great admirer of Napoleon (q.v.), who upon meeting Goethe at Erfurt had said flatteringly, "Voilà un homme!", Goethe refused to be swept along by the patriotic hysteria that enveloped Germany in the years 1813-15. In the post-war years, Goethe became a sort of intellectual divinity, aloof from national, political or even literary partisanship, a divinity to whose shrine at Weimar all European intellectuals felt bound to make a pilgrimage at least once, much as Moslems to Mecca.

In his final years, Goethe devoted himself increasingly to science, which he approached with a poet's intuition as a sensuous experience. However, he also continued some literary activity, notably an autobiography of his youth and a book of ersatz-oriental lyrics entitled *Westöstlicher Diwan* (1819), inspired by his reading of Hafiz (q.v.) and other Persian poets. In 1822 his proposal of marriage to an 18-year-old girl he'd recently met having been rejected, Goethe was inspired to write a set of poems, *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* (*Trilogy of Passion*), considered among his finest. In 1829 he published a sequel to *Wilhelm Meister* called *Travel Years of Wilhelm Meister*, but it turned out to be only a poorly connected series of short stories, disappointing in their effect. Shortly after completing his *Faust*, he died. He was buried beside Schiller in the ducal crypt at Weimar.

Goethe's familiar languages included French, English, Italian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and his manifold literary accomplishments included translations of Voltaire, Diderot, Cellini (q.v.), and Byron (q.v.). Much of Goethe's philosophy is brought out

in the *Conversations with Eckermann*, recorded by his faithful secretary. He also wrote ballads, edited various periodicals of a scientific, literary, or artistic nature, and corresponded with many European notables. Other personal accomplishments included playing the cello, riding horseback, acting on the stage, swimming and skating.

References to Goethe as a homosexual have been scarcely less delicate than those to Jesus (q.v.) and Washington (q.v.), with phrases like "something of the Uranian" and "some homoerotic dispositions," and some leading experts are doubtful. One of the chief sources of conclusions about his long-repressed homosexuality was found in the somewhat pederastic sentiments of some of Goethe's *Diwan* lyrics. Further interest in the subject on Goethe's part has been seen in a scene in *Wilhelm Meister*, in his essay on Winckelmann, and his conversation with Eckermann about Müller (q.v.). But getting back from the professional to the personal, there is also reference to an Italian youth to whom Goethe in his later years showed an attachment sufficient to disturb some of his compatriots.

Reference: Bulliet, 305; Carpenter (IS), 103; Ellis 48; Masters, 140; Mayne, 296.



KARL PHILIPP MORITZ (1757-1793)

German writer.

He was born at Hamelin (of Pied Piper fame) of humble parentage, and after receiving a scanty schooling, was apprenticed to a hat-maker. However, thanks to the support of affluent persons who appreciated his fine mind, Moritz was enabled to study philosophy at the Universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg. In 1777 he became a teacher in a school at Dessau.

Little further is known of Moritz's life until 1786 when, during a tour of Italy, he had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Goethe (q.v.), then making his own famous Italian journey. On his return to Germany, Moritz secured, thanks to the favorably impressed Goethe, an appointment as professor of archeology and aesthetics at the Berlin Academy of Arts.

During Moritz's remaining years, a number of works in all categories came from his pen, works on aesthetic, archeological and philosophical subjects, books on his travels in Italy (1792-

93) and England (1788). His best known works, however, are his two autobiographical novels, *Andreas Hartknopf* (1786) and *Anton Reiser* (1785-90).

Reference: Ellis, 35.



JOHANNES VON MÜLLER (1752-1809)

Swiss historian.

He was born at Neunkirch in northeastern Switzerland, the son of a pastor. In 1760 the family moved to nearby Schaffhausen, and there his maternal grandfather aroused in Müller an interest in history. Within a few months the precocious 8-year-old had written a history of Schaffhausen.

In 1769 Müller entered the University of Göttingen in Hanover, supposedly to study theology. He was soon spending many of his available hours on his studies in Swiss history. Despite this distraction, and the added distraction of a passionate friendship with the handsome young Charles Victor de Bonstetten, to whom he was later to write letters as passionate as those Bonstetten had received from the English poet Thomas Gray (q.v.), Müller managed to pass his theological examination. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed professor of Greek at Göttingen.

In 1774, on Bonstetten's advice, Müller resigned his professorship and took a lucrative position as a tutor in Geneva, where he had more time to work on his history. Apparently the spare time available did not suffice, so in 1775 he resigned from this position also. With financial support from friends, Müller devoted himself intensively to research in Geneva and the Vaud. He began his composition in 1776 and the printing of the first volume in 1777. Publication was held up by trouble with the censor.

Resuming his academic ties, Müller delivered a series of brilliant historical lectures in 1778-79. In 1780 he published the first volume of his Swiss history, covering to 1388, and found it well received. The following year he published at Berlin, in French, *Historic Essays*, and was appointed by the ruler of Hesse-Kassel professor of history at the University of Kassel.

In 1783 Müller returned to Geneva as a reader for the Tronchin publishing house and was able to get back to work on

his Swiss history. In 1786 he published a revised version of the first volume, now covering the period to 1412, followed by Volume 2 (1412-36) in 1788, Volume 3 (1436-43) in 1795, Volume 4 (1443-75) in 1805, and Volume 5 (1475-89) in 1808. The monumental work was continued by others after Müller's death. Although subject to much criticism by modern standards (he completely accepted the William Tell legend), Müller's history was hailed with great enthusiasm when first published, being considered like Gibbon's English work fine literature, as indeed it still is. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* had been completed at nearby Lausanne in 1788, and doubtless influenced both Müller's progress and his success.

Meanwhile in 1786 Müller had become librarian to the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz, who bestowed many offices on him and had him elevated by the emperor to the nobility in 1791. After Mainz fell to revolutionary France in 1792, Müller went to Vienna to enter the service of the emperor. He became an imperial councillor, and in 1800 chief librarian of the Imperial Library. In 1804 von Müller transferred to Prussia, where he became the official state historian, a war councillor and a member of the Prussian Academy.

Müller was greatly impressed by Napoleon (q.v.), who received him in audience in November, 1806, and a year later appointed him secretary of state in the new satellite Kingdom of Westphalia, ruled by Napoleon's brother Jerome, the former husband of a Baltimore girl. However, Müller found this post unsuited to him and in 1808 resigned and became instead general director of public instruction and privy councillor. Within a year he was dead.

Müller's collected works were published in twenty-seven volumes (1810-19). Various collections of letters were subsequently published, including in 1835 his homoerotic letters to his beloved Bonstetten. There does not seem to have yet been a collection of all the passionate letters written to Bonstetten, so that those of Gray might be compared with those of Müller. Müller's homoerotic passions were touched on by Goethe (q.v.) in his conversations with Eckermann.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 668; Mayne, 596.

ANTONIO CANOVA (1757-1822)

Italian sculptor.

He was born at the village of Passagno, in northeastern Italy, of a family of hereditary stone-cutters. Orphaned at 3, Canova was brought up by affectionate grandparents and received early training from his grandfather, who had some skill in drawing and architecture. However, Canova showed an early predilection for sculpture, and by 9 was executing in his grandfather's shop small shrines of Carrara marble.

When Antonio was 13, Senator Falier of Venice, a patron of the family workshop, became greatly impressed by his precocious talents and took young Antonio under his wing. Canova was sent to study nearby under the eminent sculptor Torretto, and upon his death brought to Venice to complete his training under Torretto's nephew. Senator Falier's son became Canova's intimate friend, for life as it turned out. Meanwhile Canova was able to acquire an unusually broad education, aside from his technical training. He studied ancient and modern history, archeology, modern languages, and especially anatomy, which he regarded as the secret of the sculptor's art. When some kind monks gave him a vacant cell for a workshop, young Canova used living models, and at 16 turned out his first striking work, *Orpheus and Eurydice*. He followed this with a work commissioned by his patron, *Daedalus and Icarus*, which was warmly praised for its simplicity and faithful imitation of nature.

Determined to seek his fortune in the larger fields of Rome, the 24-year-old Canova reached the papal city in 1781 with a three-year pension from the Venetian senate. Canova soon established his reputation in Rome with a group called *Theseus Vanquishing the Minotaur*. He spent the next few years on the tomb of Pope Clement XIV (d. 1774), and he did so impressive a job that he received a like commission from the family of Pope Clement XIII (d. 1769). During this period he also executed smaller works, most notably a *Cupid and Psyche*, with Psyche holding a butterfly, considered the most faultless and classical of his works (now at the Louvre). Because of his attachment to Italy, Canova turned down an offer from Catherine the Great to come to St. Petersburg to become Russia's leading sculptor.

In the early years of the French Revolution, Canova con-

tinued his work undisturbed, turning out a celebrated group called *Parting of Venus and Adonis*. However, when Italy became a general battleground, he retired to his native Passagno in 1798 and taught himself painting, turning out twenty paintings with religious backgrounds. With the arrival of the short peace, Canova returned to Rome and then, accompanied by his friend Prince Rezzonico, toured Germany.

After returning to Rome, Canova executed a number of new works, most notably *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*, which was given an honored spot in the Vatican customarily reserved for works of antiquity. In 1802 France's first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte (q.v.), who was also president of the Italian Republic, summoned Canova to Paris to do a bust. Napoleon entertained Canova with munificence and conferred honors on him. The bust turned into a colossal statue, completed in 1808, which was subsequently given by Louis XVIII (q.v.) to the British government, which in turn gave it to Napoleon's conqueror, Wellington. Canova also did statues of other members of the Bonaparte family.

In 1815, after the fall of Napoleon, Canova was commissioned by the pope to superintend the transmission from Paris back to Rome of many of the great works of art that had been carried off by the French. Canova had to negotiate compromises and indemnities like a diplomat. After completing his task, he visited London for a few triumphant weeks, then returned to Rome in 1816. The pope honored Canova for all his work with the title of Marquis of Ischia and conferred on him a substantial pension.

Among the most noted classical works of Canova's final years were *Palamedes*, *Creugas and Damoxenus*, *Combat of Theseus and the Centaur*, *Hercules and Lichas*, *Hector and Ajax*, *Mars and Venus*. On an American commission, Canova did a statue of George Washington (q.v.) in Roman armor for the State House at Raleigh, N.C. (it was destroyed by fire in 1831).

Of the more idealized works, the outstanding were *Hebe*, *The Dancing Nymphs*, *The Graces*, *Venus*, *The Awakened Nymph*, *Pieta*, *Recumbent Magdalene*, and *St. John*. Cenotaphs and funeral monuments, aside from those cited for the two popes, were executed for Alfieri, the Italian poet, Lord Nelson of

England, the Venetian Admiral Emo and Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria. He also did personal statues or busts of Napoleon's mother and Napoleon's sisters Pauline and Elisa, of Pope Pius VI and of Princess Esterhazy.

When Vatican intrigues foiled Canova's plan for a colossal statue of *Religion*, he consoled himself by putting his own funds into a smaller version of the work, to be housed in a temple in his native Passagno which was also to contain other works of his and serve as his tomb. By lavish distribution of gratuities to the local peasantry and their women, Canova secured maximum co-operation. When his funds ran out, Canova ruined his health by his excessive exertions, and he died at 65.

Canova was honored by all classes of society both for his great talents and for his extreme liberality, as demonstrated by his endowment of academies, by his establishing of prizes for artists and by his bestowing of charity on the aged and the unfortunate, not to mention just the plain peasantry.

In art history, Canova's place was seen as the leader of the classical revival in Italy, and thus to some extent represented a return to the days of Michelangelo (q.v.) before the debased standards of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries set in. Among Canova's technical accomplishments perhaps the most notable was his special method of giving his marble a soft and mellow appearance.

Reference: Jahrbuch, 109.



PIERRE ANDRÉ DE SUFFREN DE SAINT-TROPEZ (1729-1788)

French admiral.

He was born in the family château, the younger son of the Marquis de Saint-Tropez, a Provençal nobleman. In 1743, the 14-year-old Suffren began his distinguished naval career as a midshipman. The war of the Austrian Succession was being fought and he participated in a number of actions ranging from the Mediterranean to the West Indies. Suffren was briefly a British prisoner, and a taste of British arrogance in that period gave him his lifelong hatred of Englishmen. In 1748, after the peace settlement, Suffren was formally enrolled in the Order of Malta, to which his family was traditionally attached.

During the Seven Years War (1756-63), Suffren again suffered imprisonment by the British when his ship was captured. After the peace settlement of 1763, Suffren received a command in the naval branch of the Order of Malta and became captain of a ship cruising against the Barbary pirates to protect commerce. By 1771 he had been promoted from knight to commander in the Order. On the eve of the American Revolution, Suffren was appointed a squadron commander in training exercises of the French navy, and he was noted for his aggressive tactics.

When in 1778 the French government sent the fleet of the Count d'Estaing to the aid of Washington (q.v.), Suffren commanded several ships in succession in various actions against the British off the American coast and in the West Indies. After Suffren had criticized d'Estaing for lack of aggressiveness, d'Estaing, far from offended, secured for Suffren in 1781 command of a squadron of five ships being sent to help the Dutch (who had entered the war on the side of the United States, France and Spain).

Starting off on the expedition that was to make him a national hero, Suffren headed for the Dutch Cape Colony in South Africa, which was expecting a British attack. In April, 1781, he encountered the British expeditionary fleet at anchor at one of the Portuguese islands off West Africa, boldly attacked and inflicted sufficient damage to forestall their attack against the Cape Colony.

After arriving at the Dutch colony and securing its defenses, Suffren sailed on towards India, joining to his squadron at Mauritius eleven ships whose commanding admiral had just died. Reaching India, where the British had recently seized the French colony of Pondichéry, Suffren made a number of aggressive attacks on the British fleet in a succession of engagements between February, 1782, and April, 1783. In the process, he materially assisted the fight of the Indians of Mysore under Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Sahib (q.v.) against the British.

After the peace settlement of 1783, Suffren was ordered to return to France where he was greeted as a national hero. The new post of vice-admiral was created especially for him. He had meanwhile also been made the *bailli*, or chief lay officer, of the Knights of Malta. During the remaining few years before his sudden death, Suffren added a remarkable array of new titles:

Knight Grand Cross, Knight of the Holy Ghost, General of the Armies of the Church, and ambassador of the Order of Malta to Louis XVI of France.

Suffren, who was selected by Admiral Mahan as a principal figure in Mahan's great study of the influence of sea-power, was said to have practiced his homosexuality quite openly, without prejudice to the universal respect he enjoyed and without any demands for the surrender of any of his semi-clerical offices.

Reference: Peyrefitte (Knights), 241.



TIPPOO SAHIB (1753-1799)

Maharajah (or Sultan) of Mysore (1782-99).

He was the son of Hyder Ali, a Mohammedan soldier of fortune who had carved out an empire for himself in India and become Britain's most formidable rival. By the time Tippoo had reached adolescence, his father had advanced himself from being Mysore's leading general to being the usurper of its throne (1766). In warfare with the British, Hyder Ali had done well enough to have earned their respect and esteem, as well as a treaty of mutual aid and alliance (1769). Tippoo received instruction in military tactics from the French officers employed by his father, and by 1767, when he was 14, commanded the cavalry in battles against the British.

In 1772 Hyder Ali, hard pressed by his enemies of the Mahratta Confederacy, called in vain on his British allies for help, and then swore revenge for their treachery. After the conclusion of the Mahratta War (1775-78), in which Tippoo distinguished himself, the British used as an excuse the French entrance into the American Revolution (1778) to seize France's colonies in India. One of these colonies being a dependency of Hyder Ali's, he declared war on the British and gained many initial successes with the help of his able son, Tippoo Sahib, including the total destruction of a British force of about 3,000. Hyder Ali even dared to advance on Madras.

When Governor-General Warren Hastings sent down Sir Eyre Coote with a substantial army, supported effectively by British seapower, Hyder Ali began to suffer defeats. Tippoo was on a mission to the newly arrived French fleet under Suffren (q.v.) when Hyder Ali suddenly died.

Thanks to the effective action of Suffren's fleet against the British naval forces, Tippoo achieved some successes, and even when the western peace settlement of 1783 led to the withdrawal of the French fleet, Tippoo was able to make an advantageous peace with the British (1784). Tippoo now took the title of sultan.

In 1787 Tippoo decided to expand his domains. After subjugating the Nairs of Malabar (1787-89), he invaded the British protectorate of Travancore. The new British governor-general and commander-in-chief, Lord Cornwallis, hoping to redeem the prestige lost at Yorktown to Washington and his French allies, took stern counter-measures against Tippoo in alliance with Mysore's traditional enemy, the Nizam of Hyderabad. Defeated, Tippoo was forced to sign a peace treaty in March, 1792, whereby he ceded half his domains and paid a large indemnity.

In his final years, Tippoo sought to redeem his dynasty's prestige amongst his subjects by many cruel acts and by the construction of a beautiful capital at Seringapatam. Renewed hostilities with the British led to a British invasion of Mysore in 1799, and during the storming of his capital, Tippoo was killed. Among the leaders of the attacking troops was Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, who was appointed to the supreme military and political command in Mysore, which now became a British protectorate under the old dynasty, which had been ousted by Tippoo's father.

Tippoo's favorite homosexual pattern was the buccal and anal rape of the captured sons of the hated English.

Reference: Edwardes, 236.



ALESSANDRO "COUNT" CAGLIOSTRO (1743-1795)

Italian adventurer.

Originally Giuseppe Balsamo, he was born at Palermo in Sicily. He received a rudimentary education at the monastery of Caltagirone, but was expelled for immoral conduct and disowned by his family. He now began his life of dissipation and confidence rackets that established him as the prototype of the modern con man.

After getting into trouble with the authorities in Sicily, he visited in succession Greece, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Rhodes

and Malta, studying wherever possible alchemy and related fields. At Malta he presented himself to the grand master as Count Cagliostro, a devotee of alchemy. He apparently proved himself sufficiently to have received from the grand master introductions to the great families of Naples and Rome. While at Rome, Cagliostro married a beautiful and equally amoral woman named Lorenza Feliciani who became his constant companion and fellow racketeer.

In 1771 Cagliostro was found in London and Paris, selling love philtres, elixirs of youth, powders to make ugly women beautiful, powders to transmute metals, etc. Cagliostro profited enormously and in London, as Grand Copt of the Order of Egyptian Masonry, founded a new order of freemasonry with many lodges. Cagliostro was received into the best society and adored by all the old ladies, and also by some not so old. He also became a pioneer in the use of hypnotism.

Setting out on his travels again, often with different names, Cagliostro visited Holland, Germany, Poland, and even Russia. In 1785 he returned to Paris where he became involved in that famous Diamond Necklace Affair, the connection with which established his encyclopedic immortality. This very complex affair involved the securing of a very valuable diamond necklace, allegedly ordered by Queen Marie Antoinette. The various confidence tricks and characters included an ambitious and amorous young cardinal, with designs on the queen, forged letters and memoranda and even impersonations of the queen. Meanwhile the necklace had been taken to London and broken up for sale. The scandal and the ensuing ill will towards the queen were substantial factors in the background of the French Revolution.

Cagliostro was among those arrested on suspicion of being accomplices, but at the trial in May, 1786, he defended himself with matchless impudence. Though acquitted as an accomplice in the Necklace Affair, other information about Cagliostro's background led to his imprisonment in the Bastille.

Upon his release from the Bastille, Cagliostro again went to England where he resumed his confidence tricks until some English lawyers collected evidence against him and secured his imprisonment. After his release, Cagliostro left England, and

travelling again through France on the eve of the Revolution, reached Rome. There his activities led to arrest by the Inquisition in 1789 as a heretic and sorcerer. Tried and found guilty, Cagliostro was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment, his wife being confined in a convent. Cagliostro died in the papal prison of San Leo.

As fascinating a subject as he was a person, Cagliostro subsequently appeared in several works of literature, most notably in Dumas' novel *Memoirs of a Physician* and Carlyle's essay in his *Miscellanies*.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 660.



COUNT HANS AXEL FERSEN (1755-1810)

Swedish courtier, general and statesman.

He was the son of Count Frederik Fersen, the leader of the pro-French and anti-Russian Hat party, who became one of the closest advisers of Gustavus III (q.v.) after the coup of 1772 that ended the Cap-dominated anarchy. The Fersens, descended traditionally from an emigrating McPherson of Scotland, were known for their good looks and in young Axel, known as *le beau Fersen*, who was to play leading roles in Swedish and French history, and a minor role in American history, the family trait reached its zenith. His early years were passed in acquiring an excellent and broad education in Stockholm, Brunswick (Germany) and Turin (Italy).

In 1779 Fersen entered French service in a regiment that shortly set out with Rochambeau's expedition to aid Washington (q.v.). Fersen served as Rochambeau's adjutant and distinguished himself at Yorktown (1781), the final great battle of the Revolutionary War. Apparently Washington never properly met *le beau Fersen*, else he might have received offers too tempting to resist, to the great loss of Marie Antoinette and Gustavus III.

Returning to France, Fersen was promoted to colonel in his father's old regiment, the Royal-Suédois. From the first, Fersen with his charm, grace, good looks and brilliant wit became a great favorite at the French court. Possibly because of disturbing rumors about his intimacy with Marie Antoinette, Fersen in 1784 received a summons from Gustavus III, then at Pisa and engaged in a tour of Italy. Fersen travelled all through Italy

with Gustavus for many months, always kept most intimately close, and the whispers began to increase. Meanwhile in France, some seven or eight months after Fersen's departure, Marie Antoinette gave birth to the future Dauphin, the ill-fated "Louis XVII," about whose death or escape there were to be so many romances.

After the Italian tour Fersen returned to Sweden with Gustavus and continued as the royal favorite until his position became somewhat undermined by his father's increasing opposition to Gustavus, which culminated in an open break, the older Fersen's arrest and his forced retirement after his release. In 1788, when war with Russia broke out, Axel Fersen served with his regiment in Finland. Later in the year, Gustavus decided to send Fersen as his envoy to France, where the political horizon was already darkening. Gustavus had lost faith in his accredited minister, Baron de Staël, the husband of the famous Mme. de Staël.

In France Fersen renewed his old intimacy with Marie Antoinette and was near her during many of the critical days of the early part of the Revolution. During one of the most desperate adventures of the queen's life, the attempted flight to Varennes (June, 1791), Fersen played a key role. He raised the needed funds, ordered the construction of a special carriage for six (which he kept conspicuously on the embassy grounds), served himself as coachman of the small carriage that took the king and queen to their rendezvous with the special carriage outside the gates of Paris, and indeed Fersen accompanied them on the first stage of their ill-fated trip, as far as Bondy.

After the arrest of the king and queen at Varennes, and their return to Paris under continual surveillance, Fersen was able to maintain only limited contact with the queen, but he nonetheless became her chief adviser while she was herself acting for the spineless king.

In August, 1791 Gustavus III, energetically trying to organize a coalition of sovereigns against revolutionary France, sent Fersen to Vienna to seek support from the queen's brother, Emperor Leopold II. Receiving only evasive responses, Fersen arranged for his transfer to Brussels, where he hoped to be of more service to Marie Antoinette. In February, 1792, using counterfeit credentials of a special Swedish envoy to Portugal, Fersen

reached Paris and managed to secure an interview with the queen. The following evening he stayed with the royal family overnight, convincing them a second flight was impossible. After a third visit, he made his escape to Brussels. Fersen's daring activities, a monumental instance of loyalty, courage, and ingenuity worthy of the most stalwart Hollywood actor (he was once portrayed by the late Tyrone Power) had no lasting effect, for both Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI went to the guillotine in 1793.

Fersen does not appear to have been involved in the assassination plot against Gustavus III (1792), and during the regency (1792-96) of Gustavus's brother for the young Gustavus IV, Fersen continued at diplomatic posts in Brussels and Vienna. In 1797 Fersen was appointed the Swedish delegate to the Congress of Rastadt, where peace was being negotiated with the more moderate Directory government of France. However, the French protested against any part being played by the alleged lover of France's late queen.

In 1797 Gustavus IV became 18 and assumed power from the regency of his uncle and his reactionary advisers. The intimates of Gustavus III were again welcome at the Swedish court, and Fersen came to have great influence over the young king, with some suggestions of a comparable intimacy to that which he'd enjoyed with the king's father, allowing for some adjustments related to the age difference. In 1801 Fersen was appointed *riksmarskalk* or marshal of Sweden. When Sweden joined the war against Napoleon (q.v.) in 1805, Fersen accompanied Gustavus IV to Germany in the search for allies. While in Germany Gustavus, already becoming mentally deranged, proposed to threaten Prussia's king with war if he refused to declare war on France. When Fersen tried to restrain him, he fell into disfavor.

Somewhat in disgrace now, Fersen was on the sidelines when a palace revolution forced Gustavus IV to abdicate in 1809 in the wake of his failure to save Finland from Russian conquest, for he had kept all his troops in the west, in his hatred of Napoleon, anticipating a French-supported attack by the Danes. Fersen was among those who favored Gustavus IV being succeeded by his young son, but due to another reaction against

everyone connected with Gustavus III by his ancient foes, it was decided to exclude his whole family from the succession.

Accordingly, the Swedish nobles elected Christian of Augustenberg king of Sweden, but just before his coronation, he died in May, 1810. A series of events now occurred more comprehensible in deepest Asia or darkest Africa than in Sweden. A report was spread that Christian had been poisoned by Fersen, as a veteran supporter of the Gustavian dynasty in a plot to save it. And indeed Gustavus III's aging brother became regent again on June 5. The radical press took up the rumors. On June 20, when the late Prince Christian's body was conducted through Stockholm's streets by Fersen in his official capacity as marshal, his splendid costume and carriage was taken as derision of the general grief.

The crowd began to murmur and fling stones at Fersen's carriage. Stopping his carriage, Fersen jumped off and fled into a nearby house to await protection from the troops. The mob, however, followed Fersen into the house, punched him and tore his clothes. Two officers, finally arriving, arrested him in order to save his life and took him towards the parliament building. At the entrance the mob, which had followed, tore him from the arresting officers, knocking him down, beat him with sticks and umbrellas, and finally kicked him to death. The whole action, which lasted an hour, took place in the presence of numerous troops, who made no effort to rescue him.

This whole fantastic episode, in which stolid Swedes assumed a behavior pattern of African savages, has never been historically explained. One explanation has been that the leaders of the mob were acting a rehearsed role for which they had been paid. However, the ultimate beneficiary, the aged and ineffective brother of Gustavus III, who now became Charles XIII since Fersen's death removed the last powerful supporter of the young Gustav, had little interest in the throne (and was shortly to adopt the French Marshal Bernadotte as his successor). A more recent theory has been that the rumors that drove the mob to frenzy, a frenzy usually associated in northern countries with matters sexual, included a rumor involving homosexual relations, the line being that Fersen was continuing with the third Gustavian generation the homosexual relations he had had with Gustavus III and supposedly with the dethroned Gustavus IV.

Indeed, there was no mob frenzy against the royal family, who were not harmed and were shipped off to Germany at the end of 1810.

Reference: Peyrefitte (E), 12.



WILLIAM PITT (the Younger) (1759-1806)

English statesman.

He was born at Hayes, the family estate in Kent, during the culmination of his father's glorious career when England, under his leadership in the Seven Years War, was winning Canada and India. By the time young William was a year old, however, the older William Pitt had been forced out as war minister by young George III (q.v.). In 1766 the older Pitt returned, as Earl of Chatham, to the political scene as prime minister for sixteen months, but as titular chief he cut a sorry figure beside his days of glory as war minister and real leader of his country.

The second son of Chatham, young Pitt established himself by his precocious brilliance as the favorite son from his earliest years. His instructors as well as his parents were amazed by the ardor with which he pursued his studies at 7, discussing books with earnest gravity and incredible good sense. That same year, learning of his father's elevation to the peerage, the young 7-year-old said gravely, "I am glad I am not the eldest son. I want to speak in the House of Commons like papa." By 14 he was considered intellectually mature, and he had already written a tragedy concerned with politics.

Unfortunately, young Pitt's astounding mental precocity was accomplished by a physical development that only superficially paralleled it. At an early age Pitt grew very tall, but he was also slender and feeble and often ill. Accordingly, he did not go to one of the great public schools but was tutored and cared for at home. His medical care included the prescribing of port wine, which he took to consuming in enormous quantities.

In 1773, at 14, Pitt entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, and was fortunate in having assigned to him as a tutorial adviser a young man of 23, George Pretyman, who had only recently received his own degree. A close friendship sprang up, lasting Pitt's lifetime. Thanks to Pretyman's guidance, and his own brilliance and industry, Pitt had received his M.A. by 17. For

a few years he continued to reside at Cambridge for further studies. Within ten years Pretyman's protégé, as prime minister, was able to show his gratitude by making Pretyman bishop of Lincoln and dean of St. Paul's. Another intimate Cambridge friend of Pitt's was William Wilberforce, the do-gooding philanthropist and politician who was able to be concerned with such causes as Catholic and Negro emancipation.

Having conceived so early the ambition to follow in his father's footsteps, Pitt laid great emphasis on developing his natural oratorical gifts and steeping himself in the Greek and Latin classics and in such English classics as the works of Shakespeare (q.v.) and Milton (q.v.). Pitt also had a natural gift for mathematics which, when applied to oratory and debating, led him to compare opposed arguments and note which of the arguments on one side had been refuted and which evaded, and how they could have been better disposed of. At an early age he began to make frequent visits to Parliament and did not hesitate to offer constructive suggestions to Charles James Fox, the young Whig leader, already established as one of England's greatest debaters and orators.

On April 7, 1778, shortly before his nineteenth birthday, young Pitt assisted his 70-year-old father to his seat in the House of Lords, where Chatham was anxious to give warning that England's greatness would be over if independence should ever be granted to the American rebels, who had just secured the recognition of France. A motion for an address to George III, asking him to conclude peace on any terms with the United States, had been moved by the ultra-liberal Duke of Richmond, another of those ducal descendants of the bastards of Charles II (in this case by that French mistress sent by Louis XIV as an extra inducement to keep Charles out of anti-French coalitions). Chatham, although sympathetic to the wrongs done the Americans, saw an independent United States only as a satellite of the French he had spent so many years opposing. As Chatham rose to deliver his warning, the exertion proved too much. He fell in a fit, was carried home and died a few weeks later.

As the favorite son, namesake and chief mourner of the beloved Chatham, whose body was borne in the funeral procession to Westminster Abbey, the 19-year-old William Pitt first came

to the attention of most of England's political leaders. Pitt's interest in entering politics as soon as possible was intensified when to his ambition there were added financial problems, his older brother, the Earl, having consumed most of the limited means left by their father. In 1780 Pitt, looking like promising material to the Tories, secured election to the Commons just after passing his twenty-first birthday, having been chosen by the wire-pulling of a political boss to represent the ghost town of Appleby, one of those soon-to-be-famous "rotten boroughs."

Pitt attached himself to the Tory faction that followed his father in joining the Whigs in opposition to the Tory supporters of George III and his prime minister, Lord North. Determined to make a dazzling impression as soon as possible, Pitt made his first speech in February, 1781, in support of Edmund Burke's plan for economic reform. Pitt's silver tones, his seemingly spontaneous sentences of perfect construction, his poise, the impression at once of fiery youth and grave statesman, astonished and delighted most of his fellow M.P.'s "It is not a chip off the old block; it is the old block itself," said Burke. Fox acknowledged that the speech made Pitt one of the first men in Parliament. In two subsequent sessions, Pitt spoke with equal distinction. Then came an adjournment.

When the Parliament convened again in November, 1781, just after learning of Cornwallis' surrender to Washington (q.v.) at Yorktown, seemingly representing a triumph of the French and the undoing of all the work of Pitt's great father, Pitt was among the speakers who helped topple the twelve-year-old ministry of Lord North. Pitt was offered a minor post in the Rockingham ministry formed in 1782, but he announced he would accept none that did not offer him a seat in the cabinet. The new ministry, detested by George III, was constantly undermined by the king's intrigues, which produced a constant shuffling of posts. In one shuffling of 1782, the dazzling young man who impressed members of both parties so favorably was offered the major cabinet position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt was just two months past his twenty-third birthday.

In April, 1783, while the terms of the peace treaty with the United States and its allies were agitating public opinion, the fast-moving political intrigues produced a coalition of two heretofore

bitter enemies, Lord North and Charles James Fox. The apparent cynicism involved shocked public opinion and produced general disgust with the familiar political operators and a desire for fresh leadership of higher calibre, say like the dynamic leadership that in the 1750s had made all Britons proud to be Englishmen: the leadership of a William Pitt. And since there was another William Pitt quite available, one who had himself denounced the cynical coalition, one to whose talents everyone testified, what of it that he was only 24!

At the tumultuous meeting of Parliament in November, 1783, Pitt, back from a triumphant visit to Paris with his friend Wilberforce, found all the old party lines shifting and dissolving and most eyes turning towards him. In December, George III chose him as prime minister, and when a clash over policy in India brought elections shortly afterwards, the election returns showed great support for the position agreed on by both George III and Pitt. It was perhaps the first real "appeal to the country."

Prime minister at 24, the boy wonder remained in that office for all but three of his remaining years. George III, delighted at last to have a prime minister who pleased him personally, as well as Parliament and the people, and chastened by his unhappy experiences with personal rule, got into the habit of deferring to Pitt's opinions on almost everything, everything except liberal religious attitudes and laws.

Until the advent of the French Revolution forced Pitt into a role as war leader, for which he was much less qualified than his father, Pitt continued to be the success that his ardent supporters had expected. Administration was modernized, expenditures and the national debt reduced, parliamentary abuses reformed, commerce and industry given strong support in accordance with the theories of Adam Smith. Overseas, administrative reform reduced abuses against the French Canadians in Canada and against the Indians.

As a liberal Tory, Pitt was among those who first viewed the French Revolution with high hopes. But as the seemingly insane extremists came into control, Pitt was forced by events into the unhappy position of the leader of conservative and often reactionary forces throughout Europe. In 1793 the French declared war on England, and fearing revolution at home, Pitt instituted

such repressive measures as the suspension of the habeas corpus (1794). As the backer of counterrevolution, England began feeling the financial strain and got little reward for her contributions, since the coalitions formed by Pitt in 1793 and 1798 were both unsuccessful. Only on the sea did England continue to do well.

Feeling that the war effort was being hampered by the constant rebellions in Ireland, Pitt became convinced that the solution of the Irish problem lay in parliamentary union. In 1800, by wholesale bribery, he secured the agreement of both the opposed groups to a scheme for a United Kingdom, with the Irish represented in the single Parliament and receiving virtual freedom of religion for their Catholics, who could hold office. On this matter, however, George III refused to defer as usual to his brilliant minister. Claiming he would be violating his coronation oath, George refused the Catholic Emancipation part of the Act of Union. Pitt resigned. His resignation served to bring on the signing of a peace treaty with Napoleon (q.v.), who had conceived of Pitt as his archenemy. While the peace lasted, Pitt's mediocre successor seemed adequate.

However, when war with France was renewed in 1803 and the armies of Napoleon started moving towards the Channel for a projected invasion of England, many voices began clamoring for the return of Pitt, to which he and the king responded in 1804. Pitt at once set to organizing his third coalition against Napoleon. Although he was to see the great victory of Nelson at Trafalgar (October 21, 1805), he was soon after to learn of Napoleon's crushing victory at Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) over the armies of his fellow-emperors of Austria and Russia and the subsequent surrender of the Austrian army. With Austria making peace and the Russian armies in retreat, all Europe was now more than ever at Napoleon's feet. Pitt's health, gradually worn down by overwork and anxiety, was totally undermined by the depression that came upon him in mid-December after the news of Austerlitz. Conveyed to his home a very sick man, he grew weaker and weaker and died on January 23, 1806, at the age of 46. With some license allowed to the poetic historian, he was said to have been killed by the news of Austerlitz.

Never since Pitt has any other Englishman become prime

minister so young (24) or held office for so long a single stretch (over seventeen years).

The bachelor Pitt's total lack of interest in women was inevitably the subject of much chatter and speculation in his day. An excessive development of morality and abhorrence of vice was sometimes advanced by his admirers as a likely explanation, but he drank to excess (though he held it well) and was a keen gambler. Macaulay concluded that "His constitution was feeble, he was very shy; and he was very busy." More malicious suggestions were made in the satires of "Peter Pindar" (pseudonym of John Wolcot). Like Washington, the cold and reserved Pitt had a handsome young secretary who was a frequent companion. Despite the substantial evidence, Pitt has been somehow overlooked by all the list-compilers.

Reference: Aldanov, 118, 133-34, 161, 166, 168.



WILLIAM BECKFORD (1760-1844)

English writer.

He was born in London, the son of a wealthy merchant who became lord mayor in 1762 and was famed as a supporter of John Wilkes and as the author of a reproof to George III (q.v.) in 1770. Upon the elder Beckford's death in 1771, the 11-year-old William inherited a large fortune. While learning to make imaginative use of his wealth, it did not impede him in the literary creativity for which he had a strong taste. In 1780 Beckford published his first book, the satirical *Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters*.

His education apparently being limited to tutors and self-education through heavy reading, Beckford in his early teens was moving in the highest society of London and Paris, the precocious wit and darling of older women. When he was 19, Beckford met at Powderham Castle the effeminate 10-year-old William Courtenay, the lovely spoiled darling of his parents and thirteen sisters. Young Courtenay became a consuming passion with Beckford, and perhaps to counteract the increasing whispers, he got married in 1783. Nevertheless, in 1784 he was apparently caught in bed with "Kitty" Courtenay, now 15 (the age was sometimes given as less), and England had one of its historic

homosexual scandals. The *Morning Herald* took note of the scandal on everyone's lips as follows:

The rumor concerning a *Grammatical mistake* of Mr. B—— and the Hon. Mr. C——, in regard to the genders, we hope for the honour of Nature originates in *Calumny!*

George III was said to have wanted to hang them both, but he was prevailed upon merely to cancel Beckford's pending patents of peerage. Presumably the memories of the insolence of Beckford's father to him were not without their effect on George III. There may also have been some consideration due to Beckford by virtue of his having recently been elected an M.P.

Beckford went with his wife to Switzerland, where she died in 1786. Meanwhile Beckford had completed in 1782 in French the romance for which he is best known, the literary history of which is very confusing. A pirated English translation appeared in 1786 as *The History of the Caliph Vathek*, the clergyman translator and pirate having transposed in sex a number of Beckford's original characters and expurgated some episodes. Some of the altered elements (not given publication till 1912 as *The Episodes of Vathek*) had homosexual elements. In any event, the oriental romance known as *Vathek*, whose authorship was soon established, proved a great success.

Beckford remained abroad until 1794, continuing to hold his seat in the Fifth Parliament of George III. He devoted much of his time to book-collecting, buying the library of the great Edward Gibbon at Lausanne in 1794. Having ascertained that it would be safe for him to return to England, he did so in 1794 and devoted himself to more writing, notably satires on current novels. *The Elegant Enthusiast* (1796) was followed by *Azemias* (1797). He also wrote travel books and very penetrating letters, in the style of Walpole (q.v.). He suspended his political career after he returned to England, though from 1806 till 1820 he again had a seat in the House of Commons.

Shortly after his return to England, Beckford began applying his great fortune to the construction of a Gothic castle (combined with a medieval convent) on the site of the home inherited from his father, Fonthill Abbey in Wiltshire. Far surpassing the modest efforts in this direction of Walpole, Beckford's efforts took

eighteen years and cost £273,000, or about three million dollars in today's equivalent. The cost of the central building itself, to which was joined a 260-foot high octagonal tower, had added to it the cost of his seclusion, which required a wall twelve feet high and eight miles long. All these costs, and those of his entertainments there, about which there were many rumors, finally drained even Beckford's great resources. In 1822 Beckford sold the house, together with his library and art collection. It was a fortunate piece of business, for three years later the tower collapsed and demolished much of the castle of Fonthill Abbey.

Using the proceeds of the sale, Beckford went to Bath, where he built a new villa, somewhat more modest, and resided there until his death, in firm possession of a reputation as one of England's leading eccentrics. He was said to have had great influence in his younger years on Byron (q.v.). He continued writing his letters, many of which refer to homosexual affairs of his own (including one with a boy acrobat and equestrian named Saunders) and of others.

Beckford also wrote under the pseudonym of "Lady Harriet Marlow." During his short marriage, he fathered two daughters who survived him. The eldest married the tenth Duke of Hamilton.

References: Anderson, 201-03; Hirschfeld, 659;
Hyde (W.), 380.



MATTHEW GREGORY LEWIS (1775-1818)

English writer.

"Monk" Lewis, as he came to be known from his honest celebrated work, was born in London of a prominent family. His father was deputy war minister. Headed for a diplomatic career, Lewis attended Westminster School and then entered Christ Church College, Oxford, at 15. His personal life had meanwhile become unhappy when his parents separated while he was at Westminster. Lewis' relations with his father, a cold, proud and distant man, were always to be distant.

Lewis had already developed a great interest in dramatic writing at Westminster, and during his first year at Oxford, he completed a play which was duly rejected by Drury Lane. Undaunted, Lewis went to work on another play, *Felix*, and also on a romance. During his vacations, he traveled on the continent

with his adored mother. During a visit to Germany in 1792, Lewis learned German and met Goethe (q.v.). By 1793 he was doing English translation of the works of Goethe's friend Schiller. Lewis was also a gifted poet and started turning out verses at an early age.

In 1794 Lewis took up a position secured for him by his father as an attaché at the British embassy in The Hague, Holland. Nineteen and utterly bored by Dutch society, he spent almost all his time writing diligently. In a few weeks he completed *The Twins*, a farce. By the end of 1794, after about ten weeks' work, Lewis completed *The Monk*, a Gothic romance inspired by the *Castle of Otranto* of Walpole (q.v.) but generally rated far superior. The book was not published until 1796.

The Monk created a sensation instantly. Efforts were made to restrain its sale, and it was attacked, defended, parodied, adapted and imitated. In February, 1797, Coleridge reviewed it in *The Critical Review*, finding much real merit but denouncing its abominations and immorality. A few months after the book's publication, Lewis was elected to Parliament, curiously to the very seat previously held by the equally abused Beckford (q.v.). When Lewis had the author's name on a second edition followed by "M.P." many were outraged. Nevertheless, Lewis became a social lion, his reception by society unaffected by the attacks on his book.

Meanwhile, Lewis continued his artistic career. In 1796 he published a satirical dialogue, *Village Virtues*, translated German works, wrote poems and songs, including a ballad, "Crazy Jane" that became a national craze, and directed theatrical shows. In 1797 Lewis wrote a musical melodrama, *The Castle Spectre*, that had a prodigious run at the Drury Lane. This was followed by less successful productions such as his boyhood comedy, *East Indian*, and the drama *Adelomorn the Outlaw*. He also completed *The Minister*, based on his translation of a work of Schiller's.

In 1802 Lewis had another hit with *Alfonso*, a neo-Jacobean tragedy. That same year he met his best-known homosexual love, William Kelly, the 14-year-old son of an untalented lady novelist. However, the boy was so wild and unfaithful that he brought Lewis mostly misery.

In 1804 Lewis had another commercial success with *The Bravo of Venice*, a romance translated from the German. Lewis began to be conscious of his declining literary talents and determined to give up writing, except for poems. His poetry, much of which is scattered in *The Monk* and other works, has been rated highly by many critics. Coleridge gave it high praise, and Shelley professed his inspiration. Scott wrote that Lewis "had the finest ear for the rhythm of verse I ever met with—finer than Byron's."

Lewis was no more interested in continuing his political career (if his seat in Parliament could justify the term) than his artistic career. In 1812 he inherited a large fortune when his father died. Never having lived ostentatiously, he declined to change his style. Warm-hearted and generous to all, Lewis became worried about the condition of the slaves on his West Indian estates, and in a trip there early in 1816 did all he could to improve their condition. After his return to Europe, Lewis went to Italy and visited with his sister, with Shelley and with Byron (q.v.).

In 1817 Lewis went back to Jamaica and exhausted himself in trying to ameliorate the existence of his slaves. In his fatigued condition, an attack of yellow fever on his way back to Europe proved fatal. The journal he kept on his two voyages to the West Indies—an outlet after all for his repressed literary talents—was published posthumously as *Journal of a West Indian Proprietor*, and had many admirers.

Lewis' most lasting influence was perhaps in that minor sideline, poetry, where his original development inspired the new generation of poets. *The Monk* inspired more of the ill-fated Gothic novels, but it also is thought to have influenced the more conventional romantic historical novels of Scott, Hugo, Scribe, Hoffman and Sue, who drew on themes in *The Monk*: the haunted castle, the Wandering Jew, the criminal monk, suspense, terror, and even incest. Indirectly Lewis inspired Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*, and through her Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*. His influence on Edgar Allen Poe is also probable.

Reference: Berryman.

WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827)

English poet, painter and engraver.

He was born at London, the son of a hosier. Blake's talent for design became evident at an early age, and his father gave him every encouragement, despite his poor circumstances. At 10 Blake was sent to a drawing school. He supplemented his school learning by constant attendance at art sales, becoming known as "the little connoisseur." He also began early collecting prints of copies of the great works of Michelangelo (q.v.), Raphael (q.v.), and Dürer, and made his own copies.

In 1771 Blake's studies were given a more practical turn when he was apprenticed to a skilled engraver, with whom he remained seven years. In 1778, his apprenticeship over and his majority reached, Blake managed to secure admission to the Royal Academy, and for the first time had the opportunity of drawing from living models. He now mastered water-colors in addition to drawing and engraving. In 1780 Blake exhibited his first water-color, and thereafter he continued to contribute to the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy. In 1782 he made a fortunate marriage with Catherine Boucher, the daughter of a produce grower, whom he taught to read and write, and who became a valuable assistant to him.

Blake had meanwhile also acquired a taste for literature, especially poetry of a metaphysical nature. He began writing poems at a fairly prodigious rate and after having his first collection, *Poetical Sketches* (1783), published in the usual way, he began combining his two talents by himself engraving both the texts of his poems and the drawings he made to illustrate them. These unique products of Blake's imaginative artistry included *Songs of Innocence* (1789), and its sequel and supplement, *Songs of Experience* (1794); *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790); the "prophetic books" *The Book of Thel* (1789), *America* (1793), *The Book of Urizen* (1794), *The Book of Los* (1795), *Milton* (1804) and *Jerusalem* (1804). These prophetic books were associated with Blake's mystical visions, to some extent considered as representing mental derangement.

Blake's reputation is based on his early works, rather than the often incomprehensible prophetic works of his later years.

However, even after the mystical, metaphysical, visionary elements in his later prophetic works produced considerable speculation about his sanity, there was no deleterious effect whatever on his skill as an engraver, and his complete mastery of the field, as well as the brilliance of his designs, increased with the years.

In addition to engravings for his own works, Blake did designs for the works of others, most notably Dante's *Divine Comedy*, *The Book of Job*, and the poems of Thomas Gray (q.v.). In many of his works, Blake also made use of his painting skill, tinting the paper with colored illustrations.

Blake's own life was fairly quiet and uneventful, showing little effect from the momentous period of history which filled his mature years. He died in his seventieth year.

Reference: Ellis, A. (A&S), 172.



AUGUST WILHELM IFFLAND (1759-1814)

German actor and dramatist.

He was born at Hanover, and was thus a subject of George III (q.v.). Although educated for the clergy, Iffland was completely unsympathetic to his father's desires for him, and instead he developed a passion for the theater. At 18 he ran away to Gotha, where he became a protégé of a famous actor, Hans Ekhof, and two years later, in 1779, Iffland got his first major role in a production at Mannheim. He became a great favorite and advanced rapidly, both at Mannheim and in other towns.

In 1796 Iffland settled in Berlin, where he became director of the National Theater of Prussia. In 1811 he became director-general for all productions presented before royalty. Iffland specialized in the classical works of Goethe (q.v.) and Schiller, with little sympathy for the new romantic dramas. He himself wrote a number of dramas, mostly sentimental domestic plays of everyday life with simple and natural characters. Iffland's complete mastery of the technical necessities of the stage and his power for devising effective situations made his works lasting repertory favorites. The best known were *Die Jäger*; *Dienstplicht*; *Die Advokaten*; *Die Mündel*; and *Die Hagestolzen*. A collected works edition of Iffland's dramas, with an appended autobiography, appeared in sixteen volumes (1798-1802).

Iffland appeared in most of his own plays, specializing in both middle-class comedy types and elegant aristocrats and princes. He was also something of a dramatic critic, his articles in *Almanach für Theater* and *Theaterfreund* being highly valued by professionals of the early nineteenth century.

Reference: Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 665; Mayne, 295.



JOHANN CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH HÖLDERLIN

(1770-1843)

German poet and novelist.

He was born at Lauffen on the Neckar, but after his father's death his mother remarried and moved to Nürtingen, where he was educated at its classical school. Destined by his relations for the church, Hölderlin was admitted to seminaries at Denkendorf and Maulbronn, and at 18 he became a theology student at the University of Tübingen. There he began to write his novel *Hyperion*.

After he left Tübingen in 1793, Hölderlin was introduced to Schiller and through him obtained a post as tutor. In 1794 he gave up his job to go to Jena to attend the lectures of Fichte on scientific philosophy and to be near Schiller, who had recently resigned as professor of history but was busy on his historical and romantic writings. Schiller saw a kindred soul in Hölderlin and sponsored his early writings in various periodicals.

In 1796 Hölderlin secured another job as tutor, this one with the family of the banker Gontard in Frankfurt. The banker's wife Susette became the object of Hölderlin's "alas, it was hopeless!" great passion, so dear to all repressed homosexuals, and she served as the inspiration for Diotima in *Hyperion*, the first volume of which was published in 1797. The second volume followed in 1799.

Having decided to "break" with Susette, Hölderlin secured another post as tutor, this time at Hauptwill, Switzerland, where he wrote the first of the lyric poems for which he was to become famous. After trying unsuccessfully to get his poems published in Germany in 1801, Hölderlin acquired a tutor's position at Bordeaux, France. However, a few months later, in 1802, he learned of the death of Susette/ Diotima, quit his job and travelled back to Germany on foot, arriving destitute and insane.

After recovering some mental stability in his home at Nürtingen, he set to writing more poetry and translating from Greek works such as the *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles (q.v.). The translations were published in 1804 and brought him appointment as librarian at Homburg to the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg. Some of Hölderlin's shorter poems were published in 1807 and 1808. By 1807, however, he had become hopelessly insane and was taken to Tübingen, where he was kept in confinement for his remaining thirty-six years, just about equal to his previous years. His friends continued to have his work published.

Hölderlin's work is distinguished by that passion for ancient Greece aroused among the Germans by Winckelmann (q.v.). His morbidly subjective and passionate poems often sacrifice rhyme for the lofty style and structure of ancient Greek verse. He was said to have been trying a fusion of Christ and Apollo. In his novel, of which the English title would be, were it ever translated, *Hyperion, or The Hermit in Greece*, the supposed story, about the Greek rebellion against the Turks in 1770, is sacrificed to lyrical and poetic diction. The novel's hero, a German-educated Greek who is largely a projection of the author, has a passionate friendship with a young adventurer named Alabanda, intended to rival that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (q.v.). It far surpasses the hero's romance with the Susette-inspired Diotima.

Hölderlin is rated quite highly by critics, being regarded like Gray (q.v.) in England as a link between the classic and romantic schools. His best known homosexual attachment was Eduard Sinclair.

Reference: Mayne 295, 297-301.



PAUL I (1754-1801)

Tsar of Russia (1796-1801).

He was born at St. Petersburg, the son of the future Catherine the Great, and, with less certainty, of her husband, the weak and dissolute Grand Duke Peter, who in 1762 succeeded his aunt Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great (q.v.). Shortly after his accession, Peter III was forced to abdicate in a palace revolution staged by his German wife Catherine (originally

Princess Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst), her lover Gregory Orlov and Orlov's brother. A few days later Peter died mysteriously, and Catherine was sole ruler of the Russian empire.

Catherine came to loathe her son Paul, alleging rather openly that his father was not Peter III but one Colonel Soltykov, and had various plans to keep him off the throne. Paul was supposed to have been as a boy very intelligent and good-looking, much petted by Empress Elizabeth. His extreme ugliness later in life was attributed to an attack of typhus in 1771. Having given Paul a thorough education, Catherine married him in 1773 to Wilhelmina of Darmstadt, and after her death in childbirth (1775) to the beautiful Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg, the sister of Frederick I of Württemberg (q.v.), who became Maria Feodorovna. On the birth of their first child in 1777, the future Alexander I (q.v.), Paul was given an estate by Catherine and allowed to travel with his wife in western Europe (1781-82). Subsequently his wife bore him six additional children, including the future "policeman of Europe," Nicholas I.

Shortly after Paul's return to Russia, and to his estate, where he was allowed to maintain and train a brigade of soldiers, he began to become convinced that even though his mother had apparently become reconciled to him, even letting him attend meetings of her council, she was actually planning to kill him. After he accused his mother of putting ground glass in his food, and started intriguing against her, she barred him from council meetings and kept him at a safe distance. Paul began to behave oddly, with infantile outbursts, explosions of cruelty and frequent signs of insanity. In this state he was made use of by two of his wife's maids of honor and by his barber, a Turkish slave who came to have great influence over him.

Catherine contemplated setting Paul aside in favor of his son Alexander, whom she adored, but as an enlightened correspondent of Western philosophers she shrank from the only certain method of accomplishing this, i.e., killing Paul. Having become aware of his mother's intentions, Paul grew more cruel and abusive towards his wife and son and made their lives unbearable. After Catherine died in a fit in 1796, Paul probably destroyed any will that might have existed in favor of Alexander.

Among Paul's first acts was enlightened legislation on behalf

of the serfs, limiting their work for the landlord to three days a week. Since his mother had strengthened the powers of the nobles over the serfs, this seemed to Paul an obvious counter-measure. Paul also repealed Peter the Great's law of succession by choice and restored genealogical seniority as the basis for the succession.

In 1799 Paul took Russia into the Second Coalition of Pitt (q.v.) against France, and he sent his armies into western Europe, where they played leading roles. In Holland a Russian army joined the English under the Duke of York, the second son of George III (q.v.), in their drive south. Another Russian army, under the brilliant Suvorov, operated in northern Italy and then crossed the Alps to join with yet a third army operating in Switzerland. Although they fought with great competence, the Russian shared in the defeats inflicted on the allies, except in Italy, by various brilliant French generals (Napoleon, q.v., himself being in Egypt at this time). In October, 1799, Paul, disgusted with his allies, pulled Russia out of the coalition. It was said that he had been especially charmed by French courtesy in returning Russian prisoners of war.

From this period dates one of the most curious events in the life of the mad tsar. In 1799 the Knights of Malta, impressed by Paul as the great white hope of Europe against the French revolutionaries, and further impressed by Russian strength in Italy, elected this Orthodox potentate grand master of the Knights of Malta. One of their Jesuits, Father Grüber, was supposed to have become very influential with Paul, and subsequently even claimed a deathbed conversion to Catholicism.

After withdrawing from the Second Coalition, Paul returned to Catherine's policy of armed neutrality, which by 1801 was directed essentially against England. Just as the flattery of the Knights had spurred his war efforts against France, so now the flattery of Napoleon turned Paul against England. Aside from his dubious behavior on the international scene, Paul was beginning to behave again in a totally insane fashion at home. All his intimates, from his wife and oldest son on down, were in constant fear of his unpredictable fits of rage, favors and punishments alternating with despotic whimsicality. The court was in terror, and there seemed no choice but to remove him.

A conspiracy was formed, presumably with the connivance of

Alexander. On the night of March 11, 1801, a band of dismissed officers, flushed with drink, burst into Paul's bedroom and demanded his abdication. When he resisted, he was strangled and kicked to death.

Reference: Mayne, 192, 232; Peyrefitte (Knights), 258.



COUNT ADAM PHILIPPE DE CUSTINE (1740-1793)

French general.

He was the son of a minor noble and was educated for a military career. Custine began his military service as a lieutenant in the Seven Years War (1756-63). Like Fersen (q.v.), he took part in Rochambeau's expedition to assist Washington (q.v.) and commanded a company in the Battle of Yorktown (1781), which completed the American victory in the Revolutionary War.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789), Custine was sitting in the recently convened States-General as a deputy for Metz. Apparently attracted by what he had seen in America to the popular cause, Custine joined the Revolutionary Army in 1791 and became a lieutenant-general, popular with his soldiers under the nickname "Général Moustache." In September and October, 1792, Custine was among the first to bring victory to the Revolution when as commander of the Army of the Vosges he took Spire, Worms, Mainz and Frankfurt, meanwhile carrying on revolutionary propaganda by proclamations and by levying heavy taxes on the nobility and clergy of the "liberated" territories.

During the winter, however, a Prussian army forced Custine to evacuate Frankfurt, re-cross the Rhine and fall back on Landau. As with any former aristocrat sustaining a defeat, Custine was accused of treason. Though defended by Robespierre (q.v.), he was removed from his command in the east and sent to the less critical north. Here he failed to take any effective action against the invading Austrian force, so he was ordered to Paris to justify himself. His defense being unsatisfactory, Custine was found guilty by the Revolutionary Tribunal of having intrigued with the enemies of the Republic and was guillotined on August 28, 1793.

Reference: Burton, 252.

COUNT DONATIEN ALPHONSE FRANÇOIS DE SADE
(1740-1814)

French writer and philosopher.

He was born in Paris at the house of the great Condé (q.v.), whose despised wife, Richelieu's niece, was of the same family as Sade's mother. Sade's family had for centuries held prominent political, military and Church positions in southern France, his father having been Ambassador to Russia and England, a provincial governor and a writer. His brother became a Napoleonic general and historian. It was a de Sade who married Laura, the beloved of the poet Petrarch.

At 4 the young Marquis de Sade (his familiar name, though he was Count after 1767, and thus for most of his life) was sent to his grandmother's home in Avignon, where he received his first lessons from his uncle, a typical eighteenth-century roué, a cynical writer who was Sade's spiritual father. In 1750 Sade entered the Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris, France's nearest equivalent to Eton, though still run by the Jesuits. There young Sade, remembered as a strikingly beautiful youth with blue eyes, blond hair, a graceful figure and a charming voice, received not only his first familiarity with many varieties of learning, but also with flogging. When he left the school in 1757, responding to a patriotic call to duty in the Seven Years War (1756-63), Sade's talents already included those of an inveterate reader, a proficient musician and dancer, a fencer and a sculptor. The year he left the new students included Robespierre (q.v.).

Receiving a commission as a sub-lieutenant in the cavalry, Sade rose to the rank of captain in the course of his extensive service in Germany. He did not resign until 1771, and apparently because of the debauchee's reputation he was acquiring so early, his father put pressure on him to get married as soon as possible. In 1763, while on a leave, he went to the home of M. de Montreuil, a prominent personage in the French judiciary whose elder daughter, Renée, had been selected by his father for him. When he entered, it was Louise, the younger sister, a passionate girl bubbling with charm and talent, that Sade first saw. When he met her cold older sister, he was greatly disappointed and begged to be allowed to marry Louise instead. The girls' father refused and his own father threatened to disinherit him if he failed to

abide by the choice made. Anticipating that Louise would also be available to him, he agreed. His foxy mother-in-law, however, understood what was in his mind and put Louise in a convent.

From the first weeks of his marriage, Sade held to his contempt and dislike for his wife, despite all her manifestations of complete devotion to him in every way. To escape his wife and revenge himself on his father and his in-laws, Sade threw himself into every possible debauchery at the court of Louis XV and in the houses of nearby Paris, being admired for his ability to devise new and refined vices. One month after his marriage, he suffered the first of his imprisonments, being confined at Vincennes for having given the girls of a bordello candy containing "Spanish fly," a favorite trick he was to repeat. The authorities had also come across the first of his pornographic writings.

Sade was released with the understanding he would rejoin his regiment, which had been stationed in Normandy after being almost wiped out by Frederick the Great (q.v.) in the closing campaign of the war. Soon he received another extended leave, ostensibly to visit his wife. In Paris Sade met a dancer and courtesan, Mlle. de Beauvoisin, whose witty, amoral hedonism perfectly matched his own. This girl, of course, the first prototype of Juliette, as his wife was of Justine, accompanied him to an estate of his wife's in Provence where they presided over the nearest approach to orgies possible in the backwoods of southern France. Sade spent huge sums (out of his wife's dowry) on the orgies, as well as on additions or alterations to the house. He also spent time at his home in the suburbs of Paris, Arcueil. His contact did not cease entirely with his wife, who bore him a son in 1767.

In 1768 occurred the first great scandal of Sade, now the Count de Sade rather than Marquis by virtue of his father's recent death, a scandal known as the Keller Affair. Having been solicited by the widow Rosa Keller, Sade purported a philanthropic interest and made an appointment for the following day, supposedly to take her to a rural home for an interview as housekeeper. In the house, which turned out to be deserted, Sade brought her to an attic room, whose door he promptly bolted. He then tore off her clothes, bound and gagged her, and

beat her with a bundle of whips.

Next he made incisions in her flesh with a small knife, into which he poured melted wax from a candle, according to one version, after which he ordered her to dress and prepare herself to make her dying confession to him, for which he would return in three hours. According to another version, Sade did not pour melted wax into incisions, but put on the wounds from the whipping a wonderful new salve he was testing. In any event, after he left, bolting the door from the outside, Mme. Keller managed to escape by a window and get over the estate's wall by a ladder carelessly left there. Paying no heed to a servant sent after her by Sade, dangling a moneybag, she went into a home in the nearest village and received a sympathetic reception from a woman who called a surgeon, who in turn called the authorities.

According to some accounts, when the authorities came to arrest Sade, he was found at the climax of drunken orgies with a number of prostitutes he was entertaining. A family lawyer was called in and arranged for a substantial payment to Mme. Keller in return for her dropping the charges. Sade was released after six weeks' imprisonment and ordered banished by Louis XV.

Paying little heed to the order of banishment (or perhaps it was just banishment from his court), Sade started his debaucheries again in the theatrical and literary world and even put on plays with his own troupe. Sade's wife, who in her devotion had asked to be allowed to live near him during his imprisonment, and who in 1771 bore him another child, a daughter, had revealed that her sister Louise was now out of the convent. Hypocritically pretending indifference, Sade got himself invited, in the interests of a reconciliation, to the Montreuil home where, at the first opportunity for private conversation with Louise, he proclaimed his undying love for her, attributing all his misconduct to a broken heart, and secured her agreement to his plans for an elopement, which was to be in the wake of a brilliant crime, known as the Marseilles Scandal.

In July, 1772, Sade gave a ball at Marseilles, to which he invited many people of all classes, and at the preliminary banquet, he made use again of the trick that got him imprisoned in 1763. He served a chocolate dessert with "Spanish fly" mixed in. As

he anticipated, the banquet and ball turned into a wild orgy. According to one version, several persons died and others were subject to lasting pains. According to another version, apparently more in keeping with the records, the entire affair took place at a sumptuous bordello and no one died. However, the authorities were called and it was Sade's especial bad luck that when he was arrested he was found in that "lucky Pierre" position with a girl in front and his valet Langlois behind. A court at Aix sentenced him to death for sodomy as well as poisoning, but he managed to flee and keep the rendezvous with his beloved sister-in-law Louise. They fled to Italy and enjoyed some exciting months of travel, where Sade probably picked up material for his later adventures of Juliette in corrupt Italy. A new blow befell him when Louise died of smallpox before the end of 1772, to be immortalized in *Juliette*, which is probably as much Louise as Mlle. de Beauvoisin.

Falling back into his old habits, Sade suffered imprisonment in Piedmont after being denounced by his mother-in-law. Once more his despised and Justine-like wife came to his aid and helped him to escape in May, 1773, to Geneva where he met Rousseau, who encouraged him to put his unusual philosophic principles in writing. Sade met his wife and returned with her secretly to their estate, which they turned into a fortress. At last showing promising development, his wife accepted her required role as a procuress. When trouble with the family of a girl or boy became especially grievous, Sade went off to Italy again in 1775, visiting Florence, Naples and Rome.

In 1777, learning that his wife had persuaded her family of his desire for rehabilitation, Sade returned to France to see his dying mother. His mother-in-law promptly had him arrested. Again Sade got assistance from his wife, who procured his release from Vincennes and arranged for reversal of the old death sentence of the court of Aix (1778). To counter this, Sade's mother-in-law resorted to the last expedient, securing a *lettre de cachet* for preventive imprisonment. Again arrested, Sade escaped with his wife's aid while on the way to Vincennes but was caught after several months. He remained in prison, first at Vincennes, after 1784 at the Bastille, and after 1789 at the Charenton asylum, until 1790.

Sade's devoted and Justine-like wife at first made frequent visits, but since she met with frightful abuse the visits became less frequent and included a third party for her protection. She brought him, as ordered, books and writing material. During his thirteen years of confinement, which took him from 28 to 41, Sade lived almost a lifetime of debauchery in his imagination and recorded it in his writings. These included the first drafts and outlines of his most famous novels, *Justine* and *Juliette*, and the full manuscript of his *120 Days of Sodom* (discovered and published only long after his death), in which he beat Krafft-Ebing by a century in the cataloguing of sexual deviations. He also kept diaries which were subsequently lost through burning, as other works may have been.

Mirabeau (q.v.), whose background was so similar to Sade's, was at Vincennes from 1777 to 1782, and he was thus a fellow inmate of Sade's for four years, also writing pornographic works there, though by the time Sade was released Mirabeau was the leading figure of the Revolution. They had only one meeting and exchange, a most unfriendly one. Sade, furious at being denied the right to walk in the courtyard as was permitted Mirabeau, whom he did not know, yelled to ask his name so that, in Mirabeau's words, after his release he could "cut off my ears." Mirabeau replied primly, "My name is that of an honorable man, who was never imprisoned for strangling women." Mirabeau went on to record, "He was silent and since then has never opened his mouth to me. It is dreadful to be in the same place with such a monster."

On July 1, 1789, scarcely two weeks before the storming of the Bastille, Sade was transferred to the Charenton asylum for yelling out to a street crowd insults against the governor, a bit of agitation that undoubtedly played a considerable part in bringing on the mob frenzy which culminated in the storming of the Bastille, the official beginning of the Revolution, and the giving to France a national holiday. It also brought the loss of much of Sade's writings.

In March, 1790 Sade was freed from the Charenton asylum as part of a blanket order liberating all those confined by *lettres de cachet*. As his first order of business, Sade divorced his wife and became completely estranged from his family, which emi-

grated like many of the aristocracy when things became worse. Anxious to disassociate himself completely from the nobility, Sade lived in a humble manner, working as a secretary for the Jacobins, enthusiastically supporting Marat in his attacks on Mirabeau, and in fact delivering the funeral oration for Marat after his historic bathtub assassination. Ironically, it was a bit of saintly conduct towards the seemingly least deserving that got Sade into his only trouble with the Revolution. In 1794, as chief of the jury trying his once-hated in-laws, an opportunity his literary heroes would have made the most of, Sade tried to save them, for which he spent most of 1794 in prison.

Unable to get from the revolutionary leaders a position as librarian or museum-keeper, as he requested, Sade took to spending more and more of his time writing. He wrote a number of comedies, sometimes even acting in them. He also began working on final drafts of his famous pornographic novels, which gave the Western languages a new series of words: sadist, sadistic, sadism, etc. In 1791 he published the first version of *Justine*, mostly based on his wife, and having happen to her all things he'd dreamed might. Subsequent editions of *Justine* added to the erotic element the gruesome and "sadistic" elements, appropriate enough at a period when the very air seemed an atmosphere of blood, in the wake of the Reign of Terror of Robespierre. In 1793 came another novel, of which the first draft was probably done in prison, *Aline and Valcour*, and in 1795 *Philosophy in the Boudoir*. The crowning work appeared in 1797, a ten-volume, richly illustrated set of which the first four comprised a revised *Justine* and the last six the new *Juliette*. Taken together, *Justine and Juliette* contrasted the happy fortunes of the black-hearted and amoral Juliette with her ill-fated, saintly and priggish sister Justine. To preclude any chance of going back to prison, since the Directory was bringing back old moral standards, Sade issued the books anonymously.

His very popular books being sold openly, Sade began to live once again comfortably, which was no longer anything to incur suspicion in the days of the Directory (1795-99), or even less so, in the Consulate (1799-1804) of Napoleon (q.v.). For some time he had been living with the middle aged Mme. Quesnet, as devoted as his wife had been, this lady in addition

having to offer her handsome young son Charles, whom Sade came to adore.

Sade was able to invest heavily in his book collecting and in his collection of pornographic art works. It was a totally unnecessary return to writing that cost him his freedom. In 1800 he was so foolish as to publish another pornographic novel, though rather restrained this time, called *Zoloë and her Two Acolytes*, in which the chief characters were thinly disguised fictionalizations of Josephine, Barras and Napoleon (and others now obscure), disporting themselves lasciviously in a bordello. For this Sade was seized in March, 1801, though nominally as being the author of the infamous *Justine and Juliette*. A trial being avoided as likely to provoke too great a scandal, Sade was imprisoned first at Sainte-Pélagie, and after he was accused of seducing the young people there, he was transferred to the Bicêtre prison. In 1803, at the request of his family (now back in France), Sade was sent back to the Charenton state asylum.

Sade passed his remaining decade having a delightful time at the Charenton asylum, protected by favor of its director (though constantly outraging its hostile doctor, who tried to have him removed). He had complete freedom for intercourse of various sorts with the patients, preached his theories of vice to them, loaned them books, wrote scandalous poetry, and dominated the asylum's theater, for which he wrote plays, directed them and acted in them. When his appeal to Napoleon in 1808 for release was not granted, he was probably none too disappointed. He died at 74, the most popular inmate of the asylum.

Sade's son Armande was present at his father's death and burned all his "dangerous papers." Sade's body was at once subjected to an autopsy, but little of interest was noted except that his skull was small, well-formed, and remarkably like a woman's. Despite his great reputation, there was little in Sade's own life remotely comparable to the actions of the heroes of his fiction. His own "sadism" was mostly psychological, and its chief victim, his wife, seemed to become more devoted after each instance. His devotion to debauchery and atheistic philosophy, however, was unquestionable, and it has been a leading consideration in both the original hostility to him and in his later partial rehabilitation, somewhat similar to that of Richard III.

Complete, unexpurgated English translations of Sade's works have appeared only in the 1950s and 1960s from Olympia Press in Paris. Previously, the milder and earlier versions of *Justine* had appeared in a number of editions. Sade's novels are an extraordinary combination of bloody pornography and pedantic scholarship, full of references to philosophy, anthropology, history, theology, political science, and even travel books. Although the records of his life are rich in references to his affairs with women, his novels contain passionate eulogies of homosexual relations and the superiority of male attractions, and they indicate his familiarity with all varieties of homosexual practices. Sade's novelized encyclopedia of perversions, the *120 Days of Sodom*, was contained on a manuscript written in the Bastille in 1785 and lost until the twentieth century. It anticipated by a century the similar cataloguing that began in earnest in German medical circles in the 1880s, notably with Krafft-Ebing.

Reference: Bloch; Gorer; Mayne, 422.



COUNT HONORÉ GABRIEL RIQUETI DE MIRABEAU
(1749-1791)

French statesman and writer.

He was born at Bignon, near Nemours, of a former merchant family, originally of Italian origin, that bought patents of nobility in the seventeenth century. His father, Victor de Mirabeau, who enjoyed some slight fame as a philosopher and writer himself, developed an early dislike for young Mirabeau, perhaps mainly due to his face having become disfigured by smallpox at three.

Destined for the army, Mirabeau attended a Paris military school and in 1767 received a commission in the cavalry regiment his grandfather had commanded. Becoming involved in a scandal as a result of an affair with a woman courted by his commanding officer, Mirabeau was shut up by his father's order in a lesser bastille on the island of Ré off La Rochelle. Shortly after his release, Mirabeau sought to get back in his father's good graces by volunteering for the expedition sent to occupy Corsica in 1768, a year before the birth of its most illustrious son.

Upon his return to France, Mirabeau, to please his father,

married a rich heiress, Marie Emilie, daughter of the Marquis de Marignan. His wild extravagance, however, led his father to have him sent into semi-banishment in the country, where in short order he became embroiled in a violent quarrel with a neighbor. Once more Mirabeau was shut up by his father's order in a lesser bastille, this time the Château d'If, off Marseilles, subsequently immortalized in fiction as the prison of Monte Cristo.

In 1775, transferred to a place of very loose confinement, he used his comparative freedom to start an affair with his host's wife, Marie Thérèse de Monnier, whom he subsequently immortalized in his *Letters to Sophie*, the name he gave her. Mirabeau escaped to Switzerland, where he was joined by Sophie. They went to Holland together, where Mirabeau did hack work for the booksellers.

In 1777 Mirabeau fell into the hands of the French police and was imprisoned at Vincennes. While in prison, he wrote his somewhat obscene *Letters to Sophie* and his *Erotica Biblion*, the precursor of all encyclopedias of sexual deviation, which contained a chapter on homosexuality titled "Kadesch." Mirabeau also wrote some works of a political nature which surprised all by their erudition, eloquence and philosophical perception. Reference has already been made to Mirabeau's encounter while at Vincennes with Sade (q.v.).

After his release in 1782, Mirabeau, now 33, set out to reform himself, or perhaps he was worn out by his dissipations, the point at which men in former times often became saintly monks. He found that Sophie had consoled herself with an officer, at whose death she committed suicide. By his eloquence Mirabeau cleared himself of the death sentence hanging over his head. He also attempted to settle his relations with his wife but ended up with a court decree of separation.

Carried away by his own eloquence during some family litigation into an attack on the existing political system, Mirabeau was forced to flee to Holland again, where after doing some more literary work, and acquiring Mme. de Nehra, a higher-type mistress than Sophie, he went to England. In England Mirabeau was already known for *Lettres de cachet*, the political pamphlet he had written in prison, and was something of a lion in Whig

circles. In London he wrote a pamphlet inspired by the pamphlet of Aedanus Burke of South Carolina attacking the Society of the Cincinnati for the aristocratic pretensions of these ex-officers of Washington (q.v.).

Trading on his reputation in England, Mirabeau sent Mme. de Nehra to make his peace with the authorities in Paris. Once able to return safely, he tried without success to secure employment as a pamphleteer in various fields. Finally he was picked for a special mission by France's brilliant foreign minister, Vergennes, whose recognition of the United States in 1778 had proved a turning point in America's struggle for independence.

Mirabeau's special mission was a secret one at the court of Frederick the Great of Prussia (q.v.). In his two years at the court (1786-87), Mirabeau witnessed the death of Frederick and the stumblings of his successor. Two years later, in 1789, Mirabeau outrageously published his collection of supposedly secret reports as *History of the Court of Berlin*, including scandalous tidbits such as the homosexuality of Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, a recent candidate for the putative U.S. throne. Mirabeau also made use of his Prussian mission for a less scandalous work, his *History of the Prussian Monarchy under Frederick the Great* (1788), which won him a great reputation for historical acumen.

In 1789 the biggest event was the first meeting of France's parliament, the States-General, since 1614. Being rejected by the nobles for participation in the affairs of the estate to which he belonged, Mirabeau appealed to the third estate, the Commons, and was elected deputy for both Aix and Marseilles. He chose to represent Aix and was present at the historic opening on May 4, 1789, which started the chain of events called the French Revolution. How Mirabeau, the ugly, dissipated roué, pornographer and pamphleteer became the leader first of the forces that toppled the absolute monarchy and then the white hope of the moderate forces is an unusual slice of history. Mirabeau's combination of fiery eloquence and clear-headed practicality made him very soon the leader of the third estate, and soon all the delegates were as fascinated as the populace by his terrifying yet impressive appearance.

The States-General had been called to Versailles to put into

effect radical new financial measures that would get France out of bankruptcy. Mirabeau became the leader of those who saw the occasion as appropriate for transforming France into a constitutional monarchy like England. In June he achieved his first great success by turning the third estate into the National Assembly, to be joined by all those members of the other estates (clergy and nobility) who cared to join them.

However, before much constructive work could be done towards forming a constitution, rumors of Louis XVI's intention to dismiss the Assembly brought an appeal to violence. After the storming of the Bastille (July 11), the initiative of the Revolution tended to pass to the Paris mob and those who controlled them. In October the royal family was obliged to leave Versailles to take up residence in Paris, and the National Assembly followed. In November leadership began slipping from Mirabeau when a decree was passed that no member of the Assembly could become a minister in the government, a turn of events quite at odds with Mirabeau's plan for an English-type monarchy.

Through mutual friends of himself and Queen Marie Antoinette, who acted in the interests of the ineffective Louis XVI, Mirabeau, now seen as a moderate, was appealed to by the Court, from which he received financial assistance to pay off his debts and perhaps to bribe others to his own moderate position. Backed by some of the most eminent and intelligent of the Assembly's leaders and the Court for leadership of the Assembly, Mirabeau came under increasing attack, especially by such Jacobins as Robespierre (q.v.), for his moderation in both domestic matters and in foreign affairs where, as chief of the Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, he tried to reassure France's neighbors of non-interference in their affairs. Perhaps fortunately for his place in history Mirabeau was taken out of the political arena before he could be forced out by his rivals. Severe illness confined him from early in 1791, and in April he died.

The general verdict of historians has been that had the direction of the Revolution remained in the hands of the intelligent, practical, reasonable and ever-so-worldly Mirabeau, few of its excesses would have occurred, and both France and Europe might have been spared the blood-bath that followed.

Reference: *Jahrbuch*, 110.

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE (1758-1794)

French statesman.

He was born at Arras, the son of a lawyer, traditionally descended from a sixteenth century Irish emigrant. In 1767 Robespierre's mother died and his father, heart-broken, abandoned the family to wander around Europe till his death two years later. Robespierre, his brother and his sisters were brought up by the family of their grandfather, a brewer. After being educated at the Collège of Arras, Robespierre received a scholarship, thanks to the Bishop of Arras, for France's greatest school, the Collège of Louis-le-Grand at Paris. De Sade (q.v.) was just leaving. Another future leader of the Revolution, Camille Desmoulins, was among his fellow-students.

After completing his law studies with distinction, Robespierre was admitted to the bar in 1781 and returned to Arras to practice law. His patron, the bishop, secured for him appointment as a criminal court judge, but he shortly resigned this office, by an irony of ironies, because of his objection to pronouncing a sentence of death. Robespierre became not only a successful lawyer but a prominent and popular figure in Arras' society and literary circles, where he was known as something of an elegant dandy. In 1783 he was admitted to the Academy of Arras, and in subsequent years submitted essays for prizes and even composed verses for a literary and musical society among whose members was Lazare Carnot, the future "organizer of victory" of the Revolution's armies. Robespierre was noted for his gentle manners and the sympathetic quality of his voice.

In 1788 the leading topic became the method of election of deputies to the meeting of the States-General the following year. Robespierre expressed his own views so forcefully that he was elected to the Artois provincial assembly, and then became one of the deputies chosen by them to represent the third estate of Artois at Versailles in 1789. By the time the States-General opened in May, 1789, the gentle Robespierre had already developed into a fanatic of whom the cynical Mirabeau (q.v.) was reported to have said, "That young man believes what he says; he will go far."

At first all Robespierre had to be fanatical about was his belief in Rousseau's doctrine of the innate goodness of human nature

and his belief that Rousseau's doctrine could regenerate France and mankind. Robespierre's speeches in the National Assembly, as it came to be called after Mirabeau secured the conversion of the Third Estate of the States-General into an Assembly, established him as belonging to the thirty or so on the radical left, and were received with little sympathy by the majority of cynical and worldly lawyers.

Robespierre found a far more sympathetic audience in the Paris political club which became the Jacobin Club, and by 1791 it had become dominated by his followers, who idolized him. Much like the Communist Party in a later day, the Jacobin Club spread its branches all over France. With the death of Mirabeau, whose moderation he had attacked, new opportunities opened up for Robespierre. In May he proposed and carried the motion that no deputies in the present constituent assembly could sit in the subsequent assembly, a bit of phony high-mindedness fraught with political disadvantages and perils for France.

The speeding up of the revolutionary tempo, as favored by Robespierre, was greatly aided by momentous events in June. The king and queen, in accordance with the plan of the Swede Fersen (q.v.), attempted flight from France, were discovered at Varennes and brought back as prisoners, with the powers of Louis XVI suspended. In September the moderates, using the last of their rapidly diminishing power, succeeded in having Louis XVI "reinstated" and he in turn accepted the new constitution, which was never to have much of a trial. The Assembly then dissolved, all of its experienced members disqualified, thanks to Robespierre, from election to the forthcoming legislature. Robespierre, himself supposedly disqualified, was crowned by the Paris mob as their incorruptible hero. "The Incorruptible" was to be the surname he gloried in.

When the new Legislative Assembly convened late in 1791, the first topic was the proper reaction to the implied threats of intervention by the rulers of Austria and Prussia. The party of the moderate left, the Girondins, assumed power as leaders of patriotic reaction to the threat and urged war. Support came from many quarters, even from Queen Marie Antoinette, who believed that her brother, the emperor, if attacked, would sweep the French rabble before his army and restore the royal preroga-

tive to her husband. Robespierre, however, though expected to be an enthusiastic supporter, made a speech against it, fearing the growth of militarism. For this he was bitterly attacked in April, 1792, when the Girondins carried the day. Like Marat, who shared his views, Robespierre ceased trying to influence the Assembly and instead devoted himself to acquiring a dominant position in Paris' own municipal assembly, the Commune, and in the Jacobin Club, through which the Paris mobs were controlled.

Robespierre himself actually played little part in the historic events of the succeeding months, nor indeed did the Girondins of the Assembly. The Paris mob, excited by rumors of treason connected with defeats of French armies, attacked the Tuileries palace in June, mocking the king, and in August the mob stormed the palace, massacring the Swiss Guard whom Louis XVI had ordered not to fire. Louis XVI was imprisoned and the mob, through the Commune, abolished the monarchy and set up a provisional government. Suspected enemies of the Revolution were thrown into prison and the following month lynched by savage French mobs in the "September Massacres." The frightened Assembly, elected to function under a monarchy that no longer existed, abdicated its powers and the new leaders called for a national Convention to write a new constitution for a Republic.

When the Convention met in September, 1792, Robespierre once more came into his own as one of the leaders of the dominant Mountain faction, along with Danton and Marat. The Girondins, now finding themselves on the right, and in a minority, made Robespierre the principal target of their attacks. The Paris mob, however, still fanatically devoted to Robespierre, responded on his behalf, and their attacks led to the arrest of the discredited Girondist leaders in June, 1793. Louis XVI had meanwhile been guillotined in January.

France now being at war with all her neighbors, and with England across the Channel, whose Pitt (q.v.) organized the First Coalition against France, a strong executive was needed to cope with the danger. Lest all power seem to fall into the single hands of a dictator, power was vested in the Committee of Public Safety. Robespierre was one of the nine members of this French

politburo, later enlarged to twelve.

For the remaining year of Robespierre's life, his story is a classical one of the one-time idealist turned into a bloody and ruthless tyrant, eliminating almost all his former friends and colleagues one by one until he had power never dreamed of by the monarchs he affected to despise. After the assassination of Marat in July, 1793 (by a girl while he was in his bathtub), there began the famed Reign of Terror, which first brought to the guillotine royalist conspirators, then merely aristocrats, then merely moderates, and finally merely personal opponents of Robespierre who stood in the way of complete power. He first supported the faction of Danton until it wiped out the extreme leftist faction of Hébert, then Robespierre at last turned on his greatest rival, the leader of the Revolution for two years while he himself had stayed timidly on the sidelines. In March, 1794, Danton, along with Robespierre's old schoolmate Camille Desmoulins, was accused of plotting a conspiracy and arrested. In April Danton himself went to the guillotine, to which he had sent so many others.

Robespierre now appeared to be the master of France, with the aid of his two lieutenants, Couthon and the handsome 27-year old Saint-Just, surnamed for his beauty "The Archangel of the Revolution." But now two things served to undo Robespierre. Firstly, his enemies had grown greater in number with the execution of each popular leader, and all became fearful for their own lives if Robespierre remained in total power. Secondly, a succession of French victories organized by the brilliant Carnot, and the emergence of great military talent, greatly reduced France's peril and encouraged the moderate-minded to put an end to terror and civil bloodshed.

Learning of the conspiracy gradually being formed against him, Robespierre hesitated, perhaps sensing a reaction against terrorism. After an absence of almost four weeks, he returned to the Convention on July 26, 1794, and made a rather incoherent speech for four hours which met with a lukewarm reception. The next day, the twenty-seventh, or the Ninth Thermidor in the new calendar of the Revolution, the faithful Saint-Just, as President of the Convention, started to speak in favor of Robespierre's supposed proposals for dealing with his enemies. He was con-

stantly interrupted by shouts directed at Robespierre, "Down with the tyrant!" When Robespierre started to speak himself, he stammered and this brought the inspired jeer, "He's choking on the blood of Danton!" The proceedings ended with the arrest of Robespierre, Saint-Just and other henchmen.

The arrested men were rescued by troops of the loyal Paris Commune, but these in turn were pursued by troops under the command of Barras, now the leader of Robespierre's opposition. At Paris' City Hall, no sooner was Robespierre located than one of Barras' soldiers shot at him and carried off part of his jaw. In agony, Robespierre was dragged back to prison, and the following day he was taken before the tribunal, identified as "the outlaw Robespierre," and sent to the guillotine, along with his handsome young protégé Saint-Just and nineteen others. The Terror was over, and France was soon to be ruled by the pleasantly corrupt regime known as the Directory and subsequently by the Directory's great discovery, Napoleon Bonaparte (q.v.).

The homosexuality of Robespierre, like that of his contemporaries, the political leaders of England and the United States, may have been repressed. The great attachment of the cold and aloof Robespierre, so disinterested in women, to the handsome young Saint-Just (who might be called France's Hamilton), inevitably aroused many comments. Saint-Just, aside from being called "The Archangel of the Revolution," was also referred to as "The St. John of the Revolution's Messiah," referring of course to the similar attachment of Jesus (q.v.) for John. Many people were however also familiar with another less distinguished object of Robespierre's homosexual fancies.

From March, 1791, until his death Robespierre lived as a boarder in the house of the cabinet-maker Duplay, an ardent admirer. There Robespierre was involved in one of those ridiculous sibling triangles that lesser homosexuals have been caught in. The daughter of the house, Eléonore, idolized him and saw herself as his great romantic interest, which only his modesty and shyness prevented him from expressing (Pitt by chance was also plagued in similar fashion by an Eleanor, Eleanor Eden). Eléonore refused to take cognizance of the fact that when Robespierre spent his leisure moments with the family, it was

always her teenage brother Jacques-Michel Duplay on whom he lavished his attentions. This attachment apparently had some public manifestation, and was a matter of common gossip, for when the Duplay family was arrested after the Ninth Thermidor and brought to the Sainte-Pélagie prison, one of the inmates, seeing young Jacques-Michel, called out, "Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to announce to you the arrival of Robespierre's Ganymede."

Reference: Mayne, 77, 238.



LOUIS XVIII (1755-1824)

King of France (1814-15; 1815-24).

He was born at Versailles, the third son of the dauphin Louis, the son of Louis XV. In his earlier years he bore the title Count of Provence. Although given a devout education, Louis acquired an early taste for Voltaire and other rational encyclopedists, which gave him a "liberal" reputation. He married Louise of Savoy in 1771 but never had any children by her.

In 1774 his brother became Louis XVI, and the Count of Provence, cordially detested by the queen, Marie Antoinette, reciprocated his sister-in-law's hatred and devoted much of his pre-revolutionary energy to intrigues against her. For the seven years between the accession of Louis XVI and the birth of Marie Antoinette's first son (1781), the Count of Provence had been the heir to the throne, courted by those wanting to be on the safe side.

When the Revolution began in 1789, Louis was found writing pamphlets, taking a fairly liberal political position, and gaining a reputation as a patron of literary talents, and as a wit himself. An equally witty and charming countess was permitted the honor of being rumored his mistress, although their relations are believed to have been quite platonic. During the early years of the Revolution, Mirabeau (q.v.) had high hopes for the Count of Provence playing a big role in the anticipated constitutional monarchy.

However, when in June, 1791, after Mirabeau's death, the king and queen started on their ill-fated flight, cut short at Varennes, Louis, accompanied by his handsome young aide, Count d'Artois, fled to Brussels, where he was joined by his brother,

the Count of Artois (later Charles X). They proceeded to Coblenz, which became the headquarters of the emigrés.

Living in royal state, Louis put himself at the head of the counter-revolutionary movement, appointing ambassadors, soliciting the aid of European sovereigns, and even obstructing the representatives of Louis XVI. After the latter's guillotining in January, 1793, Louis proclaimed himself regent of France. After the assumed death of his nephew, the imprisoned "Louis XVII," in 1795, he styled himself Louis XVIII.

Louis now began moving his headquarters frequently, often not too far ahead of the conquering armies of the Revolution. Always accompanied by his dear d'Avaray, he moved from Coblenz to Hamm in 1792, then to Verona in 1794, then north again in 1796 to join Condé's counter-revolutionary army on the German frontier. His pessimism was dramatically manifested when in 1797, at the invitation of Tsar Paul I (q.v.), Louis established his headquarters in Courland on the Baltic. Keeping in close contact with his agents, he was frequently in conflict with the parallel activities of his able younger brother Artois. In 1799 Louis tried unsuccessfully to persuade Napoleon Bonaparte (q.v.) to restore the monarchy and thereby earn for himself the rewards given General Monck in England in 1660. A few years later it was Napoleon that was making offers to him, either a pension or an indemnity if he signed an "abdication."

In 1801 Louis was expelled from Mittau in Courland by the capricious tsar, now a friend of Napoleon's, and moved on to Warsaw, where he stayed until 1804. Upon Napoleon's coronation as emperor, Louis met his brother in Sweden to issue a joint protest. The new tsar, Alexander I (q.v.), took the occasion to tell Louis not to return to Warsaw, but allowed him to return to his old base in Courland. However, after Alexander's Treaty of Tilsit (1807) with Napoleon, Louis was forced to move again. This time he went where he probably should have in the first place, England, and took up residence in various country houses. In 1810 his wife died, and much worse a blow, in 1811 d'Avaray. However, Louis soon found a new handsome young favorite in the Count de Blacas.

When Napoleon's fortunes turned in 1813 and royalist hopes revived, Louis had the good sense to issue a manifesto promising

to recognize the results of the Revolution. In March, 1814, the Allies entered Paris, and Napoleon abdicated and went off to Elba. Supported by Napoleon's turncoat foreign minister, Talleyrand, Louis entered Paris as king at last. He granted a constitution but soon showed himself essentially a tired old man, under the influence of the reactionaries headed by his brother Artois.

As a result of the ill will engendered by the efforts of Louis' brother to turn back the clock, there was little support for himself when in the spring of 1815 Napoleon returned from Elba and was welcomed both by the people and the army sent against him by Louis. Louis fled to Ghent.

On July 8, following the Battle of Waterloo and the end of Napoleon's Hundred Days, leading to his exile to distant St. Helena, Louis returned to Paris once again "in the baggage train of the allied armies." This time he was received with more enthusiasm, the people being sick of the war and anxious for constitutional government. Forced to give up his favorite Blacas, Louis found a new one, not so young this time, in Count (afterwards Duke) Decazes, first his chief of police and by 1819 his prime minister.

The remainder of Louis' life was spent trying to restrain the excesses of the arch-reactionaries, or ultras, under his brother Charles of Artois, who at one time even thought of bringing Blacas back to oust Decazes and influence Louis as Charles wanted. In 1820 Louis' efforts to maintain prudence and common sense were undone by the reactionary outburst following the assassination of the Duke of Berry, Charles' son. The liberal Decazes was forced out and in the ensuing reactionary government, more power came into the hands of Charles as Louis XVIII declined in health, dying in 1824.

Artois became Charles X, and with his efforts to try to restore the good old days, he brought on the Revolution of 1830 and the end of the senior line of Bourbon kings on the throne.

The sentiments of Louis XVIII for d'Avary have been compared by a French historian with those of Henry III (q.v.) for his *mignons*.

Reference: Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 667.

JEAN JACQUES RÉGIS DE CAMBACÈRES (1753-1824)

French statesman.

He was born at Montpellier of the *noblesse de la robe* or judiciary nobility, and was designed for the local magistracy. He studied law and in 1774 succeeded his father in a municipal office.

Espousing the cause of the Revolution in 1789, Cambacères was commissioned by the local nobility to draw up their *cahier*, or list of complaints. He was elected a deputy to the States-General, only to have his election voided on a technical point. In 1792 he finally did go to Paris as a deputy, representing now his new *département* in the new Convention which in September abolished the monarchy. At the trial of Louis XVI in December, Cambacères protested that his fellow deputies had been chosen by the people as legislators and not as judges. Then he protested that the king should be given due facilities for his defense. His sincerity apparently impressive, he lived long enough to vote guilty along with the majority, though he recommended postponement of the execution.

As a trained legal expert on good terms with all the factions and needed by all of them, Cambacères was fortunate in escaping involvement in the mortal feuds. In 1793 he was elected to the Committee of General Defense and in 1794 to the more famous, or infamous, Committee of Public Safety, rising to the position of its president in 1795 in the period of moderation following the execution of Robespierre (q.v.). In this capacity, as a sort of president of the French Republic, he helped bring peace with Spain.

When the new constitution of 1795 created the Directory, Cambacères failed to be one of the five directors, since he did not qualify as a sufficiently bona fide regicide. However, he did become the leader of the new lower house. In July, 1799, he was appointed minister of justice, and when in November Napoleon Bonaparte (q.v.) carried out his coup, Cambacères gave it guarded support.

The new constitution this time provided for a First Consul, of course Napoleon, and two assistants chosen by him as Second Consuls. Cambacères was so chosen. He owed his position partly to his reputation for skillful manipulation of public assemblies,

but most of all to his vast legal knowledge. Napoleon had set himself as the great task of his Consulate the drawing up of a new legal code that would include all the enlightened advances of the Revolution. This great project was essentially the work of Cambacérès, though the new code, to be so influential throughout Europe and overseas, was to be known as the *Code Napoléon*.

In 1802 Cambacérès assisted Napoleon in his next coup, the consulship for life. Subsequently he came close to breaking with Napoleon over various occurrences, such as the execution of the Duke d'Enghien for treason, the renewal of the war with England, and the proclamation of the Napoleonic Empire. However, having exerted so much restraint all his life on his personal sentiments (of a political nature, if not those of a sexual nature), and thereby kept a unique position of prominence in the succession of governments from Danton to Napoleon, Cambacérès was hardly disposed to throw everything away in his old age. He accepted the empire and, ceasing to be Second Consul, he now became Arch-Chancellor of the Empire and president of the Senate for life. He also became a prince of the Empire and in 1808 duke of Parma. Going along with the boss has its rewards.

Cambacérès was credited at various times with restraining Napoleon from dangerous and ruinous enterprises, but he failed notably in preventing the fatal invasion of Russia. As Napoleon's fortunes began to wane, Cambacérès became his old cautious self again, offering only rather lukewarm support to the emperor in 1814, and accepting with reluctance a return to office during the Hundred Days.

Despite his cautions, Cambacérès suffered Bourbon vengeance and was exiled until 1818, when his citizenship rights were restored. He lived in retirement, however, for his last six years, and did not even get his exclusion from the French Academy rescinded.

Besides being a brilliant legal expert, Cambacérès was also an outstanding orator, and enjoyed a reputation as a gourmet.

He was said to practice his homosexuality openly, though with due discretion, and apparently never suffered any representations about it from Napoleon. It was of course Cambacérès who was responsible for the almost unique handling of the homosexual issue in the Code Napoleon (and those of other

codes derived from it), whereby homosexual relations became a matter for the law only if involving minors, violence or a public occurrence.

Reference: Burton, 252; Hirschfeld, 660; Mayne, 238.



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)

Emperor of the French (1804-15) and King of Italy (1805-14).

Napulione, as he was christened, was born at Ajaccio, Corsica, the second surviving son of Carlo Maria da Buonaparte, a scion of minor Florentine nobility in Genoese service. The island having become French a year before his birth, Napoleon was born a French national by a narrow margin. The older Buonaparte, though long identified with the patriotic independence movement that had first called in the French for help against Genoa and then fought the French when they seized Corsica for themselves, had become a great friend of France and its governor. Accordingly, he secured for Napoleon in 1778 an appointment to a French military school. After a few months at the college of Autun with his older brother Joseph (destined for the Church) to learn French, Napoleon entered the military school at Brienne in May, 1779, a few months before his tenth birthday. Napulione Buonaparte was now Napoleon Bonaparte.

Although technically a military school, Brienne was for the most part a typical Franciscan school. Napoleon found it dull and uninspiring, and he showed little interest in any subjects except history and mathematics. His Corsican patriotism made him anti-French and unsociable with his fellow-students, aside from his contempt for the monastic instructors. Napoleon's morose deportment, however, made a favorable impression on the inspectors (who perhaps shared his opinion of the school), and after just missing a naval appointment, Napoleon was appointed by Louis XVI a cadet in the royal military school in Paris in 1784.

At the Paris school Napoleon was impressed much more favorably, both by the higher educational level and by the discipline, and he was inspired to apply himself diligently to his studies, hoping for a commission as an artillery officer. In this he succeeded and in 1785, with his new commission, Napoleon

was attached to an artillery regiment at Valence, where the training required him to go successively through the duties of a private, a corporal and a sergeant before assuming in 1786 those of a lieutenant.

Late in 1786, Napoleon secured a furlough to Corsica, which he stretched into a year, toying with the idea of leading another Corsican fight against France. His father having died of cancer the previous year, Napoleon established himself with his beloved mother Letizia as the real new head of the family (the weaker Joseph was now studying law rather than theology in Italy), and in 1787 he went to Paris to try to secure a pension for his mother. Although he made some interesting contacts with the Court, he failed in his objective. After another extension of his furlough, he finally rejoined his regiment some twenty-one months after leaving it.

Napoleon now applied himself not only to mastering his professional duties but to increasing his general knowledge, especially in history, his favorite subject. English history particularly interested him, and Cromwell became something of an idol to him. Favorite authors included Caesar (q.v.), Machiavelli (q.v.), Plutarch, Voltaire and Rousseau. During this period Napoleon wrote a pamphlet against a Calvinist pastor at Geneva who had dared to criticize Rousseau.

The early years of the Revolution found Napoleon shifting back and forth between three scenes. At Valence, where his regiment was stationed, he continued his studies, sometimes fifteen hours a day, and joined the local affiliate of the Jacobin Club, where his speeches were well received and won him appointment as the club's librarian. The second scene was Corsica, to visit which he again secured a furlough in 1791. The former resistance leader, Paoli, had re-established himself and was tending to a conservative, anti-revolutionary attitude. With Napoleon identifying himself with the radical, democratic viewpoint, hostile relations developed between the two of them, and in 1792 Napoleon thought it best to go to Paris to obtain some kind of official backing from the new leaders for his authority in Corsica. Having witnessed many of the historic events of 1792 and having obtained a captain's commission, and perhaps some secret orders, Napoleon set back to Corsica, on the way

picking up his sister Elisa, who had been cast adrift by the closing of her convent. In Corsica Napoleon's forceful talk and actions brought to a head his family's clash with the Paoli faction, and despite the apparent Paris backing, Napoleon lost out. In June, 1793, the entire Bonaparte family fled Corsica, taking up temporary residence in southern France. Paoli cast his lot in with the royalists and the British, his hosts during his exile. By now France was at war with England, Holland and Spain, as well as Prussia and the Empire, and confronted by the First Coalition of France's new arch-enemy, the younger William Pitt (q.v.).

In August, 1793, the royalists of Toulon admitted English and Spanish forces to defend the great port against the republican forces. A danger arose that Toulon would become the base for a royalist revolt throughout southern France. The artillery commander in the siege of Toulon having been wounded, the republican commissioners appointed Napoleon Bonaparte, as a qualified artillery captain and a devoted republican, to command the artillery. Napoleon soon made a big impression on the new commander, and he played a decisive part in the strategy and assault operations that led to the capture of Toulon in December and the hurried departure of the British and their allies. "I have no words in which to describe the merit of Bonaparte: much science, as much intelligence and too much bravery," wrote the commanding general to Paris.

By the end of 1793 the 24-year-old Bonaparte was a brigadier general. In February, 1794, he received command of all artillery in the force about to invade Italy. Before much could be accomplished in this direction, Robespierre (q.v.) had fallen, and Bonaparte, as a close friend of Robespierre's brother, narrowly escaped arrest. The "return to normalcy" attitude in Paris was reflected in the lethargic new commander they sent down. In May, 1795, after declining on grounds of ill health the unenviable command against the dogged rebels in Brittany, Napoleon went to Paris. Peace feelers being in the air, the new regime had little use for Bonaparte in the south and gave him a bureaucratic post. He was soon disgusted with the work, and facing the prospect of the removal of his name from the list of general officers, Bonaparte sought permission to go to Turkey to organize the sultan's artillery.

A new outburst of civil strife in Paris now provided the turning point in Napoleon's career. The Convention having provided that two thirds of its members would become members of the new constitutional assembly, riots broke out against the apparently corrupt Convention led by the usual hooligans of the Paris mob. The Convention entrusted its defense to Barras, who had led the conspiracy against Robespierre and had dominated the Convention since his fall. Barras in turn, previously impressed by Bonaparte, appointed him his military deputy. It was mainly Napoleon's coolness, vigor and tactical skill on October 6, 1795, that brought the complete routing of Barras' foes with the famous "whiff of grapeshot" (that cost about 100 lives).

The new Assembly created the government known as the Directory (1795-99), dominated by Barras, and Bonaparte was "in" as one of the new regime's most dependable generals. To cement the alliance, Barras decided to give Bonaparte as his bride his own cast-off mistress, the widowed Josephine de Beauharnais, to whom Bonaparte had long since deemed it useful to pay court. Josephine's reluctance having vanished when Bonaparte was given command of the new Army of Italy, they were married in March, 1796. Very soon after the marriage Napoleon left to take command.

Finding a tired, starving and ragged army, to which he delivered one of his most famous speeches, Napoleon in a few months transformed his men into a first-class fighting unit, employing his own ideas about swift strikes by compact forces living off the land and appearing where they were least expected. By May, 1796, Piedmont was knocked out of the war, and Napoleon had entered Milan, the capital of Austrian Lombardy, after a great victory at Lodi. By the end of 1796 the pope and Naples had signed armistices. After more great victories over the Austrians at Arcole, Rivoli and Mantua, Napoleon was marching on Vienna when instructions from Paris necessitated a truce in April, 1797, followed by a peace treaty. Only England was now left to deal with.

Returning to Paris the idol of France and of all republicans for his humiliation of the Austrians, Napoleon presented a plan for crushing the British Empire by striking at India after Egypt had been secured as a base. On the advice of Talleyrand, now

a rising authority on international relations, the Directory eagerly accepted the ridiculous plan, delighted now that peace was in the offing to be rid of this inevitably dangerous young Caesar in the making.

In May, 1798 Napoleon sailed with his fleet for Egypt. Shortly after landing, he won a great victory over the Mameluke rulers of Egypt in the Battle of the Pyramids. All favorable prospects were undone, however, when Napoleon's fleet was destroyed by Nelson a few weeks later and the Turks, the nominal sovereigns of Egypt, declared war on France. An expedition to Syria in 1799 met with ill fortune both militarily and by virtue of plague, and was abandoned. In the end France had little to show for the expedition except the extensive cultural and scientific finds made by the energetic band of scientists and scholars who accompanied Napoleon.

Meanwhile, Napoleon learned that in his absence France had had another reversal of fortunes and was in grave peril. A Second Coalition had been formed by Pitt, with Tsar Paul (q.v.) throwing Russian armies all over Europe, from Holland to Italy. French forces had been defeated in Italy and the Directory was facing bankruptcy. Leaving his trusted Kléber in command to bring the French forces home, Napoleon sailed on the fastest ship for France and headed without delay for Paris.

As it happened, one of the Directors, Siéyès, was already working on a conspiracy aimed at a more workable regime. Napoleon, still a national hero despite the rather dismal Egyptian failure, fitted in perfectly with Siéyès' plans. On November 9, 1799 (the eighteenth Brumaire by the revolutionary calendar), the Directory was overthrown by a coup d'état. A new constitution, providing for a Consulate with Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul, was submitted to popular vote and approved by more than three million, the nay-sayers being less than 2,000.

Meanwhile, France's position had already somewhat improved again in that the mad Tsar Paul I, disgusted with his allies, had pulled out of Pitt's Second Coalition on the eve of Napoleon's coup (and thus precluded any engagement in northern Italy between Napoleon and the brilliant Russian conqueror of northern Italy, Suvarov). However, the Austrians and their German allies remained to be dealt with both on the Rhine and in northern

Italy where the French armies, still reeling under their repeated defeats by Suvarov, continued to suffer reverses. Genoa, Milan and Turin were all again in Austrian hands.

In May, 1800, Napoleon crossed the Alps with 40,000 men, falling on the flank of the Austrians. On June 2 he retook Milan, and on June 14 he won one of his classic victories at Marengo. Under a truce the Austrians again pulled out of northern Italy, and Napoleon again began moving on Austria from the south as he had in 1797. Similar successes had been achieved in the north by his generals. The Austrians having been defeated on the Rhine front, a French army had pushed deep into Germany, captured Munich and was planning to join up with Napoleon's forces in attacking Austria. Their position hopeless, the Austrians capitulated. By the Treaty of Luneville (1801) the Austrians accepted all the conditions of the 1797 peace, ceded all of the left bank of the Rhine to France, and recognized republican regimes in Holland, Switzerland and northern Italy. France now included what is now Belgium and the Rhineland. All sorts of reorganizations were to be made in Germany, with Napoleon as the arbiter. As a minor by-product of the agreements, Spain ceded to France Louisiana and France sold the huge territory to the United States in 1803. A concordat with the papacy at last normalized relations between the Church and the new France.

Once again England remained to be dealt with. The French occupied Hanover (belonging to George III) and forced most European states to close their ports to British shipping. The English struck back by attacking Denmark, forcing her to withdraw from the so-called Northern Convention, and then they won over the new young Russian Tsar, Alexander I (q.v.). However, when the arch-enemy of France and Napoleon, William Pitt, resigned (because of a quarrel with George III over the rights of Irish Catholics), the forces favoring a general peace won out. By the Treaty of Amiens (1802) between France and England, England surrendered most of her overseas conquests. When peace with Turkey followed shortly, France was for the first time in ten years at peace on all fronts.

Now clearly established as the dominant figure in Europe, Napoleon became Consul for life, with the right to appoint his successor, as well as president of the Italian Republic. Most

of 1803 he spent in reorganizing Germany, its petty sovereigns competing with one another for the favor of the new Caesar. In France Napoleon instituted energetic reforms of the currency and the legal system, paving the way for the Code Napoleon of Cambacérès (q.v.), and bringing more stability and prosperity than many could ever remember.

In 1804, after shocking public opinion throughout Europe by the kidnapping, summary court-martial and execution of the Bourbon prince, the Duke d'Enghien, accused of conspiring against Napoleon, the First Consul had himself proclaimed Emperor of the French. This was ratified by a 99.99 per cent vote in a plebiscite, and in December the pope arrived for the imperial coronation, though like Charlemagne, Napoleon insisted on putting the crown himself on his head. The following year he became king of Italy, with Josephine's son by her first marriage, Eugene Beauharnais, as his viceroy.

Meanwhile, since 1803, France was again at war with England, the principal cause being England's unwillingness to surrender Malta. Pitt was back in power and had organized a Third Coalition (with Austria, Russia and Sweden). Napoleon again occupied Hanover and massed an army at Boulogne with vaguely designed plans for an invasion of England. However, the aggressive actions of the Austrian and Russian armies gave him something more familiar to deal with. Taking personal command of his eastern armies, Napoleon crossed the Rhine, marched deep into Germany, and on December 2, the anniversary of his coronation, won a smashing victory at Austerlitz over the armies of the Russian and Austrian emperors, whence its name, "Battle of the Three Emperors." The Austrians shortly signed the Treaty of Pressburg, by which they gave up to Napoleon their last holdings in Italy and made extensive cessions to his German allies. The victory, which hastened Pitt's death, was somewhat offset by the recent defeat of the French fleet at Trafalgar by Nelson, who was killed.

In 1806 Napoleon created the Confederation of the Rhine in Germany, with himself as its protector. The Holy Roman Empire was declared dissolved, its emperor now calling himself the Emperor of Austria. Napoleon's relatives were given kingdoms and principalities, most notably his older brother Joseph

becoming first king of Naples and then king of Spain, a younger brother Louis king of Holland (by his wife Hortense, Josephine's daughter, he was the father of the future Napoleon III), and another brother, Jerome, torn from his Baltimore wife, becoming king of Westphalia, a new creation. Napoleon's marshals became princes and dukes, and Napoleon's new court, to which the old aristocrats were invited to return, was not too far behind that of Louis XIV.

Meanwhile, though Austria had been knocked out of the war, Prussia was outraged by all Napoleon's high-handed actions in Germany, and joined with his remaining continental enemy, the Russians. In October, 1806, Napoleon routed the Prussian armies at Jena, Auerstadt and Halle and occupied Berlin. From there he issued his Berlin Decree in November, proclaiming a blockade of England and closing the continent to British trade.

With the Russians now his remaining foe, Napoleon urged the Poles to revolt under the nominal leadership of the Elector of Saxony, Prussia's chief rival in eastern Germany, whose alliance he got by making him king. The Turks were also persuaded to attack their traditional Russian enemies. Early in 1807 the Russian army joined up with the last remnants of the Prussian army and fought the French in a bloody and indecisive engagement at Eylau. After emerging from winter quarters in the spring of 1807, Napoleon moved east and won a smashing victory over the Russians at Friedland, after which he occupied East Prussia. In July, Napoleon met Tsar Alexander on a raft on the Niemen River and concluded the Treaty of Tilsit, which provided for equal status and mutual recognition, and by a secret clause, for Russian alliance if England refused terms. Prussia was drawn into the settlement on disadvantageous terms. Poland re-emerged briefly as a state, the Prussian part becoming the Duchy of Warsaw with the king of Saxony as its grand duke. During this period Napoleon had one of his famed romances, with the Polish Countess Walewska (their bastard became an important statesman in the Second Empire under Napoleon III).

The English refused to be drawn into any more peace settlements. An English fleet again bombarded poor Copenhagen and carried off the Danish fleet, this apparently becoming a standard British way of regaining status when worsted by the French.

Russia being a traditional Danish ally, Tsar Alexander declared war on England but did nothing much about it. England's hopes now became fixed on the Iberian Peninsula, where her naval power could make itself felt. To forestall the anticipated British plans, and to guard the coasts, a French army of 100,000 invaded Spain in 1808. After Charles IV and his heir Ferdinand were obliged to sign abdications, Napoleon's brother Joseph was promoted from king of Naples to king of Spain, Naples going to Napoleon's vulgar brother-in-law, the cavalry leader Murat. A French army also occupied Portugal when it refused to come out against the British, and its royal family fled to Brazil.

For the first time, the French were greeted as oppressors and hated enemies instead of as liberators, being opposed by the Spanish people at every turn. Making the most of this, a British force landed in Portugal under command of the future Duke of Wellington, defeated Napoleon's Marshal Junot and got him to pull out of Portugal. A spreading insurrection in Spain brought French defeats and withdrawals until Napoleon returned with an army of 150,000, captured Madrid, defeated the Spanish and thrust back a British invasion from Portugal. Napoleon thereupon left the field again to his marshals, who waged a seesaw battle with the British and the guerillas until the general reversals of 1813-14.

Austria and Prussia having instituted long overdue reforms in 1809, their rulers decided on another try against Napoleon by appealing to German patriotism. This attack against him proved about the easiest ever to deal with. Hurrying north from Spain, Napoleon captured Vienna, a pleasure long denied him, and won another of his great victories at Wagram. He also suffered a rare defeat just previously, at Aspern and Essling, but was saved by reinforcements from his stepson Eugene, his viceroy of Italy. By the new peace settlement, the Hapsburgs had to disgorge more dynastic holdings. Austrian Poland went to the new Grand Duchy of Poland, and Austria's Balkan lands became the Illyrian Provinces, ruled by Marshal Marmont as duke of Ragusa. They had also to provide the emperor's daughter Marie Louise, a niece of Marie Antoinette, as Napoleon's empress, Josephine having been divorced for not producing an heir. (Marie

Louise duly furnished the heir, known as the King of Rome, in 1811). Prussia got little chance to do anything. France's northern borders were now extended to the vicinity of Denmark when brother Louis, loyal to his Dutch subjects, refused to ruin them by excluding British traders and fled. With Hanover piled on top of Holland and a few more minor acquisitions, Napoleon's empire compared nicely with that of Charlemagne.

From these new heights of grandeur in 1810-11 (excluding the perennial mess in Spain), Napoleon was of course plunged into ruin by his invasion of Russia in 1812. Increasingly angered at Russia's refusal to abide by his "Continental System" and continuation of trade with England, Napoleon decided his complete domination of Europe could not be achieved until the Russians had been thoroughly crushed. With his Grande Armée of 500,000 troops, made up of soldiers from allies and vassal states as well as Frenchmen, Napoleon invaded Russia in June, 1812. Instead of cooperatively standing fast to suffer crushing defeats, the Russians fell back. When they did fight, as at Borodino in September, the result was indecisive and bloody (80,000 casualties at Borodino). On September 14 Napoleon entered Moscow, which he found deserted except for a few thousand civilians, and established himself in the Kremlin to await Alexander's surrender. The burning of the city (September 15-19) by Alexander's agents made Napoleon's position much worse. Alexander refused any terms, and after five weeks Napoleon had to concede his position was untenable with winter approaching.

With no supplies in Moscow, the surrounding countryside and grainstores emptied and his own supplies cut off, Napoleon began his retreat from Moscow on October 19. Stalked by hunger, with Cossacks and irregulars attacking their flanks, and the Russian winter arriving early, the invaders suffered such terrible losses that when they reached the borders, only about one fifth of the original force remained. A terrible toll was exacted at the Beresina River by the massed Russians. The retreat now became a rout, and Germany again rose in revolt.

In December Napoleon left his army and hastened to Paris to prepare French defenses and to raise a new army, much like Louis XIV in 1708. The Prussians allied themselves in 1813

with the advancing Russians, and were joined by the Austrians and the Swedes, the latter now led by Napoleon's former Marshal Bernadotte as their crown prince. Napoleon met the allies at Leipzig in October, and though performing brilliantly, was forced to retreat. By March of 1814 the Allies were converging on Paris, which they occupied. In April Napoleon abdicated and went into exile as Emperor of Elba, an island off Italy's Tuscan coast. While his victors were still arranging settlement at the Congress of Vienna, Napoleon decided on one last gamble. Landing with a few followers near Cannes on March 1, 1815, he won over the troops sent against him by Louis XVIII (q.v.), and marched triumphantly toward Paris, with France rallied behind him. Louis XVIII fled, and Napoleon entered Paris on March 20. Trying to restore his empire with a more liberal constitution, Napoleon's efforts were cut short as the allies once more took the field against him. The fighting was principally in Belgium, and of course it ended with disastrous defeat by the English under Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher at Waterloo in June. With another abdication, the Hundred Days was ended.

Exiled this time to distant St. Helena, where he was not a sovereign as on Elba but a British state prisoner, Napoleon spent the rest of his life quarreling with the British governor, talking with his ever-dwindling group of faithful followers, and dictating his memoirs. He died, like his father, of cancer in March, 1821. His remains were returned to France in 1840 and are now entombed in the Invalides, Paris.

Like Caesar, Napoleon was often surprisingly generous to his foes, though often also vindictive. Under his rule, the more positive and constructive results of the Revolution reached their full fruition, especially the economic reconstruction of France (and Europe) along modern lines, and the great legal reforms, to which the name *Code Napoléon* became attached.

Napoleon's inclusion amongst probable homosexuals, though his name appears on several lists, seems open to considerable doubt. He had a well-documented history of heterosexual affairs, although so eminent a biographer as Emil Ludwig insists he never really loved any woman. Napoleon does not seem to have had any young male favorites, and with all his enemies, such

could not have escaped recording. The primary cause of Napoleon's citation in this connection seems to have been from conclusions drawn from the extraordinary account of the post-mortem by Dr. Henry, revealing the progressive feminization Napoleon's body had undergone:

The whole surface of the body was deeply covered with fat. Over the sternum, where generally the bone is very superficial, the fat was upwards of an inch deep and an inch and a half or two inches on the abdomen. There was scarcely any hair on the body, and that of the head was thin, fine and silky. The whole genital system (very small) seemed to exhibit a physical cause for the absence of sexual desire, and the chastity which had been stated to have characterized the deceased [during his imprisonment on St. Helena]. The skin was noticed to be very white and delicate, as were hands and arms. Indeed the whole body was slender and effeminate. The pubis much resembled the *mons veneris* in women. The muscles of the chest were small, the shoulders narrow and the hips wide.

In addition to this documentation, probably the primary cause, there were some minor elements. In 1808 malicious tongues began clicking wildly when Napoleon, a great fan of the effeminate castrate singer Crescentini, disregarded shocked and scandalized public opinion by awarding Crescentini the Order of the Iron Crown (an Italian equivalent to the Legion of Honor, set up by Napoleon as King of Italy). Most obscure of all, there was a vague reference to a homosexual affair with another officer during Napoleon's obscure days in the early 1790s.

Reference: Burton, 252; Edwardes, 247; Mayne, 193-94; Mehta 25.



FREDERICK I (1754-1816)

Duke and King of Württemberg (1797-1816).

Properly Duke Frederick II when he acceded to his throne, he was the son of Frederick Eugene, who had served under Frederick the Great (q.v.), and had raised his children in the Protestant faith, though Catholic himself. Frederick Eugene had

been defeated by the armies of revolutionary France and forced to withdraw from the coalition and pay a large indemnity.

Upon his accession, Frederick, the first Protestant ruler of Württemberg since 1733, decided to take Frederick the Great as his model, and in defiance of the wishes of his people, took his country back into the war against France. When the French again invaded and devastated his country, Frederick retired to Erlangen until the general settlement of 1801. By a private treaty with Napoleon (q.v.), Frederick ceded his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine and received in compensation the former Hapsburg territories, with about 124,000 inhabitants, to be known as New Württemberg. He also received from Napoleon the title Elector.

In 1805 Frederick fought as an ally of Napoleon in the War of the Third Coalition, and by the Peace of Pressburg received more former Hapsburg territories. He added still more to his realm in 1806, when he joined Napoleon's new Confederation of the Rhine and received the royal title. He was now King Frederick I instead of Duke Frederick II, thanks to Napoleon. Frederick had to show his appreciation by furnishing soldiers for Napoleon's campaigns against Austria, Prussia, and, most fatal of all, Russia. Only a few hundred of Frederick's 16,000 subjects who went with Napoleon to Moscow returned.

After the Battle of Leipzig (1813), Frederick deserted the waning fortunes of Napoleon, in return for which Chancellor Metternich of Austria guaranteed his new titles and new lands. Frederick raised more troops to join the allied invasion of France.

After the war, Frederick joined the new Germanic Confederation, the Congress of Vienna having confirmed his gains from Napoleon. Frederick presented a new constitution to his parliament, but it was rejected because of some disputed provisions. Before modifications could be agreed on, Frederick died.

Frederick was well-known for his homosexual relations, which were little concealed. His best-known favorite was his groom Dillen, whom he ennobled as von Dillenburg.

Frederick's relationships to contemporary and subsequent royal personages are a matter of considerable interest. His beautiful sister was married to Tsar Paul I (q.v.) and was the mother of Alexander I (q.v.) and his brother, the future "policeman of

Europe," Nicholas I. Frederick's daughter Catherine was married to Napoleon's brother Jerome, who became King of Westphalia (a new creation of Napoleon's) and the ancestor of the present line of Bonaparte pretenders. (This same Jerome had been married to Betsy Patterson of Baltimore, by whom he was the ancestor of the American Bonapartes; his American grandson served as Navy Secretary and Attorney General under Teddy Roosevelt.) Frederick's nephew, Alexander, made a morganatic marriage and was created Prince of Teck; Teck's grandson, the Earl of Athlone, was governor-general of Canada, and his granddaughter was Queen Mary, wife of George V of England and mother of Edward VIII, *et al.*

Frederick was succeeded by his son, William I, who in turn was succeeded by his homosexual son, Charles I (q.v.).

Reference: Hirschfeld, 662; Mayne, 239.



MIKHAIL ILARIONOVICH KUTUZOV (1745-1813)

Russian general.

He was born at St. Petersburg of an undistinguished family and entered the Russian army in 1760. Kutuzov saw service in Poland (1764-68) and against the Turks (1768-74) in his early army years, and lost an eye while fighting the Turks. Having the talents of a military diplomat, he was employed on missions in central and western Europe from 1774 to 1784.

By 1784 Kutuzov was a major general, and in 1787 he was appointed governor-general of the Crimea. That year there broke out another Russo-Turkish War (1787-92), and Kutuzov served under Russia's greatest military genius, Suvarov, and became his protégé and constant companion. Kutuzov played an important part in the successes of that war, which brought Russia the Dniester boundary and the future great port of Odessa.

Coming out of the war a lieutenant general, Kutuzov was once more given political and diplomatic assignments, being appointed successively ambassador to Turkey, governor-general of Finland, Commandant of Cadets at St. Petersburg, ambassador to Prussia and governor-general of St. Petersburg. To Kutuzov's great regret, these assignments precluded his participating with his mentor Suvarov in his great victories over the French in northern Italy, while Napoleon (q.v.) was in Egypt. Suvarov died in 1800.

When Russia in 1805 joined the War of the Third Coalition against Napoleon, Kutuzov was given command of the Russian army which tried in vain to halt Napoleon's advance on Vienna. Kutuzov tried to dissuade Tsar Alexander (q.v.) from fighting at Austerlitz and was wounded in this battle, the setting for Napoleon's greatest victory.

Once again Kutuzov was given political and diplomatic assignments, serving as governor-general of Lithuania (Poland), and then governor-general of the Ukraine (1806-11). When war broke out again with the Turks, who were persuaded by Napoleon to attack Alexander, Kutuzov was given the chief command and waged the fight brilliantly, for which he was made a prince. Russia gained Bessarabia as well as substantial rights in the Turkish provinces that were to become Rumania.

In August, 1812, Kutuzov was the unanimous choice of the army and the people to take over as commander-in-chief against the French invaders, who had just won at Smolensk a bloody victory over the continually-retreating Scottish-descended Barclay de Tolly. These retreats had resulted from defeatism rather than strategy, but they proved to be so sound from a long-range military point of view that Kutuzov embraced the policy of retreat deliberately. In his one instance of yielding to the demands for a stand, he fought the bloody and indecisive Battle of Borodino, where there were 80,000 casualties. Napoleon was then allowed to go on to capture deserted Moscow, which was set afire the day after Napoleon established himself in the Kremlin.

When Napoleon began his retreat from Moscow in October, Kutuzov's policy was completely vindicated. His forces, especially the Cossacks and irregulars, harried the flanks of the retreating and demoralized Grande Armée without mercy, fighting several minor battles. When winter began early in November, the Russians had an additional ally, starvation and frost being added to Napoleon's woes. At the end of November, Kutuzov made Napoleon pay a terrible price to cross the Beresina River, after which complete disorganization set in amongst the 100,000 that remained of the Grand Armée's original 500,000.

By December of 1812 Napoleon had left his army and rushed to Paris to prepare for a defensive war and raise new forces. Kutuzov, now Marshal of Russia and prince of Smolensk, invaded

Germany in order to drive the remaining French forces out of Prussia. When the Prussians again defied the French, they put their army under Kutuzov's supreme command.

While preparing a campaign based on the rallying of all central Europe against the French, Kutuzov suddenly died in March, 1813, felled by a heart attack said to have resulted from excessive homosexual pleasures with a Russian soldier. According to a more picturesque version, the heart attack occurred actually in the midst of the intercourse.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 666.



ALEXANDER I (1777-1825)

Tsar of Russia (1801-1825).

He was born at St. Petersburg, the oldest son of Grand Duke Paul (q.v.), the Empress Catherine's despised heir apparent. His mother was the beautiful Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg, the sister of its King Frederick I (q.v.). Educated at his grandmother's free-thinking court by a Swiss tutor named LaHarpe, a disciple of Rousseau, Alexander developed with a highly liberal and humanitarian orientation. At the same time, from his military governor and his father he imbibed quite contradictory notions about militarism, autocracy and contempt for the self-serving motives of men.

Alexander's relations with his father were embittered by the aged Catherine's fondness for her grandson and her plan to pass over Paul directly to Alexander in the succession. However, upon Catherine's death in 1796, her unbalanced son did manage to become Tsar Paul and to make a big splash at once in Europe by becoming the moving force in the fight against revolutionary France. He sent his armies into western Europe, from Holland to Italy, and in Italy, while Napoleon (q.v.) was in Egypt, his brilliant commander Suvarov won many victories over the French. Eventually becoming disgusted by the selfishness of his allies, Paul suddenly withdrew his armies. This and other irrational behavior was followed by actions threatening the lives of many influential persons at the court, and ultimately Paul was assassinated in a palace conspiracy to which his son was privy.

Mounting the throne in 1801 over the murdered body of his father, the 23-year-old Alexander gave the impression of being

deeply affected by the circumstances of his accession, which apparently increased the morbid and mystical side of his character and intensified the complexity which so baffled his contemporaries. He began his reign full of programs for liberal internal reforms drawn up by his adviser Speranski, which were to be administered by his enthusiastic young friends, ironically organized as "The Committee of Public Safety." When he met with nearly universal opposition, the autocratic side of his split personality was relieved and he put off the reforms, leaving the new constitution unsigned, the educational system as shackled as ever by the priesthood's influence and the peasants as oppressed as his grandmother had made them.

Deciding that his ambition to play a dazzling role could be better accomplished on the international scene, Alexander reversed his father's later policy of anti-British neutrality and established close relations with England and Prussia, with the latter on the basis of personal friendship with Prussia's young king and queen. A general peace, short-lived as it turned out, was now settling over Europe as Napoleon, finally established as First Consul of a stabilized France, seemed disposed to moderation. Receiving enthusiastic reports about Napoleon from his former tutor LaHarpe, Alexander became increasingly disposed towards friendship with Napoleon also.

The moves toward friendship with Napoleon were put aside when the impudent upstart crowned himself emperor late in 1804. Earlier in the year Alexander, like most Europeans, had professed to be horrified by Napoleon's arbitrary seizure, summary trial and execution of the Duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince who had conspired against him. Alexander broke off relations with France and joined the Third Coalition formed by Pitt (q.v.) in 1805. Professing to be opposing Napoleon as "the oppressor of Europe and the disturber of the world's peace," Alexander, like America's Wilson a century later, saw himself as fulfilling a divine mission. The Russian envoy in London presented the startled Pitt with a document drawn up by Alexander with references to the triumph of the sacred rights of humanity, new dogmas about the relations of rulers to their nations, and blueprints for a European confederation that would make war impossible.

As it turned out, this "after Napoleon" planning was distinctly premature, for Napoleon smashed triumphantly through Germany towards Vienna, and on December 2, the anniversary of his coronation, won a great victory at Austerlitz over the armies of Alexander and his fellow emperor of Austria. With Austria driven out of the war, Alexander put his hopes in his friend the Prussian king, but another succession of Napoleonic victories ended these hopes. After a final desperate proclamation of a holy crusade against Napoleon brought only another great victory for Napoleon, at Friedland, Alexander suddenly gave a friendly response to Napoleon's offer of alliance.

Alexander met Napoleon on a raft on the Niemen River in June, 1807, and he was apparently completely won over, dazzled by Napoleon's genius and his generosity. Knowing how to appeal to Alexander's exuberant imagination, Napoleon spoke of the pacification of Europe, temporarily divided between Emperors of the East and West, following which they would join to drive the Turks out of Europe and march across Asia to conquer India.

The friendly relations were soon embittered, however, by the continued French occupation of Prussia, and another warm personal meeting, at Erfurt in 1808, failed to halt the deterioration of relations. When in 1809 the Austrians once again took the offensive against Napoleon, Alexander failed to deliver any assistance to his ally, using the occasion instead to grab Finland from Sweden. Relations were further embittered by Napoleon's encouragement of Polish nationalism, leading to the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and by Alexander's refusal to cooperate in Napoleon's "Continental System" against British commerce. Napoleon took as the final insult Alexander's refusal to give him his sister Anna to replace the childless (by Napoleon) and divorced Josephine, as a substitute for whom Napoleon married the Austrian emperor's daughter, Marie Louise.

In June, 1812 Napoleon undertook his campaign to crush his last opposition in Europe by invading Russia with his Grande Armée of 500,000. The continuous retreats of Alexander's armies, whether from defeatism or brilliant strategy, paid off when Napoleon's capture of evacuated Moscow in September brought not triumph but disaster. Professing to be outraged by the French

desecration of the Kremlin and the burning of Moscow (accomplished by Alexander's agents), Alexander turned down all offers to negotiate. "No more peace with Napoleon! He or I, I or he: we cannot longer reign together!" Alexander proclaimed dramatically to Napoleon's envoy.

During 1812 and 1813 Alexander's armies, under the leadership of the able Kutuzov (q.v.), suffered tremendous casualties and inflicted tremendous casualties on the retreating French, whose army was reduced to 100,000 when it left Russia, or about one fifth of the number with which the invasion began. The Russians played a leading role in driving the French out of Germany in 1813 and in the invasion of France in 1814, culminating in the capture of Paris and Napoleon's abdication and exile to Elba.

By the time the allies were assembling at the Congress of Vienna to map out the inevitably complex peace settlements, Alexander was already under the influence of a religious adventuress, Baroness de Krüdener, who encouraged his belief in his divine mission and organized imperial prayer-meetings where the will of God could be revealed directly to Alexander. He played little part in the crushing of Napoleon after his return from Elba, the Hundred Days which ended with Waterloo and Napoleon's second abdication and exile to St. Helena. Accordingly, when Europe's leaders assembled again at Vienna, the English and Prussians, who had played so great a part in the recent victory, were in a better position to stand up to "the shifty Byzantine," as Napoleon had called Alexander (among other names).

Alexander's evangelical and seemingly neo-Jacobin language stunned his colleagues at the Congress, as though the French Revolution were to start all over again, with Russians replacing the French. As politely as they could, his conservative and practical colleagues, most notably England's Castlereagh (q.v.), Austria's Metternich, and France's Talleyrand, evaded Alexander's proposals and produced their long-lasting settlements on old-fashioned lines, with due adjustments for irreversible changes.

A few years later, Alexander's religious mentor persuaded him to undertake a new pious enterprise, the Holy Alliance, which

was supposed to bind Europe's sovereigns to behave in a godly and Christian manner towards their subjects and each other. In short order the Holy Alliance became identified with extreme reaction and was denounced as "a hypocritical conspiracy against freedom." The charge seemed substantially justified by a violent alteration in the political ideology of the Holy Alliance's founder. Yielding at home to acceptance of the reactionary policies suggested by his new adviser, General Arakcheiev, Alexander was confronted in consequence by a revolutionary conspiracy of liberal officers of his guard. At a conference shortly after with Austria's architect of reaction, Metternich, the shaken and disillusioned Alexander was completely won over to Metternich's views. In the wake of the revolutionary disorders that had taken place in Germany, Piedmont and Naples, Alexander signed the Troppau Protocol with Metternich in 1820, by which he agreed that the great powers must interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states if there was a threat to order. On this, the English broke with their former allies.

The following year, Alexander was once again pulled in contrary directions when the Greeks revolted against the Turks. Was he to abide by the traditional Russian stand as the leader of the Orthodox crusade against the Turks, or was he by his new stand to join in intervention on behalf of the hated Turks? Alexander's idea of compromise, sole intervention by Russia, being violently opposed by Metternich, the tsar once again moved towards liberalism, or in any event broke with the Metternich system. Alexander was making preparations to lead an army of crusading Russian liberators as an Orthodox tsar when he suddenly died at Taganrog in December, 1825.

A persistent rumor had it that Alexander did not really die but became a monk named Fomich (or sometimes Kuzmich), living in Tomsk until 1864. Some credence was lent to the tradition when his tomb was opened by the Soviet government in 1926 and found empty. Alexander was supposed to have been carried off in the yacht of his friend, the former British ambassador, Earl Cathcart, whose papers are to be opened in 1964 and may solve the mystery.

Alexander was handsome, affable and charming, though in his later years, under the religious evangelic influence, he tended

towards melancholy, asceticism and Spartan living. Unhappily married, he had by his wife, a princess of Baden, a daughter who died in 1808. A mistress, Madame Narishkine, also produced a daughter who died young. He was succeeded by his iron-willed brother, Nicholas I, who for a quarter of a century served as the "policeman of Europe" and made Russian tsarism the synonym of reaction. During Alexander's reign, Russian forts were built in Alaska and California, and after a long war with Persia, Russia acquired Georgia, the Caucasus province that was to produce an eminent successor of Alexander's.

Alexander's name is frequently found in lists of famous homosexuals, and there are supposed to be extensive references to his male loves in the memoirs and letters of his period. Amongst the various tags stuck on Alexander by Napoleon was "the slyest and handsomest of all the *Greeks*."

Reference: Hirschfeld, 658; Mayne 78, 193.



ROBERT STEWART, VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH
(1769-1822)

English statesman.

Known also by his later title, Marquess of Londonderry, he was born at Dublin, the son of an Irish peer and Ulster landowner. The year of his birth was the one in which Napoleon (q.v.) and Wellington were also born. After being educated at the Armagh school, Castlereagh went to St. John's College, Cambridge but left in 1790 after only a year's study. His father had decided to run the 21-year-old Castlereagh for the Irish House of Commons, and by spending a fortune secured his election. He took his seat at the same time as his friend Wellesley, the future Wellington. Subsequently in 1793 Castlereagh secured a "rotten borough" seat in the English House of Commons.

It was in 1796, when his father became Earl of Londonderry, that he took the "courtesy title" of Viscount Castlereagh. Under this name his career advanced rapidly. As Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1797, Castlereagh became a leading proponent of the scheme for parliamentary union with Britain to preclude Irish disloyalty and rebellion if the threatened invasion by revolutionary France developed. Although opposed by the many factions hostile to the scheme, ranging from Catholic priests to Irish Jacobins,

Castlereagh won over his prime minister, William Pitt (q.v.), and in 1800 the Act of Union was duly passed. However, when George III (q.v.) vetoed a concomitant law considered necessary for the scheme's success, political emancipation of Catholics, Pitt resigned and Castlereagh followed him out.

Too widely respected to be allowed to remain long out of the government, Castlereagh was brought back in 1802 by Pitt's weak successor, Lord Addington, as president of the India Board of Control. At one point Castlereagh was slated to be sent out as governor-general of India, to allay the discontent of his old friend, the future Wellington, but on Pitt's recommendation he withdrew his acceptance. When war broke out again with Napoleon in 1803, after a peace of only about a year's duration, Pitt returned as prime minister and organized the Third Coalition against Napoleon. In 1805 Castlereagh was made war minister, but before he could accomplish much, Pitt died and Castlereagh resigned because of disagreements with Pitt's collective successors.

During a reshuffle of the government posts in 1807, Castlereagh returned as war minister, and in the next two years he became the leading spirit in reorganizing the army and setting up the machinery for close army cooperation with the navy. When the Peninsular War gave the British a new theater of operations in which they could use to good effect their advantage of naval supremacy, the first fruits of Castlereagh's reforms became manifest, especially after he succeeded in having his friend, the future Wellington, put in command (1809).

In 1809 a mounting hostility and rivalry with an equally strong personality in the cabinet, the foreign minister, George Canning, came to a climax after the disastrous end of the Castlereagh-planned expedition to Walcheren island (from which it was aimed to seize the great French base of Antwerp). Convinced that Canning had maliciously intrigued against him with various malicious charges, Castlereagh challenged him to a duel and wounded him. Thereafter both resigned from the cabinet.

Castlereagh continued to sit in the Commons and to support the government, to which he returned in 1812 as foreign minister. Since he also became the leader of the House of Commons shortly after, and the nominal prime minister, Lord Liverpool,

was merely a weak figurehead, Castlereagh became in effect the real head of the English government for the remaining ten years of his life, and created for himself a place equal to that of Pitt as an effective leader of the coalition against Napoleon.

The disastrous results of Napoleon's invasion of Russia (1812), followed by Germany's rising and its liberation by the Russians and the advance by the victorious Wellington from Spain into southern France, finally produced the downfall of Napoleon and his abdication after the occupation of Paris (1814). Castlereagh played a great role in holding the coalition together and talking allies out of separate settlements with Napoleon, as he was also to do in 1815 during the spectacular but ill-fated Hundred Days of Napoleon's comeback.

Along with his colleagues Metternich of Austria, Talleyrand of France (forgiven for having been Napoleon's foreign minister) and Tsar Alexander of Russia (q.v.), Castlereagh became one of the key figures at the Congress of Vienna in forging its settlements. He stood firmly against any humiliating vengeance on the French. He was also a firm supporter of the "concert of Europe" notion, reinforced by the Quadruple Alliance (England, Russia, Austria and Prussia) to preserve the peace with a balance of power. Castlereagh objected, however, to intervention in the domestic affairs of any sovereign nation by the powers in the interests of conservatism, and at the Aachen Congress of 1818, the first of the projected frequent meetings, he took a vigorous stand against such interventions. It was Castlereagh who referred to Tsar Alexander's Holy Alliance as a "piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense," and declined to have England consider joining a confederation of Europe based on it.

The post-war period produced much discontent in England, the result of the many dislocations of continued war and war finance. In making sure that England did not fall a prey to any Jacobin-type revolution, Castlereagh became something of a symbol of reaction in England by virtue of the repressive laws he sponsored, notably the Coercion Acts (1817) and the Six Acts (1819). The tense domestic scene produced violence when soldiers fired on a dissident crowd (the so-called Peterloo Massacre of 1819), and when a plot developed to blow up Castlereagh and his whole cabinet, occupy the Bank of England

and set up a provisional revolutionary government (the Cato Street conspiracy of 1820).

In 1821 Castlereagh succeeded his father as Marquess of Londonderry. Meanwhile the insane George III had died and his son, Prince Regent since 1811, became George IV and shortly precipitated a crisis. Hating his German wife Caroline, George insisted that the cabinet institute divorce proceedings. When they dropped the charges in the face of certain defeat in the Commons (Caroline having become a heroine against her unpopular husband), the cabinet was made to seem ridiculous. And to add to the tribulations of Peterloo, the Cato Street conspiracy and the divorce scandal, Castlereagh was on the point of making a formal break with England's former allies, who by the Troppau Protocol (1820) pledged themselves to open intervention in any nation where the conservative order was threatened, a proposition totally unacceptable to England. Castlereagh was planning to leave shortly for the Congress of Verona (1822) to actively oppose the projected intervention in Greece, South America and Spain.

On the eve of his departure for Verona, Castlereagh suddenly cut his throat with a pen-knife on August 12, 1822. Although temporary insanity was the official explanation, being attributed to a nervous breakdown from all the crises and overwork, it was known to Castlereagh's intimates that the precipitating factor was blackmail on threat of exposure for a homosexual offense.

The principal source of the homosexual blackmail explanation was none other than Castlereagh himself who, while in that distraught condition that alarmed all his friends, told George IV, "I am accused of the same crime as the Bishop of Clogher Police officers are searching for me to arrest me." Clogher was a bishop who had scandalized all London the previous month by being caught "in the act" with a guardsman, drawing the sternest of censure from Castlereagh's great friend, the Duke of Wellington.

In a recent work a theory was advanced that would reconcile Castlereagh's receipt of a homosexual blackmail letter and substantial confessions of guilt with the apparent lack of any known homosexual background. It was suggested that, although Castlereagh enjoyed the warmest of relations with his fine wife, he

was also partial to being picked up by prostitutes during midnight walks, and that one such pick-up turned out to be a boy in female garb working a racket with a gang of blackmailers. When matters had progressed to a technically advanced stage, the blackmailers are then thought to have burst into the room and been quite undaunted by having bagged England's political leader. The unhappy final outcome is then thought to have resulted from the concurrence of impudent boldness by the leader of the blackmailers and the overworked Castlereagh being on the verge of a nervous breakdown anyhow, as a result of which his conviction of his own technical guilt pushed him over the edge of sanity, whereas in former days, his cool nerve would have sent the whole gang to the hangman.

Reference: Bloch (S.L.E.), 414; Hirschfeld, 660; Hyde (C.).



LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770-1827)

German composer.

He was born at Bonn, the grandson of a Flemish musician who had become one of the court musicians of the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne. Beethoven's father, a tenor at the archiepiscopal court (which was at Bonn rather than Cologne), was a rough and violent alcoholic whose instability kept his family in poverty. Taking sole credit for the promising talents of young Ludwig, since his unmusical wife was only the daughter of a chief cook at one of the archbishop's castles, the older Beethoven determined to profit by them as soon as possible.

Accordingly, Beethoven began his intensive musical training at 5, being instructed by his father in the violin. By his ninth year, there was nothing more his father could teach him, so he took lessons in the clavier from a singer and in the organ and pianoforte from the court organist. In 1781 the new court organist, C. G. Neefe, was so impressed by Beethoven's accomplishments that he made him his deputy (at 11!) and allowed him to publish his variations on a march. His father, seeing great commercial possibilities in the "child prodigy" angle, had the title page of his first published work indicate that it was composed at 10. By 1784 Beethoven's position as Neefe's assistant became official, and he also had a post with the Bonn theater.

Visiting Vienna in 1787, the 17-year-old Beethoven made a great impression on Mozart, who gave him a few lessons. He soon had to hurry home when his mother died giving birth to a daughter. By now his father's alcoholism had made him so undependable that Beethoven was the principal support of his family, and in effect its head. In 1789 this was made official when his father's salary began to be paid regularly to young Beethoven.

In 1792 the new Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, the brother of Emperor Joseph II and a great patron of the arts, showed himself so appreciative of Beethoven's talents as to provide for him to study under Haydn in Vienna. It was of course anticipated that he would return in due course to radiate luster on the Archbishop-Elector's court, but since his realm disappeared in the wake of the French Revolution, and both Bonn and Cologne became French cities for the duration, Beethoven remained in Vienna for the rest of his life.

Although Haydn had been greatly impressed by Beethoven's talents, he proved a poor teacher and failed to give Beethoven the technical competence he was seeking. Grieving over the death of Mozart, Haydn had at first been delighted when Beethoven showed Mozart's influence in his works, but subsequently Haydn became greatly offended at Beethoven's highly original departures from familiar composition. Their relations were not helped by Beethoven's tendency to boorishness and tactlessness, which soon gave him a reputation as an uncouth misanthrope even amongst those who appreciated his musical genius. When Haydn went to London in 1794, Beethoven was relieved to be able to acquire a new teacher, one who though despising him gave him the technical mastery he sought.

By the middle 1790s, Beethoven was acquiring distinction both as a piano soloist and improviser. However, by 1798 his personal tragedy that capped all his other handicaps, his deafness, had begun to manifest itself. He was obliged to give up all thoughts of a career as a piano soloist and to reconcile himself to a career in composition.

By the first years of the nineteenth century, a succession of brilliant compositions secured his place in the musical aristocracy of Vienna, and of all Europe, notably *The Pathetic Sonata* (1799); *The Moonlight Sonata* (1801); *The Kreutzer Violin*

Sonata (1803); *The Third or Eroica Symphony* (1802-04); *The Fifth Symphony* (1805-07); *The Sixth or Pastoral Symphony* (1807-08); *The Emperor Concerto* (1809); *The Seventh Symphony* (1812); *The Eighth Symphony* (1812); and the opera *Fidelio* (1803-14).

Beethoven's growing deafness, and his embarrassment about it, tended to greatly worsen his social relations and to deepen his reputation as a misanthrope. His only relations with women were on a high-level, platonic basis, and after 1812 all his pent-up and repressed emotions became fixed on his young nephew, Karl. When Beethoven's brother died in 1815, he fought his sister-in-law in the courts for the guardianship of his 9-year-old nephew. The struggle became so intense that it crippled his energies for musical output. After he finally secured the guardianship, the boy proved a great disappointment. Utterly spoiled by the passionate affection of his doting uncle, Karl grew shiftless and lazy, failed in all his exams in school, and failed even to learn a trade. At one point Karl tried to commit suicide. He was expelled from Vienna by the police and finally joined the army. There have been some suggestions that at one time Karl tried to blackmail Beethoven by threatening to expose some concrete manifestation of his uncle's homosexuality.

In his final years, torn by the double tragedy of disappointment in his beloved Karl and total deafness, Beethoven's limited musical output reflected radical innovations which many found unintelligible. The period did, however, include five more piano concertos and the *Ninth Symphony* (1817-23). He was working on a tenth symphony and on music to the *Faust* of his friend Goethe (q.v.) when he died of complications resulting from a chill.

In musical history, Beethoven is distinguished for having taken the classical forms and developed them to their ultimate. Reflecting the romanticism of the period, Beethoven greatly increased the emotional content in music. The depth, solemnity and polyphonic richness of his composition influenced all subsequent composers, giving him a place in music comparable to that of Shakespeare (q.v.) in literature. The Opus 111 Sonata, dating from 1823, was considered by nineteenth-century German and Austrian homosexuals as reflecting the full development of

Beethoven's homosexual passions, and was called *The Uranian Sonata*.

Reference: Jahrbuch, 110; Mayne, 77, 396.



ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT (1769-1859)

German scientist, explorer, natural philosopher and writer.

Properly Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt, he was born at Berlin, the son of a retired Prussian major serving as royal chamberlain to Frederick the Great (q.v.). In his childhood neither very healthy nor very bright, Humboldt was ridiculed by his schoolmates for spending so much of his time collecting and labelling plants, shells and insects, for which he was nicknamed "the little apothecary." Humboldt's father having died when he was 10, his mother tried as best she could to direct his education. After she selected a political career for him, Humboldt was sent in 1788 to study finance at the University of Frankfurt-on-Oder, and the following year he entered the famous University of Göttingen. During his vacation he devoted himself to collecting material for a treatise on minerals, which he published in 1790. A close friend of Humboldt's at Göttingen was George Foster, who had been on Captain Cook's second voyage of exploration.

Having become quite certain of the career he wanted, that of scientific explorer, the once indifferent student applied himself with dazzling brilliance to his studies, acquiring with prodigious speed the knowledge he deemed vital. After leaving Göttingen, he went to Hamburg to study commerce and foreign languages, to Freiberg to study geology and to Jena to study anatomy, astronomy and the use of scientific instruments. As a by-product of his studies, Humboldt published a work on the flora of Freiberg's mines (1793) and on the phenomenon of muscular irritability (1797).

Humboldt had little difficulty in securing a post in the Prussian bureaucracy while completing his studies, being appointed assessor of mines at Berlin. By 1794 Humboldt had been admitted to the Goethe (q.v.) circle of Germany's leading intelligentsia at Weimar and contributed a philosophical allegory to the journal edited by Schiller. Paying little attention to the convulsions of the French Revolution, he travelled widely in Europe, going to

England in 1790 with his friend Foster, to Italy on a geological and botanical tour in 1795, and to Austria in 1797. After the death of his mother (1796) he felt free at last to undertake really distant travels.

A voyage around the world for which he had an official invitation having been repeatedly postponed, Humboldt left for Marseilles, hoping for an appointment to join Napoleon Bonaparte (q.v.) in Egypt. When this hope proved vain, Humboldt and his intimate friend, the botanist Bonpland, went to Madrid, where their services were accepted for Spanish America. They set sail in June, 1799, and after a stop-over in the Canaries, reached Venezuela in July.

In 1800 Humboldt and Bonpland spent four months exploring the course of the Orinoco River, establishing its indirect connection with the Amazon. Later in the year they visited Cuba. Returning to the mainland, they went up Colombia's Magdalena River, crossed the Cordilleras and reached Quito, Ecuador, early in 1802. They then set out for Lima, Peru, en route doing some mountain-climbing and searching for the sources of the Amazon. While in Peru Humboldt studied the fertilizing properties of guano (seagull excrement rich in phosphates as well as nitrogen), whose introduction into Europe was to be due to his writings about it.

After a tempestuous voyage to the Pacific shores of Mexico, and a year's residence there, Humboldt and Bonpland paid a short visit to the United States, embarking from Wilmington on their return to Europe, where they arrived, at Bordeaux, in August, 1804.

Humboldt was now confronted by a task as colossal as the exploratory one, the reduction of his encyclopedic mass of materials gathered over five years into a form suitable for publication. The task was for a time put off as Humboldt accompanied the French genius of physics and chemistry, Gay-Lussac, on a scientific trip to Italy to study magnetic declination, and then spent two years in Berlin being honored. Finally he settled down to his gigantic task in Paris, whose scientific preeminence made him feel most at home there. By now considered second only to Napoleon, and perhaps Goethe, as the most impressive personality in western Europe, Humboldt was assured by Napoleon of the

fullest cooperation of all French scientists, libraries and other institutions, the cooperation being in no way affected by Napoleon's wars with Prussia.

Humboldt had hoped to complete his task in two years, but it was to take him until 1834 to complete the twenty-three volume *Voyage of Humboldt and Bonpland*. The expedition, and the volumes about it, initiated the era of scientific exploration. Among the advances in science accredited to Humboldt are the use of isotherms and the study of the origin and course of tropical storms in meteorology; the study of volcanos and their worldwide relationships in geology; the study of magnetic intensity in relation to latitude and of temperature in relation to altitude in physics; and the effect of geographical environment on the distribution of plants in botany.

Meanwhile, Humboldt became the social lion of all Europe. The king of Prussia gave him his father's old post of royal chamberlain, with a munificent salary, and offered him in 1810 the Prussian ministry of education, which he refused. Humboldt accompanied the king of Prussia to London in 1814, to the Congress of Aachen in 1818, and to the Congress of Verona, which took place on schedule in 1822, despite the suicide of Castlereagh (q.v.). As a sort of scientific and cultural adviser extraordinary, and Prussia's answer to Goethe, Humboldt also accompanied the Prussian royal party on visits to Rome, Naples and Paris.

But it was always to Paris that Humboldt returned as to his real home, enjoying its social stimulus as much as its scientific preeminence. He obeyed only with reluctance the summons in 1827 to settle permanently in Berlin, where the boorish provincialism disgusted him. Fortunately, he had to make frequent trips to Paris in connection with the long-delayed publication of his great work in that city.

Asiatic exploration had been proposed to Humboldt by the Russian government of Alexander I (q.v.) in 1811, and by the Prussian government in 1818, but each time something occurred to upset the plans. In 1829, in his sixtieth year, Humboldt was at last able to resume scientific exploration as one of the co-leaders of a Siberian expedition which covered almost 10,000 miles in twenty-five weeks. Too rapid to be really profitable, the

chief fruits of the expedition were the discovery of diamonds in the Urals and the discovery that the Central Asian plateau was not as high as previously estimated. As a by-product of his Russian expedition, Humboldt was able to arrange for the creation of meteorological stations to study magnetic storms across the Russian Empire, subsequently linked with those of other nations. This laid the groundwork for future international scientific cooperation.

In his last years, after completing the publication of his twenty-three volume *Voyage*, Humboldt wrote his five-volume *Cosmos* (1845-62), an encyclopedia of science considered one of the greatest of pioneer scientific works. Humboldt was also employed on diplomatic missions to his good friend, King Louis-Philippe of France, the great-great-great-grandson of Philip of Orleans (q.v.). However, when Frederick William IV succeeded to the Prussian throne in 1840, he insisted on having Prussia's greatest ornament in constant attendance on him.

Humboldt supported many liberal causes, such as better conditions for miners and the suppression of slavery, and offered generous patronage to rising men of science. His popularity owed much to his great personal charm and sense of humor. After his death he was given a state funeral in Berlin, and the centenary of his birth was celebrated in 1869 in America as well as Europe. In the U.S. cities were named after Humboldt in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska and Tennessee, as well as towns in Illinois, Michigan and South Dakota, and counties in California, Iowa and Nevada. There are also a Humboldt Lake, River and Mountain Range in Nevada, and Lake, Bay and Mountain named after him in California. But if the United States leads in honoring him, it is not alone. In addition to the Humboldt Current (off Peru), there are also Humboldt Bays in Panama and New Guinea, the town of Humboldt in Saskatchewan, Canada, and the world's largest glacier, the Humboldt Glacier in Greenland. Even China once had its Humboldt Mountains!

Assumptions about Humboldt's homosexuality were widespread, especially after he made his valet Seifert his sole heir in 1855, and were borne out by the publication of his personal correspondence, especially the collections of 1860 and 1861. His early intimacy with Bonpland was very close. He was also greatly

attached to his brother Wilhelm, a prominent diplomat, philologist, and reforming minister of education in Prussia, who died in his arms in 1835.

Reference: Ellis, 39; Hirschfeld, 665.



RANJIT SINGH (1780-1839)

Sikh maharajah.

He was born the son of a Sikh prince who headed the Sukarchakia branch of the Sikh confederacy. The Sikhs were adherents of a once-monotheistic religious sect in the Punjab, debased to polytheism, and distinguished by devotion to soldiering as the sole legitimate occupation. Ranjit Singh nominally succeeded his father in 1792, at the age of 12, but it was not until 1797 that he seized the reins of government, traditionally by poisoning his mother.

In 1799 Shah Zaman of Afghanistan appointed Ranjit Singh governor of Lahore, one of the Indian provinces that had been conquered, along with Afghanistan, by the Persians a half century earlier, and had become on the death of its Persian conqueror part of a new Afghan Empire founded by the conqueror's Afghan general (Zaman's father). When this Afghan Empire was torn apart by civil wars, the Sikhs in India seized control of the empire's Indian parts, and Ranjit Singh seized Lahore for himself.

Determined to build a unified Sikh empire in the Punjab, Ranjit Singh, greatly strengthened by his seizure of Lahore, went on to gain control of the important Sikh state of Amritsar, containing the main Sikh sacred city, in 1802. His success in achieving his ambition was partly due to his shrewd appreciation of the potential strength of the British, themselves expanding towards the Punjab. By a treaty Ranjit Singh signed with the British at Amritsar in 1809, they recognized his control of the Punjab north of the Sutlej or Ghara River, and he pledged himself not to penetrate south of it.

To consolidate his empire, Ranjit Singh built up a highly disciplined army, trained by French and Italian officers, with which between 1810 and 1820 he brought under his control all the territory between the Sutlej and Indus Rivers, most notably Kashmir. In 1823, taking advantage of the Afghan civil wars,

he even extended his control across the Indus into Peshawar and made it tributary. When the dethroned Afghan Shah took refuge at the court of Ranjit Singh (carrying with him the famous Koh-i-noor diamond which was to end its long travels among the British crown jewels), he ceded Peshawar to his kind host.

Meanwhile, a new strong ruler was threatening to reunite Afghanistan, and to block this the Persians, supported by the Russians, were moving into western Afghanistan. As a counter-move, Ranjit Singh signed a treaty with the British in 1838 to restore their mutual friend, Shah Shuja, to the Afghan throne. Although Ranjit Singh doubted the wisdom of the British invasion of eastern Afghanistan, he was giving them loyal support when he died of paralysis in 1839.

Known as "The Lion of the Punjab," Ranjit Singh was the only man ever strong enough to hold the Sikhs together. His genius for command, his tenacity of purpose and his soundness of judgment built an empire that did not survive his death. Disorders became so general that the British moved in to take over Kashmir and the Punjab but accomplished it with sufficient skill to retain the loyalty of the Sikhs, who became the backbone of their Indian army.

Ranjit Singh was widely known as an active homosexual with a harem of dancing boys. His special favorite was the youth Gulab Singh, to whom he gave the principality of Jammu. Gulab Singh conquered the nearby Buddhist state of Ladakh (the real bone of contention in the recent Sino-Indian struggle) and later was rewarded by the British for his invariably Anglophile attitudes by being invested with Kashmir. Gulab's descendants continued to rule Kashmir until their recent ouster by Nehru.

Reference: Burton, 237; Edwardes, 236.



ERNEST AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND (1771-1851)

King of Hanover (1837-51).

He was born at Kew in Surrey, the fifth son of George III (q.v.), and was to be considered both the ablest and best-looking son. After receiving the customary royal education, Ernest

Augustus was sent to Hanover's Göttingen University for further study and to complete his mastery of German. He then entered the Hanoverian army, that other army of George III, and in 1793, when war broke out, was a cavalry leader. At the Battle of Tournai (1794) he lost the use of one eye.

When Hanover withdrew from the war against revolutionary France in 1795, Ernest Augustus returned to England. In 1799 he became a lieutenant general in the English army and was created Duke of Cumberland. He began to take an active part in political life, as a Tory in the House of Lords. Always of a reactionary disposition, Cumberland expressed himself especially strongly on the subject of no political emancipation for the Catholics, and he was influential in causing his father to break with Pitt (q.v.) on this issue. Later he exerted a similar influence on his brother, the prince regent.

In 1810 Cumberland was severely wounded by a would-be assassin, possibly his valet Sellis, who was found dead, officially a suicide. There were many whispers and rumors about the Sellis Affair, perhaps the House of Hanover's greatest scandal, and two men went to prison for asserting that Cumberland had murdered his valet to end his efforts at homosexual blackmail. The belief was that Sellis was a cast-off homosexual love of the duke's, replaced by a younger man named Neale. Indeed, Cumberland was alleged to have been subject to heterosexual blackmail as well, supposedly having fathered a child on his sister, Princess Sophia (b. 1777).

After recovering from his wounds, Cumberland rejoined the army as field marshal in command of the Hanoverian army during the triumphant campaign against the retreating French in Germany (1813-14). Cumberland was present at the epic Battle of Leipzig, when the old Napoleonic magic failed to work, but was not in action.

After the war, Cumberland's unpopularity as an arch-Tory was increased by his marriage to his cousin Frederica, the widow of a German princeling. Parliament showed its displeasure by refusing to increase his allowance. Indignant at this treatment, Cumberland went off to Prussia, residing in Berlin for several years.

In 1820 Cumberland's insane father died and his affectionate

brother, the prince regent, became George IV. Cumberland was called back to England and became again a power in English politics, opposing all reforms. As his brothers started dying off, Cumberland came closer to the throne, or at least to one of his family's two thrones. Edward of Kent died in 1827, George IV in 1830, and his successor, William IV, in 1837. Only Edward's daughter, Victoria, stood between Cumberland and the English throne. When the latter fell to Victoria in 1837, the Hanoverian throne, barred to a female succession, went to Victoria's uncle. Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, became King Ernest Augustus of Hanover.

With the opportunity at last to put all his reactionary political sentiments into practice, Ernest Augustus quickly set aside the liberal constitution that had been granted Hanover in 1833 by his brother, William IV. This led seven professors at the king's old alma mater, the University of Göttingen, to refuse to take the oath to him, for which they were dismissed, to the shock of all Europe's academic circles. Two of the seven professors were, incidentally, the mutually devoted Grimm brothers, of fairy-tale fame.

With the support of Austria's Metternich, Ernest Augustus triumphed over his opposition in the parliament of the German confederation which was called upon to decide the issue. The diet found the 1833 constitution invalid and held that Ernest Augustus was justified in setting it aside. In 1840 he imposed upon Hanover a new constitution, by which it was treated as a sort of private estate.

For his remaining years, Ernest Augustus remained vigilant in Hanover as well as in Germany at large for any dangerous Jacobin or liberal threats. As the years passed, the hatred of his subjects and their violent opposition to his rule became considerably ameliorated by the realization that Ernest Augustus was indeed very able and hard-working in the interests of Hanover. By the time of his death in 1851 the octogenarian Ernest Augustus had even attained substantial popularity and enjoyed something of the "father of his country" status often conferred on elderly rulers.

Despite his fairly advanced years by the time of his accession to the Hanoverian throne, Ernest Augustus was said to have

had a homosexual clique at his court.

Reference: Bloch (SLE), 414; Hirschfeld, 661;
Mayne, 236-37.



GEORGE NOEL GORDON, LORD BYRON (1788-1824)

English poet.

He was born at London while his mother was en route to her home in Scotland, in flight from her dissolute husband, "Mad Jack" Byron, who died in 1791. He had married Byron's mother, Catherine Gordon, after going through the fortune of his first wife, by whom he had a daughter, Augusta, the half-sister with whom the poet was to be scandalously involved. Byron's mother was a vain, capricious and self-indulgent woman who alternately subjected him to excessive tenderness and fits of violent temper, ultimately earning only his contempt.

Despite her many faults, Byron's mother handled her limited resources carefully and secured for her son a good basic education at the Aberdeen grammar school, encouraging him to exercise to overcome the lifelong lameness of his right leg, the result of infantile paralysis. In 1798 Byron succeeded his great-uncle as sixth Baron Byron, and took up residence with his mother at the baronial seat, Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham. Greatly impressed by his move from Scotch poverty to what he considered a "palace," Byron became especially bitter towards his mother when she forced him to move again to drab surroundings in Nottingham, at the home of a quack who claimed he could cure Byron's lameness but in fact succeeded only in torturing him, with considerable assistance from his malicious nurse.

By the time Byron entered Dulwich preparatory school in 1799, he had already acquired a taste for reading, and he was allowed by the sympathetic headmaster the free run of his library. There Byron developed his passion for poetry, running through the entire *British Poets* series. In 1801 he entered Harrow where, in his four years, he absorbed much knowledge of the classics and of history, did well in such sports as swimming and cricket, despite his lameness, and had his earliest male passions, in his own words later confessing, "My school-

friendships were with me passions." Among the most preeminent were Lord Clare and Lord Dorset. On a less lordly level were his passions for various farmboys encountered during his visits home, notably Robert Rushton, said to be the Robin of *Childe Harold*. He professed a romantic attachment for a neighboring heiress, Mary Anne Chaworth, who was already, one might say predictably, engaged. In later years she was to be rumored his great secret love.

In 1805 Byron entered Trinity College, Cambridge, but his attendance was to be only intermittent and he never bothered to get a degree. His principal interest there was the 17-year-old Cambridge choir-boy, John Eddleston, of whom he wrote:

His voice first attracted my attention, his countenance fixed it, and his manners attached him to me forever. I certainly love him more than any human being, and neither time nor distance have had the least effect on my (in general) changeable disposition He certainly is perhaps more attached to me than even I am in return. During the whole of my residence at Cambridge we met every day, summer and winter, without passing one tiresome moment, and separated each hour with increasing reluctance

Eddleston, who died prematurely in 1811 at 22, was considered the inspiration for the *Thyrza* poems (1811-12) which were appended to *Childe Harold* (II, ix).

Byron began seriously writing poems while at Cambridge, and published the first collection in 1806. One poem, *To Mary*, being considered indecent, he accepted the advice that he have the whole edition suppressed, and early in 1807 an expurgated collection of Byron's *Poems on Several Occasions* was printed for private distribution. Later in the year an amended trade edition was published as *Hours of Idleness*. In 1808 another collection appeared as *Poems, Original and Translated*. Some of these poems were inspired by Byron's young male passions.

Hours of Idleness secured considerable notice in the literary world, most of it friendly, but the references in *The Edinburgh Review* were severely critical. Taking a leaf from Pope (q.v.), Byron amended a work in preparation, to make it into *English*

Bards and Scotch Reviewers (1809), a satire in heroic couplets at the expense of the editor and chief patron of the *Review*. This piece brought Byron instant fame, just as he had reached his majority and taken his seat in the House of Lords. Byron incurred extensive debts in the partial renovation of his "palace," where he threw wild parties lasting into the small hours.

Undeterred by the Napoleonic wars, Byron undertook his long-planned "grand tour" in 1809, obtaining the material for the first two cantos of *Childe Harold*. Accompanied by his friend Hobhouse, he passed through Portugal and Spain, where his sympathies lay with Napoleon (q.v.) rather than Wellington, and embarked from Gibraltar. After a month's stay at Malta, and the first of his heterosexual romances, with a Mrs. Spencer Smith, Byron debarked at Preveza in Turkish Greece in September, 1809. For almost two years he travelled through Greece, Albania and Asia Minor, with extensive stays in Constantinople and Athens. His famous swim across the Hellespont occurred on May 3, 1810. Much of his time Byron worked on *Childe Harold*, a poetical autobiography and travel book.

In 1811 Byron met in Athens a beautiful French-Greek boy, Nicolo Giraud, whom he described as "the most beautiful being I have ever beheld." The boy became his constant companion, and when he drew up a new will, Byron named Nicolo in the first article as the beneficiary of his fortune, estimated at £7,000. There was apparently very little question of this relationship being on a platonic level, as was probably the case with Eddleston and the other previous ones, a report having it that Byron consulted a visiting English doctor about a relaxation of the *sphincter ani* which was giving Nicolo trouble. Also in this period there was a young valet named Robert to whom Byron was greatly attached.

In April, 1811 Byron left Athens and Nicolo to see about getting *Childe Harold* published. After a stay of some weeks in Malta, he returned to England in July and learned that his beloved Eddleston had died in May. The deaths of two other friends as well as his mother's followed shortly. On the more positive side, during this period Byron also made a life-long friend of the poet Thomas Moore, who was to be his literary executor and official biographer. He also made a highly praised

speech in the House of Lords in opposition to capital punishment for workers who destroyed new machinery, the automation-anxiety of the day.

Byron became almost overnight the social lion of London after the publication of *Childe Harold* in March, 1812, by John Murray, who became his regular publisher (the firm is still active) and life-long friend. By the end of 1812 it had gone through five printings, and as many people in society were concerned with Byron's daily (or nightly) doings as with Napoleon's retreat from Moscow or Wellington's advances in Spain. As befitted his new status as a romantic hero, Byron was drawn into a number of affairs of a more conventional sort than his previous homosexual ones, especially with Lady Caroline Lamb, the wife of the future Lord Melbourne (Queen Victoria's first prime minister), and with Lady Oxford and Lady Webster. Byron also furthered his literary reputation with his immensely popular verse tales, mostly with a setting in the Turkish empire, such as *The Waltz* (1813), *The Giaour* (1813), *The Bride of Abydos* (1813) and *The Corsair* (1814).

Byron now embarked on an affair which, if at least heterosexual, was not exactly conventional. He met his half-sister Augusta, now Mrs. Leigh, for the first time since childhood, and the attachment he formed with her led to many whispers, many years later formalized as a charge of incest by Uncle Tom's creator, Harriet Beecher Stowe, in her article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1869 which, incidentally, caused the loss of 15,000 outraged subscribers.

Hoping to put an end to all the rumors of various sorts, Byron decided to marry. His choice was a pretty young heiress, highly educated, Anna Isabella Milbanke (b. 1792). She first refused him but ultimately she became convinced that her refusal had broken his heart and caused his reform. They were married early in 1815, at a time when Byron was on the management committee of the Drury Lane Theater. Even before the birth of their daughter Augusta in December, Lady Byron was complaining of her husband's harsh, violent and cruel treatment of her. Early in 1816, just a year after their marriage, Lady Byron returned to her father's house, demanding a legal separation. After long resistance, and only in return for substantial financial

consideration from his wealthy father-in-law, Byron yielded to the demand.

Whether the cause of his wife's hostility was that she learned of his incest with Augusta, as Mrs. Stowe in "Lady Byron Vindicated" claimed Lady Byron had personally informed her in 1819, or whether, according to a yet more scandalous charge, the actual reason was Byron's insistence that she offer him what Nicolo had given, the result was a marked decline in Byron's social standing. At the same time, his political association with the discredited Whigs brought sharp attacks on him in the Tory journals. Rather than remain in England as a social outcast, Byron heeded the "excommunicating voice of society," as his biographer Moore put it, and in April, 1816, returned to the continent.

Byron took up residence at the Villa Diodati on the shores of Lake Geneva, next to the villa occupied by the poet Shelley and his mistress (and future wife), Mary Godwin (author of *Frankenstein*), and remained there for five months. He toured the vicinity of the lake, including the Castle of Chillon, which inspired *The Prisoner of Chillon* and other poems, published in a collection called *The Dream* (1817). At about the same time he completed the tragedy *Manfred* (1817) and the third canto of *Childe Harold* (1818). The influence of Shelley, and through him of Wordsworth, produced a substantial alteration in Byron's style, generally considered an improvement.

Joined by his old friend Hobhouse, Byron left for Venice in October, 1816, and made the "Sea-Sodom," as he called it, his official residence until 1819. He studied Venetian history and the Italian language, but he always found time for affairs, "at least two hundred of one sort or another," as he put it. Shelley wrote to Peacock about Byron's intimacy with people "who do not scruple to avow practices which are not only not named, but I believe seldom even conceived in England." Among his homosexual affairs, towards the end of his Venetian sojourn, was one with Bartolomeo di Renier, the son of a former doge. More amply recorded were his affairs with his landlord's wife, Marianna Segati, and with a witty courtesan, Margarita Cogni.

Byron spent much of 1818 travelling in Ferrara, Florence and Rome, each place giving inspiration for various works. After

returning to Venice and moving to an island villa, he set to work on Canto IV of *Childe Harold* (1818), for which Hobhouse provided learned notes. He also produced *Beppo* (1818), *Mazeppa* (1819), and *Ode To Venice*, in which he contrasted the apathy and decay of Venice with the new birth of freedom in the United States. In September, 1818, Byron began his last great work, *Don Juan*, which was only partially published in his lifetime, and in fact not finished (Cantos I-II, 1819; Cantos III-V, 1821; Cantos VI-XVI, 1823-4; a fragment of Canto XVII, 1903).

In 1819 a beautiful young Italian noblewoman with an elderly husband, Countess Teresa Guiccioli, established herself as Byron's official mistress and remained his devoted companion for four years. During a visit of his friend Moore in October, 1819, Byron entrusted to Moore the manuscript *My Life and Adventures* (going up to 1816), which was subsequently pledged to his publisher for 2,000 guineas. After Byron's death, however, it was deemed too scandalous for publication and burned after a satisfactory settlement was arranged, to the eternal chagrin of both literary scholars and sexologists.

Late in 1819 Byron moved with the countess to her town of Ravenna and was led to become a sympathizer with the Italian revolutionaries, to whom he offered inspiration with his *Prophecy of Dante*, castigating the Powers for preventing Italian unity. Byron actually became mixed up with underground activities and was kept under surveillance by Austrian and Vatican spies. He continued to work on *Don Juan* as well as such minor poems as *Cain* (1821), which caused a storm of abuse because of its attitude of skepticism towards religion.

In 1821 Byron and the countess abandoned the all-Italian environment of Ravenna for the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the expatriate colony at Pisa. Yachting was a chief amusement of the colony, and in one such yachting party Shelley was drowned. While Shelley's body was being burned, Byron insisted on swimming out to his yacht *Bolivar*, which resulted in a serious fever that weakened his constitution.

Byron had in partnership with Leigh Hunt published a literary journal called *The Liberal*, and once more he fell under suspicion of the Austrian authorities. Byron's group was pressured into

leaving and in September, 1822, the group (Byron, the countess, Mary Shelley, and Leigh Hunt with his large family) took up residence in Genoa. Everything now began to go badly for Byron. Murray declined to publish more of his work, which was becoming less well received, his relations with Leigh Hunt became strained, and he was discouraged by the apparent triumph of reaction, signalized by the Congress of Verona. He was also getting rather tired of Countess Guiccioli and her suffocating devotion.

When Byron learned in March, 1823, that he had been elected a member of the Greek Committee, a small body of influential liberals taking up the cause of Greece's struggle with Turkey for independence, he was delighted at the opportunity for a fresh start. After first offering only money and advice, he decided he must go to Greece himself. In August, 1823, his new boat, *Hercules*, anchored off Cephalonia while Byron decided to which of the Greek factions he would attach himself. He chose Prince Mavrocordato, and accepted the prince's invitation to come to his base of Missolonghi, where Byron landed in January, 1824.

Reckless of his failing health, Byron gave his energies to drilling troops, making inspections, and reconciling the democratic and aristocratic factions, contributing also vast sums of money to the revolutionary cause. He also devoted considerable energy and time to another handsome Greek boy, the 15-year-old Loukas Chalandritsanos, who became his constant companion and whose life he was reported to have saved.

After being left briefly speechless by an epileptic fit in February, Byron was offered the post of governor-general of liberated Greece in March by the authorities. His health began its final deterioration after he was drenched by a rainstorm while recklessly in an open boat, and then, having become fever-ridden, was subjected to extensive blood-letting. He died in April, 1824. Byron's heart was cut out and buried in Greece, where a 21-day period of mourning followed. The rest of his body was shipped back to England and, being refused a spot in Westminster Abbey, was buried beneath the chancel of the village church of Hucknall-Torkard. Byron was not even honored by a bust or a statue in the Poets' Corner of the Abbey.

Primarily renowned as *the* poet of the Romantic period, Byron's influence was greater on the continent than in England. While

Don Juan, an epic-satire that combined his narrative and lyric talents with a philosophy reflecting cynicism and contempt of convention, is considered his masterpiece, the true "Byronic hero" is considered to be more clearly reflected in *Manfred*. In this Faustian tragedy, the hero is a mysterious, lonely, defiant figure whose past hides some great crime. He is obviously to be identified with Byron himself. According to one source (Mayne), Byron revealed to an intimate that the original hero of *Manfred* as conceived was to be a homosexual hero at odds with society because of his passion, but he was altered when Byron decided "British philosophy is not far enough on for swallowing such a thing neat. So I turned much of it into *Manfred*." In the official biography by Byron's friend Thomas Moore, published by Murray in 1830, many of the embarrassing events of Byron's life were nervously passed over.

In the late 1850s, the pornography publisher Dugdale bought a manuscript of a pair of Byronic poems of which Lord Byron was indicated as the author. The first, *Don Leon*, in 1455 lines, professed to be part of the *Memoirs* destroyed by Moore and Murray, and is a defense of homosexuality, with ample reference to Byron's various homosexual loves. Unaccountably, it contains references to events in the 1830s, freely confirmed by the poem's anonymous editor. One such note refers to 1842 as the present year, while another contains a reference to 1859, although the latest event clearly hinted at in the poetic text dates from 1836.

The companion work, *Don Leon to Annabella*, a considerably shorter poem, castigates Lady Byron for making such a fuss about his insistence on anal relations with her during her pregnancy, mentioning the pleasure she seemed to find.

Despite the impossibility of the poems as presented being only Byron's work, nevertheless a large portion of the material does show authentic first-hand knowledge of his most intimate affairs, as confirmed by other sources, and there are many eloquent passages thoroughly in conformity with Byron's way of looking at things and expressing himself.

Dugdale, the pornographic impresario who had bought the manuscript with complete confidence in its authenticity and had contemplated approaching Lady Byron (who lived on until 1860) for an offer for its suppression, was mortified to learn that he had

apparently been swindled. However, he went ahead and published the two poems together in 1866, and distributed it through his regular pornography channels. The two poems were reprinted in the 1930s by a regular, if somewhat offbeat, publisher, Fortune Press, but this edition was at once suppressed by the Home Secretary, though a number of copies did get into circulation.

The actual author, or perhaps interpolator (to a Byron original) of the poems, who is probably not the same individual as the annotator-editor, (who provided a treasury of 19th century newspaper accounts of sodomy scandals) is unknown. Amongst the suggested names for the poet or the poetic interpolator a pre-eminent one has been that of George Colman the Younger (1762-1836), ironically the very severe examiner of plays for Britain's censor, the Lord Chamberlain. He died in October, 1836, a few months after the date of the latest event referred to in the poetic text.

Reference: *Don Leon*; Knight; Anderson, 212-14, 223; Ellis, 47-48; Hirschfeld, 660; Mayne, 167-69, 356-60.



HEINRICH VON KLEIST (1777-1811)

German poet, dramatist and novelist.

Born at Frankfurt-on-Oder, he received only a scanty education before entering the Prussian army at 15. Kleist secured a commission and served in the Rhine campaign of 1796 against revolutionary France. In 1799 he retired from the army with the rank of lieutenant.

Entering the University of Frankfurt-on-Oder, Kleist studied law and philosophy. In 1800 he received a minor post in the Ministry of Finance at Berlin. Restless and bored, he secured a leave of absence in 1801, visited Paris, then went to Switzerland, where he became a friend of Ludwig Wieland, the son of the poet called "the German Voltaire." Through Wieland Kleist met the great literary figures of Germany, notably the elder Wieland, Goethe (q.v.) and Schiller. After extensive stays in Weimar, Leipzig and Dresden, and another visit to Paris, Kleist returned to his Berlin post in 1804. Shortly after, Kleist was transferred to another minor administrative post in Königsberg, East Prussia. His homosexuality was apparently already clearly

developed, for from Königsberg he sent some of his most passionate homosexual letters.

Meanwhile the French armies of Napoleon (q.v.) were occupying most of Prussia, and in 1807 Kleist, on a journey to Dresden, was arrested by the French as a spy and sent to France for six months' confinement at Châlons. After his release, Kleist made his way to Dresden and joined a young friend in publishing a literary journal called *Phöbus*. He also got to work on his own varied literary works, which began to appear impressively on the literary scene.

After spending much of 1809 in Prague, Kleist secured the position of editor of the *Berliner Abendblätter*. He settled in Berlin, where he remained until his death the following year in a weird and supposedly romantic suicide pact with a culture-minded socialite, Frau Vogel, to whom he had turned as a surrogate mother but who in the end commanded him to shoot her and then himself on the shore of the Wannsee, apparently in fulfillment of some jointly-held romantic ideal.

Kleist's seven plays, distinguished by their powerful emotion, dramatic skill and bold poetry, made him the most important north German dramatist of the Romantic movement and his plays among the great productions of the German theater. They are *Die Familie Schoffenstein* (1803); *Penthesilea* (1808); *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* or *Die Feuerprobe* (1808); the adapted - from - Molière (q.v.) *Amphitryon* (1808); *Die Hermannschlacht* (1809); the comedy *Der Zerbrochene Krug* (1811); and his greatest masterpiece of all, *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, posthumously published in 1821.

Kleist also wrote a novella and short story collection, published as *Gesammelte Erzählungen* (1810-11). There has been a recent English translation of his short stories (*The Marquis of O and other stories*. New York: Criterion, 1960).

Kleist was referred to by Thomas Mann as "one of the greatest, boldest and most ambitious poets Germany has ever produced."

The best-known object of Kleist's homoerotic passions was Ernst von Pfuel, subsequently the Prussian war minister. To him Kleist wrote in 1805:

You bring back the days of the Greeks to me; I could

sleep with you, dear youth, my whole soul so embraces you. When you used to bathe in the Lake of Thun I would gaze with real feelings of a girl at your beautiful body.

After a further enthusiastic account of his friend's beauty and of the Greek ideal of love for youths, Kleist concluded, "Let us enjoy the sweets of friendship . . . I shall never marry; you must be wife and children to me."

The letters of Kleist, perhaps to be considered yet another facet of his literary talent, were published in 1848.

Reference: Bulliet, 304; Ellis, 38-39; Schrenck, 124.



FRANZ GRILLPARZER (1791-1872)

Austrian dramatic poet.

He was born at Vienna, the son of a severe and pedantic lawyer. Grillparzer's mother, a rather neurotic woman, came from a well-known musical family. After receiving a rather mediocre early education, Grillparzer entered the University of Vienna in 1807. He quit upon his father's death in 1809, taking a position as a tutor to support his family. While working as a tutor, he was inspired by Schiller's *Don Carlos* to write verse tragedies, notably *Blanca von Castilien*, and in part, *Spartacus* and *Alfred der Grosse*.

In 1813 Grillparzer received a minor civil service job. After obtaining the patronage of the minister of finance, Count Stadion, he was promoted to the imperial treasury department, and in 1832 he became the director of its archives department.

Meanwhile Grillparzer completed the drama *Ahnfrau*, which in 1817 became his first performed work and earned him a substantial reputation. It was followed by *Sappho* (1818). After his mother's suicide in 1819, Grillparzer obtained leave for a trip to Italy and while there completed his great trilogy, *Das goldene Vliess*, consisting of *Der Gastfreund*, *Die Argonauten* and *Medea*. While nominally about Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece, the plays dealt essentially with the blows that fate can deal to human striving and earthly happiness, as in fact did most of his work. The trilogy was presented in 1821.

Grillparzer's next work, a historical tragedy striking nearer home, dealt with the conflict between Ottokar of Bohemia and Rudolph of Hapsburg, the dynasty's founder. Because of conflict

with the censor, *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* was not performed until 1825. Another tragedy with a mediaeval setting, *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*, dealing with Duke Otto of Merano and Bankbanus, was considered artistically inferior and proved especially outrageous to the censor. Embittered by his failure, like one of his own tragic heroes, Grillparzer entered an unhappy and artistically sterile period. He also purported to be suffering from the final parting with his "alas, it's hopeless" grand heterosexual passion, a girl named Katharina Fröhlich.

In 1826 Grillparzer visited Goethe (q.v.) at Weimar, contrasting its enlightenment with Vienna's reactionary sterility. He was eventually to make his sufferings bear fruit in his poems, published as *Tristia ex Ponto* (1835). His next creative period saw the completion of his greatest dramas, *Das Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* (1831), a lyric tragedy on Hero and Leander sometimes considered a German competitor to the *Romeo and Juliet* of Shakespeare (q.v.), and *Der Traum, ein Leben* (1834), a drama about the vain ambitions of a young peasant, as brought out in his dream, which has been compared to Goethe's *Faust*. These works brought him to the summit of poetic expression matching his psychological insight and dramatic technique.

Grillparzer's only comedy, *Weh' dem, der lügt* (1838), proved a failure because of its too sophisticated foreshadowing of Wilde (q.v.), with paradoxical suggestions that invariably truthfulness attains success when the teller's enemies expect him to be lying. Embittered by his seeming failure, Grillparzer again turned his back on the theater and travelled in various Balkan provinces of the Turkish empire, spending much time in Athens and Constantinople.

When the Revolution of 1848, despite its repression in Austria, brought a more enlightened regime under young Franz Joseph, Grillparzer returned to Vienna and had honors heaped upon him. He was made a member of the Academy of Sciences, had his plays added to the repertory of the state theater and was appointed to the Austrian upper house in 1861.

Although Grillparzer published nothing more, works found after his death included the very popular tragedy *Die Jüdin von Toledo* and the historical tragedies *Libussa* and *Ein Bruderzwist —im Hause Habsburg*. Greatly influenced by Spanish drama,

Grillparzer wrote a volume of critical studies on the subject. He also wrote a short novel, *Der arme Spielmann* (1848), called his most artistically perfect work, rendered in English as *The Poor Minstrel*.

Grillparzer's eightieth birthday in 1871 was made a national festival, and when he died the following year, there was nationwide mourning. Grillparzer's brooding bitterness and self-imposed martyrdom was seen by Austrian intellectuals as expressing the mood of all intellectuals during the Metternich period of reaction. By the time of Grillparzer's centenary in 1891, he was fully appreciated as one of the world's greatest dramatic poets, seemingly able to combine classical Greek inspiration with the grace of the Spaniards and the imaginative depths of the Germans.

The extent of Grillparzer's homosexuality was first fully appreciated with the publication of his *Diary and Correspondence* in 1903. His chief recorded homosexual attachment was George Altmütter. During a visit to London in 1836, he developed a rather passionate friendship for a young Londoner of foreign extraction, referred to only as Figdor.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 663; Mayne, 302-07.



COUNT AUGUST VON PLATEN (1796-1835)

German poet and dramatist.

Properly August von Platen-Hallermund, he was born at Ansbach, the son of its chief forester. Shortly after Platen's birth, his native petty state was incorporated into the enlarged kingdom of Napoleon's (q.v.) ally Bavaria in accordance with his plans for the rational reorganization of Germany. Accordingly, Platen was able to enter the cadet school at Munich, where some early male passions inspired his first attempts at poetry. After a few years in the royal school of pages, Platen was commissioned a lieutenant in the Bavarian guards regiment, and he was in France during the final campaigns against the disintegrating Napoleonic empire, though he saw no fighting.

After his return to Bavaria, Platen found garrison life distasteful and irksome, and secured a lengthy leave of absence. He toured the Bavarian Alps and Switzerland, and then in 1818 entered the University of Würzburg. The following year he transferred to the University of Erlangen at about the same time that

the great philosopher von Schelling made the transfer (as a professor). Platen became Schelling's disciple and devoted himself to Oriental studies, really based on German imitations rather than the originals. His life at both universities involved deep homosexual entanglements (see below).

In 1821 Platen began his literary career with the publication of his *Ghaselen*, a little volume of *ersatz* Oriental poems. This was followed by *Lyrische Blätter* (1821), *Spiegel der Hafis* (1822), *Vermischte Schriften* (1822), and *Neue Ghaselen* (1823). Having successfully imitated the spirit of the East while maintaining the purity and elegance of his German in the form and diction of his verse, Platen attracted the attention of such leading German literary figures as Goethe (q.v.).

During his university days, Platen had written a number of plays along traditional classical lines, in defiance of the prevailing Romantic style, a style he felt brought a debasement of standards to drama and poetry alike. Taking advantage of his new poetic prestige, Platen tried his talents at something quite different, the satirization of the "fate tragedy," notably in his *Die verhängnissvolle Gabel* (1826; *The Fatal Fork*) and *Der romantische Oedipus* (1828; *The Romantic Oedipus*). The plays added to the dimensions of his reputation, some even calling him the German Aristophanes, but they also brought down on him the bitter opposition of the then dominant Romantics, who attacked both Platen and his poetry. Especially bitter was the enmity of Heine, who was not above reference to Platen's homosexuality, verbally and, by innuendo, in his *Baths of Lucullus*.

Disgusted with Germany, Platen went to Italy in the late 1820s, living at Florence, Rome and Naples. In Naples, where he became the close friend of the poet and painter August Kopisch, Platen wrote his last drama, *Die Liga von Cambrai* (1833; *The League of Cambrai*), the beginnings of a history of Naples, an epic fairy-tale, *Die Abbassiden* (1830-34; *The Abbassids*), and many lyrical poems, odes and ballads, most notably *Sonetten aus Venedig* (1825; *Sonnets on Venice*). The Polish Revolution of 1831 inspired his *Polenlieder* (*Songs on the Poles*).

After his father's death in 1832, Platen returned to Germany. At Munich he revised and published the first complete edition of his poems, *Gedichte* (1833). He returned to Italy in 1834, and

after stays at Florence and Naples, proceeded on to Sicily, where he ran into a cholera plague. Though he moved in alarm from place to place to avoid the plague, he nevertheless caught it and died at Syracuse at 39.

Platen's homosexuality is about the most richly catalogued of that of any notable, except perhaps Casement's (q.v.). He kept a diary from his earliest days. After summarizing the early entries in two volumes in 1813, he made day by day entries until October, 1835, a few months before his death. During his last visit to Germany, he confided the bulk (to which the last book was posthumously added from his effects) to a friend, Dr. Pfeufer. Finding it impossible to publish the whole thing in that day, Pfeufer published a small and rather dull section and then gave the manuscript to the Bavarian Royal Library. Two generations later, in a more enlightened day, Platen's complete and unexpurgated diaries were published at Leipzig in a two-volume edition in 2,000 large pages (Volume I, 1896; Volume II, 1900). There has been no English translation, except for some brief excerpts.

Platen's first homosexual passions were fixed on idealized types who were unaware of his existence, notably in 1813 the young Count Mercy d'Argenteau and then Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, killed at the Battle of Hanau. While in the army, Platen became infatuated late in 1814 with one Friedrich von Brandenstein and month after month haunted places he frequented for a glimpse of his "divine profile." Subsequently in 1816 there was Captain Wilhelm von Hornstein but of him Platen became cured when he shared night guard-duty with him and found him ill-bred, vulgar and commonplace.

While studying at Würzburg, Platen had his first romance in which the object did become an intimate friend, a law student named Eduard Schmidlein, whom he called Adrastus in his diaries. After sighing over him for a year, he finally met him in June, 1819, and by August they were having an affair. Schmidlein, however, brooded over the sinfulness of their acts and insisted on breaking up.

After Platen's transfer to Erlangen in the fall of 1819, he was fortunate in finding the room next to his occupied by Hermann von Rotenhan, a happy-go-lucky sensual bisexual type who showed immediate signs of reciprocating Platen's interest. This

upset Platen so much he held back until March, 1820, just before Rotenhan had to leave the university. In the fall of 1821, when he was pursuing his Persian studies most intensely, he professed to be inspired by one Otto von Bülow, apparently an obscure scion of the famous family, during a short stay at Erlangen. The last of his genuine collegiate romances, in March of 1822, was with the future great chemist, Justus Liebig (q.v.), who, quite versatile, was to be shortly afterwards embroiled in a scandal with a married woman. In his final two passions at Erlangen, Platen returned to his earlier pattern of fixing his love on the unattainable, but each of these inspired a set of sonnets. A law student named Hoffman inspired the *Sonnets to Cardenio*, while another twenty-six sonnets were inspired by one Karl Theodore German, with whom he had only one meeting.

During Platen's residence in Italy, the homosexual references in his diaries became more cursory as he began anticipating eventual publication and as his sexual drive diminished. However, some Venetian boy inspired Sonnets 43, 48, and 50 of the *Sonnets on Venice*, and he also made references to Luigi, a soldier of Parma; Cochetti, a papal guard of Rome; Fries, a German painter; Lepri, a Spanish artist and a Roman boy named Innocento.

After Platen had begun to think in terms of eventual publication of the diaries, he affixed to the diaries a foreword including the following lines:

Love devours me and he is coldness itself . . . O, why has Providence made me what I am? Why is it impossible for me to love women? . . . You have torn my soul out of me, robbed me of my soul and left me only my body—a heavy, terrible burden. O reader, whosoever thou mayest be, into whose hands these lines perhaps may come, lament for me, weep with me, that I should have suffered so unspeakably.

Reference: Burton, 248; Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 669; Mayne, 301-02, 563-620; Moll, 56-57.

COUNT JUSTUS VON LIEBIG (1803-1873)

German chemist.

He was born at Darmstadt, the son of a chemicals dealer given to original experiments. Interested from an early age in his father's work, Liebig read all the textbooks he could find on chemistry, somewhat to the detriment of his regular studies. Having decided upon chemistry as a profession, Liebig was apprenticed to a pharmacist at 15. However, he spent so much time on experiments, often ending in explosions, that the apprenticeship was terminated in less than a year.

Deciding that he needed far more scientific knowledge, Liebig entered the University of Bonn, then transferred in 1821 to the University of Erlangen to study under the eminent Professor Kastner, who had just been appointed professor of chemistry and physics there. It was in Erlangen that Liebig had a brief homosexual affair with the future great poet and dramatist von Platen (q.v.) and was also in trouble over an affair with a married woman. Liebig was disappointed in the lack of a laboratory for experiments, studies being confined there as elsewhere to lectures and reading, and was also disappointed in Kastner's limited knowledge of the analysis of minerals, a matter of especial interest to Liebig. A discussions society for students of chemistry and physics that Liebig founded did not help much. After receiving his doctorate in 1822, Liebig was convinced he'd have to go abroad to acquire more practical knowledge.

Thanks to a scholarship from the grand duke of Hesse-Darmstadt (the grandfather of the founder of the Mountbatten family of England), Liebig was enabled to go to Paris. He acquired permission to use the private laboratory of the professor of chemistry at the École de Pharmacie and subsequently, thanks to the patronage of Humboldt (q.v.), the laboratory of Humboldt's friend Gay-Lussac, the leading nineteenth-century French genius of physics and chemistry. Liebig impressed his patrons with his brilliant work on the composition of fulminates, and he was urged by Humboldt to become a chemistry teacher.

As soon as the authorities of Hesse-Darmstadt had been persuaded by Humboldt to overlook the impropriety of not obtaining his degree from the local University of Giessen, Liebig was appointed assistant professor of chemistry at that university,

attaining full professorship in 1826 at 23. In this relatively minor arena, Liebig was to accomplish most of his greatest work. He persuaded the Hesse-Darmstadt government to provide a chemical laboratory to give the students proper practical training, something unique at that time. This laboratory, along with Liebig's great gifts as a teacher, made Giessen the foremost chemistry school in the world, drawing hundreds not only of students (many of whom became the leading chemists of the nineteenth-century), but also of education officials studying it as a model.

After twenty-eight years at Giessen, Liebig accepted appointment as professor of chemistry at the University of Munich in 1852, remaining there until his death. In 1865 he turned down the offer of the same post at the University of Berlin.

The greatest contributions of Liebig to the science of chemistry, apart from his educational contributions, lay in his establishing improved methods for organic analysis and for the analysis of such organic compounds as uric acid. He also made valuable contributions to agricultural chemistry, proving the importance to plants of nitrogen and carbon dioxide in the air as well as the mineral constituents of the soil, thus laying the groundwork for the development of artificial fertilizers. Liebig also did considerable work on food chemistry. His greatest published work, completed in 1840, was translated into English within a few months as *Organic Chemistry and Its Applications to Agriculture and Physiology*. Liebig also was a contributor to and editor of various professional journals, a frequent lecturer and an enthusiastic correspondent. His various literary works are said to exceed three hundred.

Of Liebig Platen recorded in his diary in the spring of 1822:

He gave me the evidence of so decided and sudden a liking that I am really in a sort of astonishment about it. So much love has nobody shown for me; at least no one on such slight acquaintance . . . we found, *understood*, loved and will forever love each other. He never has seemed to me nobler, tenderer, and never handsomer than now—though he always is handsome. A slender figure, a cheerful gravity in his regular features, large brown eyes . . . we have no shyness as to kisses . . . we do not hold ourselves at all back, and Liebig himself was

the first to say that we must not show to the false and evil-seeking eye of the world that *inner feeling* which we do not reserve when we are alone.

After the friends parted, they continued a passionate correspondence, and there were plans, never fulfilled, for Platen to join Liebig in Paris. Even in his last days. Platen recalled Liebig as "the only being who ever really loved me."

Reference: Mayne, 609-11.



JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN (1801-1890)

English churchman and writer.

He was born at London, the oldest of six children of a banker. The family was officially of Dutch extraction, but was widely believed to be of Jewish origin. At seven Newman entered a private school at Ealing where he was noted for his shyness and aloofness, taking no part in games, but being a well-behaved student of great diligence. In his reading he was attracted to both the Bible and the novels of Sir Walter Scott. He first felt something of a "call" at 15, but at that time was partial to Calvinism, holding the pope as Antichrist.

Late in 1816 Newman entered Trinity College, Oxford. By 1818 he had received a small scholarship, good for nine years, which alone enabled him to continue at the university, since his father's bank had failed. Newman at first decided on a law career, and though he did poorly in his law studies, he graduated successfully in 1821.

Feeling strongly that the ministry rather than the law was his proper field, Newman procured a fellowship at Oriel College, Oxford, and qualified himself by further studies. In 1824 he was ordained in the Church of England and became curate of St. Clement's, Oxford, at the same time doing some tutoring. Newman's tutoring led to his appointment as vice-principal of St. Alban's Hall, where he spent over two years in the educational field. In 1827 he returned to the ministry, being appointed vicar of St. Mary's at Oxford. In 1831-32 he was the official preacher for Oxford University.

In 1832 Newman became engaged in a dispute with his superiors over his religious duties and went off on a Mediterranean tour, in the course of which he wrote some hymns and apparently

underwent an increasing attraction to Catholic values. On his return to England, Newman became deeply embroiled in religious discussions and in the writing of tracts which produced the so-called Oxford Movement, of which he was a founder in 1833. The Oxford Movement was intended to bring new life into the Anglican Church by emphasizing its roots in the Catholic Church and by amending its ritual and liturgy in the Catholic direction. By 1841 Newman had noted in his Tract No. 90 that there was no real inconsistency between the basic tenets of the Anglican Church and those of the Catholic Church. This was a bit too much for his heretofore tolerant superiors to swallow, so the Bishop of Oxford put a ban on Newman's tracts.

In 1842 Newman went into a sort of monastic retirement with a group of like-minded men. On his emergence in 1843, Newman gave up his Anglican offices and began studying for admission into the Catholic Church, into which he was duly received in 1845. His conversion influenced many others to take the same step. Those members of the Oxford Movement who remained in the Church of England eventually became the Anglo-Catholic wing of that church. Meanwhile Newman had written his *Essay on Miracles* and his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* to acquaint the English better with Roman Catholic doctrine. He also wrote in this period *The Lives of the English Saints* (1844-45).

In 1846 Newman went to Rome for his ordination and received a doctorate of divinity. He entered the Oratorian order and returned to England in 1847 to devote himself to conversions. He founded an oratory on the outskirts of Birmingham, where he remained for most of his remaining long life. In his early years as a Catholic in England Newman was involved in a number of unpleasant incidents. First, he lost a libel suit brought against him by an ex-friar even though English Catholics raised a great fund for him, which was used to pay his fine. Then in 1854 he was involved in an abortive plan of the Catholic bishops of Ireland to create a Catholic university at Dublin headed by himself. A few years later Newman was advocating a Catholic College at Oxford that would stress moral training rather than instruction, but the proposal was firmly squelched in 1858 by the Catholic hierarchy of England.

It was only in the 1860s that Newman's great prestige began to take shape. By way of a response to the attack by Charles Kingsley, the prominent clergyman, novelist and Christian Socialist, on the Catholic Church as being disinterested in truth for its own sake, Newman wrote *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, which has been considered a masterpiece of religious autobiography, and has remained a favorite work of English-speaking Catholics. He followed this in 1870 with *Grammar of Assent*, in which he aimed at presenting a sort of logic of religious belief. That same year Newman made some remarks which were taken as critical of the new dogma of papal infallibility, remarks which immensely increased his standing with most Englishmen but brought him under suspicion by Pope Pius IX, the disillusioned liberal turned reactionary.

Although Newman's enemies in the Church continued to use the events of 1870 to weaken his position, nevertheless Pope Leo XIII in 1879 responded to the demands of English Catholics that Newman be made a cardinal. Now 78, Cardinal Newman spent his remaining years at his oratory as one of England's grand old men.

Newman is considered a master of English prose with a clear, lucid and usually convincing style. Other works of his include *The Idea of a University Defined* (1873), and the religious novels *Loss and Gain* (1848) and *Callista* (1856). He also wrote poems, of which "The Dream of Gerontius" was the best-known, and hymns, notably "Lead, Kindly Light."

Apparently a notable example of the sublimated homosexual, Newman's principal attachment in his earlier years at Oxford was to Hurrell Froude, a fellow enthusiast. Thereafter he formed the closest of intimacy with Ambrose St. John, who followed him from Oxford into the Roman Catholic Church and to the Birmingham oratory. In his *Apologia* Newman hinted at his devotion to Brother Ambrose, fourteen years his junior, and when Ambrose died at 60, in 1875, Newman was almost crazed with grief. He threw himself on the bed with the corpse and remained with it all night. In later years he would burst into tears whenever Ambrose's death was mentioned. By Newman's own orders, his body was buried in the same grave with that of Ambrose.

Reference: Nash, 52-53.

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON (1809-1892)

English poet.

He was born at Somersby, the fourth of twelve children of a clergyman. From 6 to 11 Tennyson attended the grammar school at Louth, receiving additional education from his father, who had an exceptionally fine library. During summer holidays the family went to the seashore. Tennyson found both the sea and the rich, pastoral scenery around his home inspiring and began to write poetry from an early age. By the age of 12 he had written an epic of 6,000 lines, and by the age of 14 had completed a drama in blank verse. Byron's death in 1824 he took as a personal loss.

In 1827 Alfred published, together with his brothers Charles and Frederick, the anonymous collection *Poems by Two Brothers*, most of them being Alfred's. They made a £20 profit. In 1828 Alfred Tennyson, together with Charles, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, which Frederick was already attending. Gradually the brothers built up a sort of literary salon in which Alfred became the dominant figure, winning a college prize in 1829 for his poem *Timbuctoo*. Among the members of the group was Arthur Hallam, the son of a famous historian, with whom Alfred formed a very intimate and passionate friendship. In 1830, the 21-year-old Tennyson published his first personal volume, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, which drew high praise from Coleridge, along with some reservations about the metrical imperfections. Despite the praise, Tennyson remained resentful of the reservations until Coleridge's death in 1834.

In the summer of 1830 Tennyson and Hallam volunteered for the army of the Spanish insurgent Torrijos, but they did little except march around in the Pyrenees. Shortly after their return, Tennyson's father died, but the new rector allowed the family to remain there six more years. Hallam became engaged to Tennyson's sister Emily, and was thus provided with further justification for his frequent presence.

In 1832 Tennyson published another volume, *Poems*, which included "The Lady of Shalott" and many others of his favorites. Critics have commented that his art had already improved so greatly that he would have retained a place among English poets had he, rather than Hallam, died the following year. Tennyson's beloved Arthur was found dead on the sofa of their room in a

Vienna hotel by his father on his return from an engagement. The official report was that a blood vessel had burst in the brain of the young man of 22. If this sounds unlikely, and suggests a cover-up for a death resembling that of Winckelmann (q.v.), it nevertheless appears to stand without contradiction to this day.

The effect on Tennyson of Hallam's death was extreme. He became morose, gloomy, and of appreciably poorer health, apparently deprived of all his happy buoyancy and optimism. Although he began very soon on his immortal *In Memoriam*, he was neither to complete it nor to consider publishing it for many years.

In 1837 the Tennyson family was finally turned out of the rectory at Somersby. They found a new abode that lasted until 1840, after which further moves were made and Tennyson began to spend more time in London. He became vaguely engaged to a girl named Emily Sellwood. In 1842 he ended his ten-year retirement by publishing a two-volume collection, *Poems*, including such favorites as "Locksley Hall," "Ulysses," "Sir Galahad," "Morte d'Arthur," and "Break, Break, Break." The new and powerful poems expressed Tennyson's philosophic doubts about the increasingly scientific and materialist age and his longing for a mystic faith. He became widely acknowledged as England's greatest new poet in twenty years, perhaps already the country's leading poet, and numbered amongst his friends Carlyle, Dickens and Elizabeth Barrett.

Tennyson was persuaded to sell the family estate and invest the money in some fly-by-night speculation. When the scheme collapsed, he was left penniless and was so depressed that for a time his friends despaired of his life. However, a patient doctor nursed him back to health, and his friends, particularly Arthur Hallam's influential father, persuaded the prime minister, Sir Robert Peel, to bestow a pension of £200 on him. Inspired by a convalescent trip to Switzerland, he worked overzealously on *The Princess*, suffering a nervous breakdown just before its hasty publication. After his recovery, a new edition was issued with his revisions in 1850.

Meanwhile Tennyson had been continuing to add to his Arthur-inspired *In Memoriam*, and finally in 1850 it was published anonymously. In the short period before its authorship became general knowledge, there was wide dispute about who

penned the passionately emotional lines. One reviewer advanced as a certain theory that it was the widow of an army officer. When a man was revealed as the author, and no less a man than England's most promising poet, there was an outburst of incredulity, shock and letters to *The Times* and to Tennyson. *The Times* noted editorially that the language of *In Memoriam* was "unfitted for any but amatory tenderness," and Tennyson himself received what he referred to as "shameful letters of abuse." But all these objections were swept away by the immense popularity of *In Memoriam*, which for the first time brought Tennyson substantial monetary returns. It also clinched for Tennyson his appointment as England's poet laureate, a post just become vacant by the death of Wordsworth. Now over 40, and with no further justification for extending his long engagement, Tennyson married Emily Sellwood. His eldest surviving son was of course named Hallam.

The remaining years of Tennyson's long life were generally happy and rewarding ones. As poet laureate he turned out such dutiful poems as "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington" (1852); the ever-popular "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1855); "The Revenge" (1878); "The Defense of Lucknow" (1879); and also more comprehensive works dearer to his own heart, as the monodrama *Maud* (1859), and his most ambitious work, *Idylls of the King* (1859; 1869; 1872), the final verse version of the Arthurian legend. In the 1860s his most successful work was *Enoch Arden* (1864).

In the 1870s Tennyson made a number of attempts at poetic drama, having in mind a historical series, but failed due to his lack of theatrical talent. There were *Queen Mary* (1875), *Harold* (1876) and *Becket* (1879). Tennyson several times turned down offers of Gladstone or Disraeli for a peerage, but in 1883, returning with Gladstone from an official trip to Denmark, he finally consented and became known as Alfred, Lord Tennyson (technically, the first Baron Tennyson), taking his seat in the House of Lords in 1884.

Tennyson continued to produce poems even in his advanced years and the favorite "Crossing the Bar" appeared in 1889 in *Demeter and Other Poems*. A verse drama about Robin Hood, *The Foresters*, was produced in New York in 1892, the year he died at 81. Later in the year the posthumous volume, *The Death*

of *Oenone*, was published.

Tennyson was described by Carlyle as "one of the finest-looking men in the world." His hair, described as "a great shock of rough, dusky, dark hair" in his younger days was equally impressive when snowy in his old age. He was very tall, with what Gosse described as "a strange and rather terrifying air of sombre majesty." The "dark glowing" eyes of Tennyson were also widely noted.

Although *In Memoriam* owed its great popularity to its larger sense, expressing the agonizing doubt and despair felt by Tennyson after Hallam's death, followed by his groping towards a faith in immortality, yet it was in the first instance inspired by and devoted to his "beloved Arthur" and it was of him that Tennyson wrote (Canto 27) the famous lines, "'Tis better to have loved and lost / Than never to have loved at all."

Reference: Bulliet, 305; Carpenter (I), 169; Ellis, 339; Hirschfeld, 671; Mayne, 364.



HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN (1805-1875)

Danish fabulist, poet and novelist.

He was born at Odense on the large island of Fünen, east of the Danish mainland, the son of a sickly young shoemaker. The family all lived in one room, and the parents indulged and fostered their child's imaginative temperament, intuitively disposed to believe him a genius. Eleven when his father died, Hans quit school and built himself a toy theater. He remained at home, making clothes for his puppets and reading all the plays he could put his hands on, including those of Shakespeare (q.v.).

In 1819, shortly after his confirmation, Hans was apprenticed to a tailor. Thoroughly unhappy at the job, despite his love of sewing, he decided he wanted to be an opera singer, and ran away from home to Copenhagen in the fall. The 14-year-old boy was treated as a lunatic in his attempts to get into theaters and operas, and he was near starvation when he was befriended by two musicians who lived together, Weyse and Siboni. Subsequently Hans was turned over to the middle-aged poet Guldberg who kept him in his home and provided for him to take dancing lessons at the Royal Theater. Eventually Hans lost interest in dancing and con-

tented himself with being an idle kept boy, quarreling frequently with Guldberg.

Hans found a new gentleman-friend in Jonas Collin, the director of the Royal Theater, who obtained for him a royal scholarship for Denmark's leading grammar school at Slagelse. A backward and unruly student, and getting rather old for elementary education, he was transferred in 1827 to a school at Elsinore, where he spent more dark and bitter months, presumably as melancholy as those of Hamlet.

By the end of 1827 Collin agreed to consider Hans educated and let him return to Copenhagen. By now Andersen had decided on a writing career. In 1829, with Collin still his patron, as he was to be till the end of his days, Andersen published a fantasy called *A Journey on Foot from Holman's Canal to the East Point of Amager*, as well as a farce and a volume of thirty poems. These works brought him some standing with Copenhagen's literary and intellectual circles, though his former patrons were tempted to give him up as a hopeless eccentric.

In 1833 Collin obtained for Andersen a royal pension to travel to obtain material for writing and Andersen did indeed write sketches and impressions of the countries he visited, including Sweden, France, Switzerland and Italy. In 1835 he had his first real success with the novel *Improvisatoren*, and a few months later came the turning-point in his career with the publication of the first volume of his *Eventyr (Fairy Tales)*. These volumes, coming out on the average of one per year, sold slowly at first, and he continued with other literature, such as the novel *O.T.*, the travel-sketches *In Sweden*, and the romance *Only a Fiddler*.

With the publication of his second series of fairy tales in 1838, followed by the third series in 1845, Andersen's fame spread throughout Europe, where translations were made into many languages. He visited England in 1847, enjoyed a triumphal social success, and was seen off at the pier by Charles Dickens. Denmark was now at last appreciative of having one of the continent's most popular writers and Andersen agreed to write his autobiography which was published in 1855.

Looking down upon his *Fairy Tales*, his key to fame, as the least worthy aspect of his genius, Andersen continued to try without success to be a dramatist and to write novels, notably

To Be or Not To Be (1857). He also continued his journeys, which produced travel books, such as the one on Spain (1863). Pressed by his publishers, he would now and then turn out more volumes of fairy tales, continuing until 1872 when he hurt himself so badly falling out of bed that he never quite recovered his health. When he died three years later, the once-despised eccentric was clearly Denmark's leading literary personality.

Andersen's most popular fairy tales include *The Fir Tree*, *The Ugly Duckling*, *The Brave Tin Soldier*, *The Little Mermaid* and *The Red Shoes*.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 658; Mayne, 387; Mehta, 53.



JULES MICHELET (1798-1874)

French historian.

He was born at Paris, the son of a Protestant master printer in poor circumstances. During his early impressionable years, filled with the glories of Napoleon (q.v.), Michelet was trained to assist his father at the presses and nearly accepted a position at the Imperial Printing Office. However, his father was able to scrape together enough money to send him to the Collège Charlemagne, where he distinguished himself. After passing the university examination in 1821, Michelet was appointed professor of history at the Collège Rollin. He got married in 1824.

Seeing himself as the intellectual champion of the people against their oppressors, Michelet carved for himself a niche as the leader of the historians' branch of the Romantic movement, then in full force. When he began his career, in the last years of the repressive reign of Charles X, Michelet had to confine himself to learned papers and text-books. However, when the Revolution of 1830 brought the "Liberal Monarchy" of Louis-Philippe (1830-48), Michelet secured a new position, from which he could exercise great influence, as professor of History at the Collège de France. He also became the head of the historical section of the national archives. He now began on his monumental work, his *History of France*, whose publication was spread over the years 1833 to 1867.

Michelet became convinced that the Catholic Church, and particularly the Jesuits, represented the greatest menace to continued social and political progress, and he began a series of

lectures, attended by great throngs, in which he pursued this line of thought and helped stir up the passions that produced the Revolution of 1848. These lectures were published in four volumes and were characterized by a peculiar combination of learned eloquence and sentimental superficialities saturated with anti-clerical and communistic ideology. The best known was *Le Peuple* (1846; *The People*). When the great Revolution of 1848 did break out, Michelet did not, like so many men of letters, take part in it. Instead he devoted himself to a *History of the French Revolution*, which was not rated too highly.

When in 1851 President Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte put an end to the Second Republic which had elected him its chief executive and by his coup paved the way to his becoming Napoleon III, Michelet refused to take the oath of personal loyalty and lost his position at the archives office, with his professorial position remaining shaky. He was now at least free to devote himself with renewed zeal to his colossal historical work, his *History of France*, which reflected more than ever his republican zeal. In this work he was devotedly supported by his second wife, a woman of both literary and republican leanings.

In addition to his major work, Michelet turned out year after year a series of moralistic pamphlets of considerable influence, representing romantic impressions of nature and life. These included *Les Femmes de la Révolution* (1854), *L'Oiseau* (1856), *L'Insecte* (1858), *L'Amour* (1859), *La Femme* (1860), *La Mer* (1861), *La Sorcière* (1862), and *La Montagne* (1869). As *Satanism and Witchcraft* in its English translation, *La Sorcière* was to be his perennial best-known English work. Other minor works included *Nos Fils*, a book on education, a biography of Joan of Arc (1853), and *Bible de la humanité*, a historical sketch of religions. Michelet lived in both France and Italy, spending his winters on the Riviera. This residence provided material for his powerful posthumously published book *Le Banquet*, in which he contrasted the lot of the rich and poor on the Riviera.

In 1867 Michelet's great life-work was more or less completed with nineteen volumes of his *History of France* going up to the Revolution. Though considered magnificent literature, the whole work is marred by his emotional bias against the clergy, the nobles and monarchical institutions, turning to outright bias and

virtual propaganda in the final volumes on the eve of the Revolution. Michelet's romantic history of the Middle Ages was to be the most influential element in his work.

The downfall of the empire of Napoleon III and the accompanying disasters of the Prussian invasion in 1871 stimulated Michelet to renewed activity in letters and pamphlets. He also set himself to bring his monumental *History of France* up to date, but he was overtaken by death before he had even gotten to Waterloo. The new Third Republic, leery of radicals, had not given Michelet back his professorship.

Michelet's principal recorded homosexual attachment was Paul Poinot, the son of the great mathematician, Louis Poinot. Paul was said to have been himself a very outspoken homosexual.

Reference: Mayne, 327.



NICHOLAS ANNE THÉODULE CHANGARNIER (1793-1877)

French general and statesman.

He was born at Autun and educated at the St. Cyr military academy during the height of the Napoleonic empire. After serving for a short time in the bodyguard of Louis XVIII (q.v.), Changarnier entered the infantry as a lieutenant in 1815. After serving with distinction in the brief Spanish campaign of 1823, he was promoted to captain in 1825.

In 1830 Changarnier joined the new royal guard of Louis-Philippe, France's new liberal king, and then took part in the Mascara campaign in North Africa. Promoted to major in 1835, Changarnier distinguished himself in the campaign of Marshal Clausel against Constantine and in later Algerian campaigns. By 1847 he was a divisional commander.

General Changarnier was visiting France when the Revolution of 1848 drove Louis-Philippe from the throne. He put himself at the service of the Provisional Government, which sent him to Algeria as governor-general to succeed General Cavaignac, who had been called to Paris to become war minister and subsequently dictator (in the old Roman limited sense). As the new Second Republic came into being, and Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte beat Cavaignac in the presidential elections, Changarnier returned to France as an elected deputy. He was assiduously cultivated by

President Bonaparte, who gave him command of the National Guard of Paris, and then of all troops in Paris, a total of 100,000 men. Despite these favors, Changarnier opposed Bonaparte's coup of 1851, paving the way to his becoming Napoleon III. In due course Changarnier was arrested, and in 1852 he was banished from the new "Second Empire."

In 1859 Napoleon III allowed Changarnier to return to France and to live quietly on his estate. He held no command during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), but he was an unofficial adviser to Marshal Bazaine at Metz and became a prisoner of war upon the surrender of Metz. After the armistice, Changarnier returned to Paris and was elected to the National Assembly for four different departments.

Changarnier took an active part in politics, defending Marshal Bazaine and serving on the committee which drew up the monarchical constitution. When the Bourbon pretender, the Comte de Chambord, refused the key compromise, Changarnier moved the resolution which extended the executive power of the acting president for ten years, thereby in effect establishing the Third Republic. He was elected a life senator in 1875 and died two years later.

Changarnier's homosexuality was referred to in the homosexual confessions of his friend General Lamorcière (q.v.), contained in *La France sociale et politique*, by A. Hamond.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 660.



CHRISTOPHE LÉON LOUIS JUCHAULT DE LAMORCIÈRE (1806-1865)

French general.

He was born at Nantes and after graduating from the St. Cyr military academy, he entered the Engineers as a lieutenant in 1828. After 1830 Lamorcière served in the Algerian campaigns, with such distinction that by 1840, at only 34, he was a brigadier. In 1843 he was given a divisional command, and as one of Bugeaud's best generals he did much to win the victory at Isly (1844). As acting governor-general for Bugeaud, Lamorcière effected the capture of the Algerian resistance leader Abd el-Kader in 1847.

Returning to France, Lamorcière played a considerable role in

the Revolution of 1848. He was himself first merely elected to the Chamber of Deputies, while his fellow general from Algeria, General Cavaignac, an esteemed republican, was made by the provisional government successively governor-general of Algeria, minister of war in the provisional government and finally dictator of France when in June the street mobs menaced all law and order. When Cavaignac was shifted from minister of war to Dictator, Lamorcière succeeded him in the war ministry. In that capacity he had to back up Cavaignac in the bloodiest street-fighting in Paris' history, in the days of Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*.

After the presidential elections in which Cavaignac was decisively defeated by Prince Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of Napoleon (q.v.), Lamorcière, as a partisan of Cavaignac, was considered an unreliable opponent of Bonaparte. At the time of the coup of 1851, which paved the way for President Bonaparte to become Napoleon III, Lamorcière was among those arrested and banished.

Although he was permitted to return to France in 1857, Lamorcière refused to give allegiance to Napoleon III and rejected all offers of a reconciliation. His last command was that of the papal army in 1860, which suffered defeat by the army of the new Kingdom of Italy at Castelfidardo. His last years were spent in complete retirement.

Lamorcière's homosexuality was referred to as self-confessed in a book called *La France sociale et politique* by A. Hamond, which included a similar reference to his friend General Changarnier (q.v.).

Reference: Hirschfeld, 666.



JAMES BUCHANAN (1791-1868)

American President (1857-1861).

He was born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. After graduating from Dickinson College at Carlisle (1809), Buchanan studied law at Lancaster and was admitted to the bar in 1812. After practicing at Lancaster, he decided to enter state politics and served in the lower house of the state legislature (1814-16).

In 1821 Buchanan entered national politics as a Federalist congressman, serving five terms. When the Federalists broke up,

Buchanan became a Jacksonian Democrat. On the House judiciary committee he rose to be its chairman, and several times he played an influential role, notably in the impeachment of Judge Peck (1830) and in the defeat of the attempt to limit the appellate jurisdiction given the Supreme Court by the Judiciary Act of 1789. Buchanan's own efforts to have the number of Supreme Court judges increased was unsuccessful.

After a brief diplomatic career as minister to Russia (1832-34), where he negotiated an important commercial treaty, Buchanan returned to Congress as a senator (1834-45). As a leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate, Buchanan gave vigorous support to Presidents Jackson and Van Buren. When in 1845 the Democrats again won the Presidency, after the four Whig years of Harrison and Tyler, President Polk named Buchanan his secretary of state.

During the Polk administration a number of significant events occurred to increase American power. A serious conflict with England over Oregon was settled just short of war by agreement on the Forty-ninth Parallel. Equally serious, increasing conflict with Mexico did bring a war. The Mexican war and the invasion of Mexico were concluded by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which Mexico gave up all claim to Texas and ceded New Mexico and California.

In 1849, the Whigs having again captured the Presidency with a war hero (General Taylor), Buchanan returned to practicing law in Lancaster. In the election of 1852, the Whigs were unable to retain the Presidency by use of another war-hero, General Scott (Taylor having died and been succeeded by a colorless civilian, Fillmore), and the new Democratic President, Franklin Pierce, in 1853 brought Buchanan out of retirement. He was appointed minister to Great Britain.

While serving in his new diplomatic assignment, Buchanan joined with the ministers to Spain and France, at President Pierce's suggestion, to discuss the problems arising from increasing bitterness toward Spain over interference with American commerce with Cuba. In 1854 the ministers issued their so-called Ostend Manifesto, containing some sentences that were to remain surprisingly appropriate for events 110 years later:

. . . from the peculiarity of its geographical position, and

the considerations attendant upon it, Cuba is as necessary to the North American republic as any of its present members. . . . We should be recreant in our duty, be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be Africanized and become a second Santo Domingo, with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to extend to our neighboring shores, seriously to endanger or actually destroy the fair fabric of our Union.

And if Spain refused to sell Cuba for a fair price, "by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we have the power."

Although the state department subsequently repudiated the Manifesto, Buchanan's share in it made him the South's favorite northern Democrat. And since Buchanan had always taken a "moderate" view on slavery, and since both Pierce and Douglas (the leading Congressional Democrat) had both become unpopular from their association with the Kansas civil war, the bloody conflict that developed out of Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act, Buchanan emerged as the obvious Democratic compromise candidate in 1856. With a majority of the electoral vote, if not of the popular vote, Buchanan emerged victorious over Frémont, the first Republican candidate, and ex-President Fillmore, the Know-Nothing candidate, and became the fifteenth President of the U.S.

Although his vast experience in law and diplomacy and in both the executive and legislative branches would normally have made Buchanan an excellent President, he has been judged by history as incompetent and timid in his efforts to prevent the great conflict that followed under Lincoln. Buchanan's efforts consisted mostly of leaning over backwards to conciliate the South, appointing southerners to key cabinet posts and even to the governorship of the strife-torn Kansas Territory. As a strict constitutionalist, Buchanan tried to preserve what he called "the sacred balance" between pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions.

Buchanan's greatest test came in December, 1860, in the wake of Lincoln's election to the Presidency. When the South Carolina legislature summoned a state convention to consider secession, Buchanan took the position that this was illegal, but that the

Federal government had no power forcibly to prevent it. He did, however, agree that force could be used to protect federal property. The crucial test came at Fort Sumter, whose reinforcement was sufficient to bring southern accusations of bad faith and insufficient to prevent the southern attack that started the American Civil War. In his final months as President, Buchanan made various desperate efforts to avert war, but by February 4, 1861, delegates of the seven seceding southern states were forming their Confederacy at Montgomery, Alabama, despite the "Peace Convention" being held in Washington under Buchanan's auspices.

After turning over the Presidency to Abraham Lincoln, Buchanan retired to his home at Wheatland, near Lancaster. He lived through the bloody conflict he had tried so desperately to avoid, in which all those nice young men were killed and wounded, and died in 1868. Despite abuse he suffered in the nineteenth century, more recent historians have paid high tribute to Buchanan's excellent moral character, his considerable ability, his sincerity, his patriotism and his unimpeachable honesty.

He remains to date the only unmarried President. Rumors of Buchanan's alleged homosexual activities are said to have been used with great enterprise in the 1856 campaign.

Reference: Pederson (*One*, July 1960, 4).



CHARLES XV (1826-1872)

King of Sweden and Norway (1859-72).

He was the son of Oscar I, who was in turn the son and heir of Marshal Bernadotte, the general of Napoleon (q.v.) who was adopted as Swedish crown prince by the brother of Gustavus III (q.v.) shortly after the lynching of Fersen (q.v.). When in 1818 Bernadotte became king as Charles XIV, Sweden was in possession of Norway, which had been taken from Denmark by the Congress of Vienna in punishment for Denmark's alliance with Napoleon, and given to Sweden as a reward for Bernadotte's treachery to his former benefactor. The mother of Charles was the daughter of Eugene de Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson (by Josephine's first husband) and his viceroy in Italy.

In 1850 Charles married the Dutch Princess Louisa, by whom he had a daughter. In 1857 he became regent for his ailing father, succeeding to the Swedish-Norwegian throne two years later.

Although Charles' brusque manners as crown prince had raised alarm of what he would be like as king, he proved one of Sweden's most popular and constitutional monarchs. The many far-reaching reforms in his reign included legal reform (1862-64), political reform of the constitution, with a bicameral legislature replacing the traditional four estates, the enlarged representation of its lower house to be elected every three years by direct vote (1863), and a reform of the franchise requirements.

Charles developed the closest of relations with the other Scandinavian monarch, Frederick of Denmark, which may have served to push him into Denmark's disastrous war with Prussia (1864) in anticipation of Swedish help. In the conflict, however, Sweden was obliged to observe a strict neutrality.

Charles died at Malmo and left behind some poetry and painting, said to be of merit. His daughter having given up her right of succession when she married the Danish crown prince, the Swedish throne passed to Charles' brother as Oscar II. He was to be succeeded by his son, the long-reigning Gustavus V, famed for his tennis and otherwise.

Charles XV was reported to have had a lasting homosexual relationship with his aide-de-camp.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 666.



GUSTAVE FLAUBERT (1821-1880)

French writer.

He was born at Rouen, the son of a surgeon. Already during his early education Flaubert became preoccupied with literature, at the expense of his regular curriculum. He was described as being in his youth "like a young Greek," full of vigor, enthusiastic, intensely individual, with a certain shy grace and no apparent ambition.

In 1840 Flaubert went to Paris to study law but found it distasteful after the Norman countryside. After a few months he left to travel to Corsica and southwest France. After returning to Paris, he lived idly on his father's allowance. When both his father and sister died in 1846, leaving his mother all alone, Flaubert gave up all further thoughts of law and Paris and returned to Normandy to take a house with his mother at Croisset near Rouen. Here he remained for the rest of his life, except for

occasional trips to Paris or to Brittany, the Tunisian research trip and the long trip in 1849 with his intimate friend, Maxime du Camp, to Greece, Egypt and the Orient.

On returning from the East in 1850, Flaubert went to work on *Madame Bovary*, which took him six years to complete and first appeared in serial form in the *Revue de Paris* in 1857. The government of Napoleon III brought an action against both Flaubert and his publisher for the book's alleged immorality, but both were acquitted. The attendant publicity of course produced a best-seller when *Madame Bovary* was published in book form.

Deciding next to write a novel set in ancient Carthage, Flaubert visited its ruins in 1858 and then devoted himself to laborious archeological studies. Only then did he begin writing *Salammbô*, which was not completed until 1862, and proved considerably less successful than *Madame Bovary*.

Flaubert's next work was a book involving youth and contemporary manners, a revision of a book to which he had applied himself in 1843-45. This was completed and published in 1869 as *Education sentimentale*. The book was also published in its original form in 1910.

After 1870, misfortunes began to plague Flaubert as well as his country, which suffered defeat and occupation by the Prussians. A nervous malady brought a breakdown in his health. His mother died (1872). His income became greatly reduced. Life became for him desolate and lonely, despite visits with such great literary friends as Emile Zola, George Sand, Turgenev, Daudet and the Goncourts. However, Flaubert continued to apply himself to his work with the usual intensity and thoroughness. In 1874 he had another success with a book, in its familiar English title *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, as well as a failure with a drama, *Le Candidat*. Three years later he published a collection of three short stories, in their English titles *A Simple Heart*, *The Legend of St. Julian the Hospitaler* and *Herodias*.

Flaubert's mind now began to fail somewhat, and his final years were spent on what he thought would be his masterpiece, a depressing and bewildering satire on human folly, titled *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, which was published posthumously, unfinished, in 1881. Flaubert died in 1880 of an apoplectic stroke. His correspondence, especially voluminous with George Sand, was of great

interest when published in nine volumes half a century after his death (1926-33).

Flaubert was a model of style and craftsmanship, a real "writer's writer" who searched interminably for *le mot juste* in every sentence, no matter how long this delayed the completion of his work. He was one of the pioneers of the new school of realism and naturalism, his characterizations reflecting his hatred of hypocritical bourgeois attitudes and of the general lack of intelligence and appreciation of beauty on the part of his fellow men. He earned a place for himself as one of France's greatest writers, very influential on Zola and Daudet among others.

Flaubert was full of paradoxes, combining a magnificent build with poor health and neuroticism, arrogance with shyness and sensitivity. He never married. While in his late twenties, the time of his passionate friendship with Maxime du Camp, he engaged in one of those "alas, it's impossible!" heterosexual affairs with a poetess named Louise Colet, confining himself mostly to addressing passionate letters to her.

Reference: Peyrefitte (E), 39.



CHARLES BAUDELAIRE (1821-1867)

French poet and critic.

He was born at Paris, the son of a civil servant. When Baudelaire was 6, his father died and his mother married an army officer, Aupick, who subsequently became a diplomat. Baudelaire was educated first at his stepfather's station, Lyons, then in Paris at the Collège Louis-le-Grand, that leading school of France that produced Molière (q.v.), Robespierre (q.v.), and de Sade (q.v.). After his graduation in 1839, Baudelaire decided on a literary career and for a while received parental support. However, his dissolute living in this period, allegedly including homosexual affairs, caused his mother and stepfather to send him off in 1841 on a long trip, to India.

Of age when he returned to France in 1842, Baudelaire received his small inheritance but started going through it so rapidly that his family secured a court order placing his property in trust. Meanwhile, Baudelaire had obtained a prominent place in French literary salons by his unorthodox views and began devoting him-

self more seriously to literature. He also dabbled a bit in politics, siding with the radicals in the Revolution of 1848.

Baudelaire wrote his poetry very slowly and fastidiously, much like Flaubert (q.v.) writing his novels, and whenever one or two of them appeared in reviews, they were much talked about. In 1857 he published his sensational collection, *Fleurs du mal* (*Flowers of Evil*), which burst like a bombshell on literary Paris. While a select group appreciated Baudelaire's consummate artistry, the most general effect was disgust at the perverse selection of subjects. The government of Napoleon III instituted a successful prosecution against Baudelaire, the publisher and the printer for offending public morals. The prosecution was based on six poems condemned as obscene, and these having been suppressed, an expurgated edition was published in 1861, containing some additional verses.

Having learned English in his youth, Baudelaire became fond of Gothic novels, such as *The Monk* of Lewis (q.v.). When he became acquainted with the works of Edgar Allan Poe in 1846-47, he developed into an insatiable Poe fan and spent most of his remaining years translating Poe's works and writing essays about him. He also contributed critical essays on Flaubert (q.v.), Gautier, Balzac and Wagner to various periodicals.

In 1861 financial troubles brought Baudelaire to the edge of poverty, and in 1864 he went to Belgium, hoping to raise money by selling copyrights there. He stayed on in Belgium, where he had recourse to excessive alcohol, opium and a Negress. After suffering paralysis, he was confined to a hospital. Baudelaire returned to Paris in 1867 and died in poverty a few months after his return.

Marcel Proust (q.v.) was amongst those convinced of Baudelaire's homosexuality, and so informed André Gide, as recorded in Gide's *Journal* for May 14, 1921.

Reference: Anderson, 265; Peyrefitte (E), 39.



HENRY WARD BEECHER (1813-1887)

American churchman, lecturer and reformer.

He was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, of a large Puritan family which included his sister Harriet, who as Mrs. Stowe was to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as well as a famous magazine article

with the alleged "real truth" about Byron (q.v.). Beecher entered Amherst College in 1830, soon after which he first received "the call," leading him to spend much time on reading of his own choice beyond the curriculum. He trained himself relentlessly in elocution. After receiving his degree in 1834, he prepared himself for his career in the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, of which his father was president.

After graduating in 1837, Beecher became the pastor of a tiny church in Lawrenceburg, Indiana, and subsequently in 1839 of a much larger one in Indianapolis. He shocked the staid members of his flock by his unconventional preaching, dealing with the vices in an earthy manner, but the effect was to fill his church to overflowing. His favorite sermons were published in 1844 as *Seven Lectures to Young Men*, employing exuberant youthful rhetoric in his realistic descriptions of significant vices.

In 1847 Beecher became the pastor of the newly organized Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, N.Y. Within a few years, this church, five minutes from the ferry, became a local institution on Sundays, and Beecher's peculiar eloquence made of his pulpit a national platform. His audience often exceeded 3,000, although the seating capacity was only 2,500.

On the all-important slavery issue, Beecher took a middle ground between the abolitionists and the peace party, seeing an awakened national conscience and enlightened self-interest as bringing the gradual and lawful termination of slavery. He joined the Republican Party soon after its organization. When the Civil War did break out, Beecher did his best to inspire northern patriotism and to lead public opinion to support emancipation. As editor-in-chief of the *Independent* from 1861 to 1863, Beecher wrote editorials that made a profound impression on public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic. When England came close to intervening on the Confederate side, he went to England and, by his famous addresses, did much to convert public opinion in England in 1863 to a pro-Union attitude.

In the postwar period, Beecher founded and became editor-in-chief in 1870 of *The Christian Union*, later *Outlook*, a non-denominational religious weekly, supporting such causes as women's suffrage and evolution. He continued to be most outstanding, however, in the pulpit, where his mastery of the English

tongue, his dramatic power, his vivid imagination, his insight and intellectual breadth of view, his passionate enthusiasm and his quaint sense of humor dazzled his audiences. His especial field was humanitarianism, and he sought to reconcile the seemingly antagonistic advances of science with the ideals of religion in general and of Christianity in particular. His sermons on evolution and on religion shortly before his death were regarded as atheistic by many of his fellow ministers.

In 1875, when he was 62, Beecher was involved in a sensational lawsuit brought against him by one Theodore Tilton, charging adultery. A hung jury brought acquittal after a long trial in the course of which a Congregationalist national council gave him a vote of confidence. Active to the end, he died of an apoplectic stroke. Aside from his collections of sermons, Beecher wrote a number of books, including a *Life of Christ*.

Beecher's best known homosexual attachment was in his youth, while in preparatory school at Amherst and later at college, and involved Constantine Fondolaik, a Greek orphan brought to the United States for his education by American philanthropists. As he told his biographer in his old age, presumably after the contrary publicity of the adultery trial, and years of an unhappy marriage, he became so attached to Constantine, "the most beautiful thing I had ever seen," that he took pleasure in just watching him swim, feasting his eyes on Constantine because he was "so powerful, so beautiful." Beecher drew up a contract in which the two youths promised to love and watch over one another with eternal devotion. Beecher began signing himself Henry C. Beecher, taking Constantine as his middle name. Whether or not Beecher continued to see Constantine after he went to Ohio and Indiana, the relationship was finally terminated when Constantine returned to Greece in 1842, where he died shortly of cholera. Beecher named after Constantine one of the sons produced by the unhappy marriage, which he described as "hell on earth." His features were said to have been remarkably similar in his youth to those of Oscar Wilde (q.v.).

Reference: Nash, 57-59.

WALT WHITMAN (1819-1892)

American poet.

He was born at West Hills near Huntington on Long Island, N.Y., where his English and Dutch forebears had been established for almost two centuries as farmers and sailors. Whitman's father was a farmer and carpenter who in 1823 moved his large family (ultimately nine children) to Brooklyn, where Whitman spent his boyhood and received his limited education (five years of public school). His early jobs included lawyer's office boy, doctor's office boy, printer's devil and compositor. For a brief period in his teens he was a country school teacher.

In 1836, still in his teens, Whitman founded *The Long Islander* at Huntington and served as its editor until 1839. In 1841 he began contributing prose and verse to various New York and Brooklyn journals. For two years he edited *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, getting fired for his radical political views.

In 1848 Walt Whitman, together with his brother Jeff, went to New Orleans for three months, where Walt worked on *The Crescent*. In later years, Whitman himself, and some naive biographers, exaggerated the length of his stay sufficiently to allow for a southern mistress and several illegitimate children. After returning to Brooklyn, Whitman edited *The Brooklyn Freeman* (1848-49), and worked as a carpenter and real estate promoter in Brooklyn. He continued to write for local journals and reviews, and possibly even wrote several novels. For his poetry he began formulating the outline of *Leaves*.

In 1855 Whitman published his first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, consisting of twelve poems in a small quarto of 94 pages, at his own expense. At first generally ignored by critics and the reading public, its fortunes were drastically changed when the *New York Tribune* published a letter by America's literary leader, Ralph Waldo Emerson, addressed to Whitman, in which he characterized the volume as "the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet created." With a real demand thereby produced, Whitman was able to publish a second and enlarged edition in 1856, and a yet larger third edition (the first to contain the *Calamus* section) in 1860. Much criticism was directed at Whitman both for its free verse form and for its daring subject matter (sex, the beauty of the human body, male as well as

female, mystical pantheism and the nobility of the common man). Meanwhile, Whitman resumed work as an editor, serving with *The Brooklyn Times* from 1857 to 1859.

When the Civil War broke out, Whitman at 42 was considered too old for an enlisted man and too little qualified for a commission. However, after a visit in 1862 to his wounded brother George in Virginia, he stayed on to nurse him, and then found his wartime contribution as a male nurse in various hospitals, mostly in and around Washington. He continued looking after veterans after the war, and he also devoted himself to distributing gifts he solicited from acquaintances.

In 1865 Whitman took a job as a clerk in the Indian Bureau of the Interior Department but was discharged by a superior who became acquainted with his poetry and found it immoral. He soon obtained another job, this time in the attorney-general's office, where he remained until a paralytic stroke partially disabled him in 1873. He then went to Camden, New Jersey, where he resided until his death, playing host to many distinguished visitors and fans, including Oscar Wilde (q.v.) and Edward Carpenter (q.v.).

Meanwhile, Whitman had not been idle in Washington as a poet. Inspired by his wartime fervor, he wrote the collection of poems published in 1866 as *Drum Taps*, which included the two famous Lincoln ones, and another group published later in the year as *Sequel to Drum Taps*. Autobiographical prose works from this same period, published much later, included *Specimen Days and Collect* (1883) and *Wound Dresser* (1898). Whitman's speculations in politico-social philosophy, while a Washington clerk, produced another prose work, *Democratic Vistas* (1871), which contained a famous prose parallel of his *Calamus* poems:

It is to the development, identification, and general prevalence of that fervid comradeship (the adhesive love, at least rivaling the amative love hitherto possessing imaginative literature, if not going beyond it) that I look for the counter-balance and offset of our materialist and vulgar American Democracy, and for the spiritualisation thereof. Many will say it is a dream, and will not follow

my inferences; but I will confidently expect a time when there will be seen, running like a half-hid warp through all the myriad audible and visible worldly interests of America, threads of manly friendship, fond and loving, pure and sweet, strong and lifelong, carried to degrees hitherto unknown — not only giving tone to individual character, and making it unprecedently emotional, muscular, heroic and refined, but having deepest relations to general politics. I say Democracy infers such loving comradeship, as its most inevitable twin or counterpart, without which it will be incomplete, in vain, and incapable of perpetuating itself.

Following such twaddle, Whitman's efforts to be America's Socrates (q.v.), he turned again to poetry, and aside from the additions to *Leaves of Grass*, there were separate volumes like *November Boughs* (1888).

As for *Leaves of Grass*, edition followed edition, always enlarged to include new groups of poems, there being ten editions in all. The most homosexually flavored of the poems are found in the *Calamus* section, the name of which is aptly derived from the phallic-shaped aromatic root of the sweetflag. Of these poems, dealing with "The institution of the dear love of comrades," the most notable include "Recorders Ages Hence" (in which Whitman refers to himself as one "Who knew too well the sick, sick dread lest the one he lov'd might secretly be indifferent to him" and whose happiest days were spent with his lover "wandering hand in hand, they twain apart from other men"), and "When I Heard at the Close of Day" (in which his truly happiest moment is described as when "the one I loved most lay sleeping by me under the same cover in the cool night. . . . And his arm lay lightly around my breast—and that night I was happy").

The only name recorded without ambiguity as the subject of Whitman's homoerotic sentiments was that of a man closely corresponding to the Posh of Fitzgerald (q.v.). This was Peter Doyle, the Camden trolley-car conductor to whom Whitman wrote many letters between 1868 and 1880 (published in 1897), many little short of love letters, with such signings as "Many, many loving kisses to you" (August 12, 1870). The letters do also men-

tion the names of many other young men in Whitman's circle, but few of any personal intimacy. The names of the young men of his youth are apparently lost forever.

Although Whitman surely made things seem rather obvious, he was drawn into a hypocritical farce by the direct inquiry at last broached in the course of their correspondence by the great English poet, critic, translator and sexologist, John Addington Symonds (q.v.). When in 1872 Symonds requested confirmation of a connection between Whitman's dear love of comrades and the patterns of ancient Greece, Whitman first ignored the inquiry. Symonds made several more references to his question over the years, getting more pressing as publication neared for his biography of Whitman, actually published the day of Symonds' death. At last in his letter of August 19, 1890 Whitman decided to deal with the matter, and did so with consummate and shameless hypocrisy, in his typical murky prose:

About the questions on Calamus, etc., they quite daze me. *Leaves of Grass* is only to be rightly construed by and within its own atmosphere and essential character—all its pages and pieces so coming strictly under. That the *Calamus* part has ever allowed the possibility of such construction as mentioned is terrible. I am fain to hope that the pages themselves are not to be even mentioned for such gratuitous and quite at the time undreamed and unwished possibility or morbid inferences—which are disavowed by me and are damnable.

As a result of this ungracious and graceless letter, what otherwise would have seemed a fairly obvious matter, Whitman's homosexuality, became a "hotly debated" issue, with various scholars over the years summoning up batteries of conflicting documentation. As against the many passages in verse and prose, his bachelorhood, and lack of any real relations with women, not to mention his relations with Peter Doyle and his letters to him, there has been arrayed the above letter to Symonds with Whitman's own denial, and Whitman's yarn about a southern mistress and several bastards (also mentioned in that letter to Symonds). The great issue blazed forth again even in recent years (1955) when the proposal to name a new bridge after Walt Whitman was attacked because of Whitman's homosexuality. The proposal did

finally get carried, apparently on the basis of the mistress and bastards.

Among eminent American scholars on the "probably homosexual" side of the Whitman debate have been Ludwig Lewisohn, Mark van Doren, Edgar Lee Masters and Malcolm Cowley who in his articles (*New Republic*, March 18 and April 8, 1946) stressed evidence of Whitman as an active homosexual, especially keen on men in the transportation industry. The controversy has also been fierce in Europe.

Reference: Ellis, 51-56; Hirschfeld, 672.



JAMES BUTLER "WILD BILL" HICKOK (1837-1876)

American frontier marshal.

He was born at Troy Grove, Illinois, the son of a Vermont preacher who had moved west and become a storekeeper. The family came originally from northern Ireland. Hickok attended school briefly, learning to read only slightly until his interest was stimulated by the loan of *Adventures of Kit Carson*. At 10 he was familiar with firearms, and by 15 owned a rifle and a horse-pistol and spent much time hunting.

In 1855 Hickok decided that "bleeding Kansas" with its civil war offered the adventure he was looking for and hiked to St. Louis, then to Fort Leavenworth. Unable to find employment with an honorable group, he joined the "Red Legs," the anti-slavery desperadoes of "General" Jim Lane. The first of Hickok legends has it that he won a horse, a saddle, a brace of pistols and \$100 in gold by beating the best marksman in Lane's guerilla cavalry in Lane's presence.

In 1857 Hickok was found settled on a 160-acre claim in Johnson County, Kansas, where he had been elected constable. He was reported as married to a Shawnee squaw but chased out by neighbors angered at his amorous adventures, who burned his cabin, and then the cabin he rebuilt. He next took a job driving for the Overland Stage Company, making trips as far west as Salt Lake City and Santa Fe. Troubles with Indians led the company to give him fifty armed horsemen to teach the Indians a lesson, and with them he attacked an Indian village at Crazy Women's Fork in October, 1858, killing many and capturing a

herd of horses. He now had his reputation as both a great marksman and a great Indian-fighter, and he had also somehow acquired the nickname of Wild Bill.

In 1861 Hickok was involved in the McCandles episode, one of the most colorful of his life, at least as written up by George Nichols for *Harper's Monthly* (February, 1867), on the basis of an interview with Hickok, and included in his ever-popular *Heroes of the Plains*. According to this version, Hickok was alone guarding the Overland Company's horse herd at Rock Creek, about fifty miles from Topeka, when ten men of the horse-thieving gang of the McCandles brothers rode in to attack the station. Fleeing to his dugout, Hickok barred the door and stood with a single-shot rifle and revolver. After the door was battered down, Hickok killed the leader, Dave McCandles, with his rifle, then shot the next three with his revolver and stabbed two more with his knife. Although shot four times and stabbed twice, he ran after the remaining four outlaws, now in flight, and shot two more. Had he really killed eight out of ten outlaws in five minutes? According to a less flattering version, Hickok together with the actual station-keeper shot McCandles, a respectable man claiming a debt, or possibly quarreling about a girl, accompanied only with two friends and his young son, who escaped to tell the different story.

In any event, some kind of hearing took place, Hickok was exonerated and a few days later went to Fort Leavenworth to take a job as wagon-master with General Frémont, the former Republican candidate against Buchanan (q.v). Subsequently Hickok worked for General Curtis and, during his Arkansas campaign in 1862, served as a sharpshooter or civilian sniper at the Battle of Pea Ridge. Later in 1862 he was ordered to become a spy and to join the Confederate cavalry of General Sterling Price. Hickok was said to have risen to a sergeant's rank and as Price's orderly to have brought to the Union General Price's despatches for General Joe Shelby. He was also reported to have served as a spy in Texas, enlisting with General Kirby Smith.

On the occasion of an attempted third enlistment in the Confederate forces, Hickok was recognized and sentenced to be shot as a spy. However, shortly before his shooting, he managed to get a knife to cut his ropes, kill the sentry and escape. Thereafter

he refused to serve as a spy, limiting himself to being a scout for the Union forces. Stopped one day while on a mission by three men with their hands on their revolvers, and ordered to dismount, Hickok shot two of them dead and wounded a third before a shot could be fired at him. From one of these men he got his beloved horse, Black Nell, which he trained to drop to the ground and play dead on signal, or even to walk into a saloon and lie on the billiard table.

After the war, Hickok settled for a while at Springfield, Missouri, where he was involved with one Mary Rogers, variously described as a Sioux squaw or the abused wife of a white husband she poisoned. According to one account, their relations were quite chaste. In July, 1865, Hickok was involved at Springfield in an epic *High Noon* type gunfight in front of the courthouse with Dave Tutt, a former Confederate scout whose buddy had been killed by Hickok. After Tutt fired first and missed, Hickok shot him through the heart at fifty yards and then got the draw on Tutt's friends who were about to avenge his death.

Hickok left Springfield shortly afterward, and was next heard of in Nebraska, where in some nameless town he was attacked by four drunken cowboys, shot three dead, and after being wounded in his right arm by the fourth, shifted his gun to his left hand and shot him through the cheek.

In 1869 Hickok turned up as a scout employed by the U.S. Army, along with Buffalo Bill Cody, on a punitive expedition against the Cheyennes. Although he does not appear to have actually been at the fighting at the Washita River, won by Custer's Seventh Cavalry, while his own regiment was snowbound, Hickok was said to have received a spear through his thigh, thrust by vengeful braves after he had killed their chief, Black Kettle. In any event, he really did emerge somehow with this wound, the treatment of which was recorded. When his mother's illness took him back to Troy Grove for a few months, the wound was treated there by a doctor. When Hickok's sister grew faint seeing the doctor making an incision and scraping the bone, Hickok, who had refused chloroform, took the lamp from her and held it without flinching, according to the story. Shortly after, he was persuaded to visit Chicago for the first time. His leather-fringed buckskins drawing jeers from young rowdies, he attacked them

with a billiard cue and laid out seven, though emerging himself with head wounds.

Already a national character, Hickok got further publicity from Henry M. Stanley of the *Herald* (in a few years to "discover" Livingstone in Africa), and accordingly it was to Hickok that Senator Wilson of Massachusetts (soon to be Grant's vice president) turned as a guide for his party to the Far West in 1869. Although the eastern dudes travelled in comfortable carriages, Hickok, for \$100 a week, gave them an interesting five-week tour of the sites of famous battles and shot a few buffalo and Indians to impress the ladies. In appreciation of Hickok's flawless management, Senator Wilson gave him a pair of ivory-handled revolvers, afterwards his trademark.

Hickok accepted the dangerous post of town marshal at Hays City, where he was to perform some of his most famed exploits, including his fast-draw killing of a desperado named Jack Strawthorn, and later an even faster one on Billy Mulvey, who confronted him with two drawn revolvers. Trying to tighten town discipline, Hickok forbade citizens to shoot or pretend to shoot easterners, tourists or Chinamen. Reluctant to be drawn into fist fights, he was emboldened by one success to accept the challenge of a troublemaking drunken soldier whom he tried to arrest on February 12, 1870. Floored and then attacked and kicked by the soldier's friends, he got his barkeeping friend to hand him those ivory-handled revolvers and shot four soldiers, wounding several others. Shot four times himself and suffering from his beating, he was carried away and hidden for several weeks while a house-to-house search for him was made on the orders of an infuriated General Philip Sheridan at nearby Fort Hays. After recovering from his wounds, Hickok sneaked out at night.

After a few months, he appeared at Niagara Falls, N.Y., with his wild west show called "The Great Western Buffalo Hunt," in which Comanches in full war paint chased the buffalo around a big arena, while Hickok shouted and fired blanks. Lacking the commercial sense of his friend Buffalo Bill, who made a similar scheme very profitable a decade later, he failed, depending on voluntary contributions. He sold his six buffalo to local people and had just enough money to get himself and his Indians back to Kansas.

Hickok next appeared in Abilene, again taking a job as town marshal, this time with no army post nearby. Two hours after he was sworn in, he killed a drunk who fired at him, and some time later by misfortune he killed a man approaching him on the street, one of his own deputies, who had been seen reaching, for a handkerchief as it turned out. A few weeks later in another curious occurrence he was shot at in a restaurant while eating soup and scalded in the face by the soup when the bullet struck the bowl. Very angry, Hickok of course shot the man dead, a business man who was the suitor of a female admirer. His final famous episode at Abilene resulted after the arrival of eight gunmen, inspired by the \$5,000 reward offered for his death by a crooked Texas banker. Hickok announced he was taking a train to Topeka and when, as he anticipated, the eight gunmen assembled in one car, he burst in on them with both guns drawn and forced them all to jump from the train, so that one was killed and several others crippled.

In 1871 Hickok made his peace with the army authorities at Fort Hays and returned to Hays City for another year as town marshal, apparently without adventure. He proposed marriage to a widow who owned a visiting circus but was refused. In 1872 he visited Kansas City and impressed Wyatt Earp with his marksmanship, firing ten shots at the O in a sign 100 yards away and scoring five bullseyes with his right hand, then five with his left, all within the O.

Buffalo Bill, a smash success in New York in the show "Scouts of the Prairies," written and directed by Ned Buntline, persuaded Hickok to join the group. His part was to jump on the stage, a long pistol in each hand, firing at the Indians who were threatening the captive girl. After killing the Indians and grabbing the girl, Wild Bill Hickok had to say, "Fear not, fair maid! By heavens, you are safe at last with Wild Bill, who is ever ready to risk his life and die if need be in defense of weak and helpless womanhood." Understandably, with such lines as that, Hickok refused to take the thing very seriously, and insisted on firing his blanks at the legs of the Indians, which made them jump and curse instead of falling dead. When the show went on tour, Hickok blew up in disgust at the foolishness of it all one night in Buffalo, and after a stormy scene with Buffalo Bill, left the theater

and returned to Kansas City in 1873.

In 1875 Hickok was lured by the gold discovered in the Black Hills and started on a trip there, on his way stopping to walk up and down ostentatiously on the platform at both Abilene and Hays City in defiance of bandits who claimed they'd run him out of town, and that he was ashamed to show his face again. The crowds cheered. After a year in Cheyenne, he persuaded the circus widow, Mrs. Lake, to marry him in March, 1876. The couple went on a short honeymoon to Cincinnati, after which Hickok set back for the Black Hills.

He arrived in Deadwood in June, 1876, and in the succeeding months formed there a friendship with another famous character, Martha "Calamity Jane" Canary, allegedly a Lesbian. On August 2 Wild Bill Hickok was playing poker in a saloon, his back to the door instead of to the wall as he always preferred (because the wall seat had been grabbed first by another player who refused to give it up), when he was shot in the back at close range by a young ne'er-do-well named Jack McCall. At his trial by a kangaroo court, McCall claimed Wild Bill had killed his brother, so by western justice the "jury" saw fit to acquit him. Later, at Laramie, McCall boasted that this was all a lie he made up to escape justice, whereupon he was arrested again. His lawyer's defense of double jeopardy being barred by the illegality of the Deadwood proceedings, McCall was found guilty and hanged in March, 1877.

On her death in 1903, Calamity Jane was buried by her request beside Wild Bill Hickok in Deadwood. Their friendship may perhaps be seen as bearing some resemblance to that of Gilles de Raiz (q.v.) and Joan of Arc.

Reference: Legman, 43.

Historical reference: Allison Hardy, *Wild Bill Hickok*. Girard, Kansas, Haldeman-Julius, 1943.



CHARLES I (1823-1891)

King of Württemberg (1864-91).

He was the son of William I and the grandson of the homosexual Frederick I (q.v.) and belonged to a family with many interesting dynastic connections. His aunt Catherine was the

princess whom Jerome Bonaparte was forced by his brother Napoleon (q.v.) to marry after Jerome's marriage to his beloved Baltimore wife, Betsy Patterson, was annulled, and from this couple are descended the Bonaparte pretenders. From his grandfather's brother were descended the princes and dukes of Teck, and Mary, the wife of George V of England (and Mary's brother, who as Earl of Athlone was governor-general of Canada). Charles himself was married to Olga of Russia, the daughter of the fierce Tsar Nicholas I, brother and successor of Alexander I (q.v.).

Charles succeeded his father to the throne on the eve of the final struggle between Austria and Prussia for the domination of Germany. Following the pro-Austrian policy of his autocratic-minded father, Charles brought Württemberg in on the Austrian side when the short war of 1866 broke out. The Prussians, who had little trouble defeating the Austrians, had even less trouble with Württemberg. After its army was decisively beaten at Tauberbischofsheim, half the country was occupied by the Prussians before the peace settlement. The peace terms called for an indemnity of eight million gulden and a secret alliance with Prussia.

In accordance with the terms of the secret alliance, Württemberg served as a Prussian ally in the Franco-Prussian War, and Charles' troops played a creditable part in the Battle of Wörth (1870). In 1871 Württemberg became part of the new German Empire, and Charles' authority was limited to the post office, the railways, and the telegraph, and to a limited extent, to taxation and military service. About the only occurrence of note for the remaining years of his reign was the homosexual scandal known as the Jackson-Woodcock Affair.

Two American youths in their twenties, Jackson and Woodcock, who had somehow found their way to Württemberg, both caught the eye of King Charles, and he kept them both in almost constant attendance. The two youths cooperated smoothly together without any apparent mutual jealousy, with complete Yankee practicality for the exploitation of the sexagenarian king, who was apparently very free with his gifts. Various palace officials remonstrated with King Charles, perhaps urging him to model himself on his homosexual grandfather who, if he ennobled a groom, at least chose a good German youth. The remonstrances

having apparently been in vain, a special cabinet meeting was held to deliver an ultimatum to King Charles. Reluctantly, he agreed to the banishment of both young Mr. Jackson and young Mr. Woodcock.

Charles had no children by his Russian wife, and was succeeded by his cousin as William II.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 665; Mayne, 239.



LUDWIG II (1845-1886)

King of Bavaria (1864-86).

He was born at Nymphenburg, the son of Maximilian II. Ludwig's mother Maria was the granddaughter of Frederick William II of Prussia, nephew and heir of Frederick the Great (q.v.), and consequently nephew also of Prince Henry (q.v.), Frederick's brother. Together with his brother Otto, who though three years younger was as much alike in all ways that they might have been twins, Ludwig received a serious education, stressing the classical languages and French. At an early age Ludwig developed a taste for such aesthetic fields as music, the theater and literature. Though of good physique, he had little opportunity for or interest in sports or exercise.

When the handsome Ludwig succeeded to the throne at 18, the highest hopes were held for him because of his reputation for being talented, romantic and liberal. His reign was, however, at once beset by trouble. He sided against Prussia in her struggle with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein, and two years later he joined Austria in her ill-fated war against Prussia for domination of Germany. By the peace settlement, Ludwig had to surrender portions of Bavaria to Prussia. Somewhat offsetting this was the beneficial result of showing how necessary army reform was, and with Ludwig's backing, the reforms were put through.

After the German victories over the French in the Franco-Prussian War, in which Ludwig's reformed army did well as a Prussian ally, Ludwig obediently copied Bismarck's draft of a letter in which Ludwig suggested that the king of Prussia become emperor of Germany (1871). As a result of this cooperative attitude, Ludwig in the new German Empire was allowed to maintain such royal status symbols as his own diplomatic service and control of the Bavarian army.

Meanwhile, Ludwig had begun to show where his principal interests lay. His enthusiasm for the beautiful led first to his backing the cynical Richard Wagner, giving him extravagant productions of his operas at Munich, paying his large debts and keeping him with a large subsidy. Much worse for the state treasury, after Ludwig was forced by public opinion to give up the hated Wagner in 1866, or at least to terminate his official residence at court (Ludwig had meetings with him in Switzerland in 1866 and in Munich in 1868), he embarked on a gigantic program of building or altering rococo palaces that soon threatened the whole financial structure of the state.

These structures, notably Starnberg, Linderhof, Neuschwanstein, Herrenchiemsee and Hohenschwangau, reflected Ludwig's highly developed artistic sense and his tendency towards megalomania (he took Louis XIV for his model). They also indicated by their solitary locations in most cases his passion for solitude, where he would be free from the intrigues of those who constantly opposed and thwarted him. Aside from supervising the construction and alterations, Ludwig devoted himself to reading history, poetry, and philosophy. He cut himself off from his family and had his ministers communicate only in writing. The breaks in Ludwig's solitude were usually for a move from one palace to another, or to ride around the countryside, often at night, in a supposed disguise.

The solitude craved by Ludwig referred only to his family and his obnoxious officials. He was pleased to have the attendance of young artistic favorites who put on for him private theatrical or musical productions, such as the young actor Joseph Kainz and various poets and singers. There were also young men not necessarily artistic, soldiers and robust peasant woodsmen. In his last years Ludwig was noted for frequent acts of cruelty, though he remained generally kindly.

After Ludwig's prodigalities, eccentricities and abandonment of affairs of state had created a national scandal, it was felt that his insanity would have to be accepted as a sad fact, and efforts were made to obtain his abdication and confinement, a more difficult matter then in cultured Bavaria than at the beginning of the century in Russia in the case of Paul I (q.v.). On June 8, 1886, a commission of doctors declared Ludwig to be afflicted with

chronic and incurable madness and incapable of ruling. On June 10 his uncle, Prince Luitpold, assumed the regency.

Against Ludwig's violent resistance and attempts to bar his palace of Berg on the Starnberger Lake, a medical team, backed by muscle, came to put him in the charge of a mental specialist. On June 16, having fooled his chief medical persecutor into the belief that he had become reconciled to his fate, Ludwig took him on an amiable walk by the lake. Some hours later, the drowned bodies of both Ludwig and his doctor were found, the exact sequence of events leading to their deaths having remained subject to speculation.

As it turned out, Ludwig's best known extravagances did well for both his country and culture. Wagner came to win for himself a place as a titan of music, and Bavaria profited year after year from the tourists at the Wagner festivals at Bayreuth and in inspections of Ludwig's fantastic palaces, which have remained landmarks in architecture.

A number of Ludwig's characteristic letters survived, most notably those to Wagner, which would commence with such phrases as "My innermost Beloved." He was engaged in 1876 to a princess who adored him, but he broke off the betrothal himself the same year, at least sparing her from grief.

Although Uncle Luitpold continued as regent, Ludwig was nominally succeeded by his brother Otto, who was also insane and probably homosexual.

Reference: Ellis, 35; Hirschfeld, 667; Mayne 241-42; Moll, 58.



EDWARD FITZGERALD (1809-1883)

English poet and translator.

He was born Edward Purcell but at 9 became Edward Fitzgerald when his father legally took his wife's name. Much of his boyhood was spent with his parents in Paris. In 1821 Fitzgerald was sent to school at Bury St. Edmunds, after which he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1826. At Trinity he formed a friendship with Thackeray in 1828.

Comfortably provided for by his parents, Fitzgerald went to Paris in 1830 for a year's residence, then in 1831 settled in a farmhouse on the battlefield of Naseby, living a rustic life. In

succeeding years, he moved to other country residences, until he moved to his final home near Woodbridge.

Fitzgerald's chief interests were flowers, music and literature. Tennyson (q.v.) joined his literary circle in 1835. Fitzgerald made no efforts to imitate the hard work of his literary friends until the 1850s, possibly being inspired by Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. Fitzgerald's first work, in 1851, was a platonic dialogue entitled *Euphranor*, inspired by his happy Cambridge days and his adored friend W. K. Brown, who like Tennyson's Hallam, had died young. In 1852 Fitzgerald published *Polonius*, a collection of quotations and sayings, either his own or from the lesser classics.

Fitzgerald began to be interested in foreign languages. His studies in Spanish produced his free translation of six dramas of Calderon. He turned next to Oriental studies, applying himself diligently at Oxford to Persian. In 1856 he published, for some reason anonymously, the *Salaman and Absal* of Jami in Miltonic verse.

Early in 1859 Fitzgerald published a little anonymous pamphlet as *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Its sales were practically nil and it was remaindered for fourpence, then finally for a penny. In 1860, however, the *Rubaiyat* was "discovered" by Rossetti and Swinburne, and slowly it became famous, those penny copies now being worth a fortune. By 1868 Fitzgerald was encouraged to print a second and greatly revised edition, followed by yet another in 1872. Actually a paraphrase rather than a translation, Fitzgerald's work is thought to express poignantly the spirit of the original, and in any event, it became a favorite poem in the English language.

Fitzgerald's remaining published works included translations of Aeschylus (q.v.) and Sophocles (q.v.), and of two more plays of Calderon. He also wrote on the English poet Crabbe in 1882. Fitzgerald left incomplete a translation of the philosophical allegory of the Persian Attar under the working title of *The Bird Parliament*.

In the 1860s Fitzgerald developed a great interest in the sea, acquiring a yacht first and later, in 1867, becoming part owner of a herring-lugger, *Meum and Teum*. His partner was a tall young fisherman named Joseph Fletcher, whom he called "Posh," and who reminded him of his beloved Browne. Fitzgerald was

equally appreciative of Poshy's blue eyes and auburn hair and his "simplicity of soul, justice of thought, tenderness of nature." He referred to the fisherman as the greatest man he ever met, and wrote him many letters, addressed "My Dear Poshy." Some of the few not destroyed by Poshy were included in Fitzgerald's *Letters and Literary Remains* (1889).

He lived on into his seventies and died quietly in his sleep. He had married, very unhappily, a woman named Lucy Barton, the daughter of a Quaker poet, but he had little to do with her.

Reference: Ellis, 50-51; Hirschfeld, 662.



FREDERICK, LORD LEIGHTON (1830-1896)

English painter and sculptor.

He was born at Scarborough, the son and grandson of physicians. Much of Leighton's boyhood was spent in travels with his family. In 1840 he received drawing instruction at Rome and, showing great aptness, he later attended the respective Academies of Art of Dresden and Berlin. From 1843 to 1848 Leighton attended school in Frankfurt, the stay broken by some months with his family in Florence, where he studied under various notables of the art world.

In 1848 Leighton settled for a while in Brussels as a struggling young artist and painted such early works as *Cimabue Finding Giotto* and *Self-portrait*. In 1849 he went to Paris and at the Louvre copied paintings of Titian and Correggio (q.v.). He then returned to Frankfurt for more technical training. His visit to England in 1851 to see the Great Exhibition was his first visit since infancy. He spent 1852 to 1854 in Rome, meeting many of its leading figures.

In 1855 Leighton showed at the Royal Academy exhibition his *Cimabue's Madonna Carried in Procession Through the Streets of Florence*. Though strikingly at variance with the precepts of the then dominant pre-Raphaelites, the painting was a great favorite, and was bought by Queen Victoria.

Leighton returned to Italy and in Florence painted *Tybalt and Romeo*, *The Death of Brunelleschi*, *The Reconciliation of the Montagues and Capulets*, *The Triumph of Music: Orpheus Redeems his Wife from Hades*, *The Fisherman and the Siren* and *Samson and Delilah*. Leighton also spent much time at Capri, of

which he was very fond. He visited England briefly in 1858 and made the acquaintance of such leading pre-Raphaelites as Rossetti, Hunt and Millais.

In 1860 Leighton returned to England permanently. His later paintings included *Paolo e Francesca*, *The Star of Bethlehem*, *Michael Angelo Musing over a Dying Servant*, *A Girl Feeding Peacocks* and *The Odalisque*, which by 1863 made him one of England's leading painters. In 1864 he exhibited *Dante in Exile*, *Orpheus and Eurydice* and *The Golden Hours*, and was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy.

Widely appreciated classical works continued to come from Leighton's easel, including *Syracusan Bride Leading Wild Beasts in Procession to the Temple of Diana* (1866), *Venus Disrobing for the Bath* (1867), *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon* (1869), *Helios and Rhodes* (1869), *Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis* (1871), *Clytemnestra* (1874), *The Daphnephoria* (1876), *Nausicaa* (1878), *An Idyll* (1881), *Phryne* (1882), *Cymon and Iphigenia* (1884), *Captive Andromache* (1888), *Last Watch of Hero* (1887), *The Bath of Psyche* (1890), *The Garden of the Hesperides* (1892), *Perseus and Andromeda* (1891) and *Return of Persephone* (1891).

Leighton's Biblical paintings included *David Musing on the Housatop* (1865), *St. Jerome* (1869), *Elijah in the Wilderness* (1879), *Elisha Raising the Son of the Shunammite* (1881), *And The Sea Gave up the Dead Which Were In It* (1892), and *Rizpah* (1893). For Dalziel's Bible he did *Cain and Abel* and *Samson with the Gates of Gaza*.

Aside from the Biblical field, Leighton did illustrations for George Eliot's *Romola* and many pure studies, such as *Teresina*, *Biondina*, *Bianca*, *Moretta*, *The Summer Moon* and *The Music Lesson*. His many portraits include a famed one of Sir Richard Burton, one of our authorities, now in the National Portrait Gallery.

Leighton's efforts at sculpture include *Athlete Struggling with a Python*, *The Sluggard* and *Needless Alarms*. He designed the reverse of the Golden Jubilee Medal of 1887 and did the frescoes for the Victoria and Albert Museum called "The Industrial Arts of War and Peace."

Genial and kindly, fluent in French, German and Italian, a

florid orator and a devotee of music, Leighton was a conspicuous social lion in the best houses of London. As president of the Royal Academy, he made several wise and liberal reforms, and he was ever ready to offer encouragement and assistance. Despite his busy career, he found time to continue his travels, visiting Spain in 1866, Egypt in 1868 and Syria in 1873. He was afflicted with angina pectoris, from which he died a few days after receiving his peerage. He had been knighted in 1878 and made a baronet in 1886.

Leighton's work is characterized by erudition and polish. Perfect draftsmanship, rich elegance of execution and a sense of joy and movement of life are all found in his paintings. His career is strikingly similar to that of Sullivan (q.v.) in the musical world, in that both combined a genius that won the admiration of their colleagues and the public alike with a personal affability that charmed everyone. As with Sullivan, Leighton's homosexuality was said to have been widely known but practiced with suitable Victorian discretion.

Reference. Hirschfeld, 666.



CHARLES GEORGE GORDON (1833-1885)

English general and statesman.

"Chinese" Gordon, as he was to be popularly known, was born at Woolwich, the son of a British general. After receiving his elementary education at Taunton School, Gordon entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1848. After graduating, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1852. Following further instruction at the engineers' course at Chatham, he was promoted to full lieutenant in 1854.

The Crimean War having broken out, Gordon was ordered to active duty and arrived in Balaklava early in 1855. He participated in the siege of Sebastopol, and after the Russian withdrawal, Gordon superintended the demolition of the Russian dockyard. After the peace settlement, Gordon was assigned to the international commission fixing the Russo-Turkish boundary in Bessarabia, and later their boundary in Armenia. Upon his return to England, Gordon was appointed adjutant and field-works instructor at Chatham, being promoted to captain in 1859.

War having broken out again, this time with China, Gordon

was again ordered overseas. He reached Tientsin in September, 1860, in time to participate in the occupation of Peking and the destruction of the Summer Palace. He remained with the British occupation forces in northern China until their withdrawal to Shanghai in 1862 to protect the European settlement from the Taiping rebels, a politico-religious movement under a "Heavenly King" (with many points of similarity to the Sudanese Mahdist movement that was to prove fatal to Gordon).

As the Taiping rebels spread north from their capital of Nanking, flushed with successes over several imperial armies sent against them, a mixed force had been established by the Europeans west of Shanghai, headed by an American, Frederick Ward, who had been fighting Taiping probing forces for two years without success. When Ward was killed, his successor proved objectionable to the Chinese provincial governor, Li Hung Chang, who asked the commanding British general to appoint a new officer to command the mixed force, or "The Ever-Victorious Army," as it was being called on the basis of some victories late in 1862.

In March, 1863, Major Gordon received his new command. Reorganizing and training his forces with great vigor, Gordon marched off to relieve Chansu, then went on to capture Quinsan and town after town. By November Gordon had captured the great Taiping base of Suchow in cooperation with imperial Chinese troops, whose officers he treated with great tact. When in May Gordon succeeded in capturing Chanchufu, the principal Taiping base, their position became hopeless and their Heavenly King committed suicide. Allowing Nanking to be captured by the imperial forces, thus ending the struggle, Gordon disbanded his forces. He had contemptuously cast aside all suggestions that he use his devoted Ever-Victorious Army to make himself emperor of China.

Shortly before leaving China Gordon, having refused a large cash payment, consented to accept from the emperor appointment as a Chinese field marshal as well as the Yellow Jacket, their highest order. The British made Gordon a lieutenant colonel in the army and a Companion of the Bath, and fixed on him forever the nickname "Chinese" Gordon.

For the next six years Gordon was stationed in England, superintending the construction of fortifications to defend the

Thames. In his off duty hours, Gordon established a very intimate friendship with the handsome young Lord Arthur Hamilton, and became engaged in mysterious philanthropic works with boys and young men of all classes.

In 1871 Gordon was appointed British representative on the international commission responsible for maintaining navigation of the mouth of the Danube. After some months at the commission's headquarters in Moldavia, Gordon was sent to inspect British military graves in the Crimea. While passing through Constantinople on his way back, he met Egypt's prime minister, Nubar Pasha, who sounded him out about service with Khedive Ismail. Gordon's response was sufficiently favorable that he received a definite offer in 1873, and with the consent of the British government, Colonel Gordon arrived in Egypt early in 1874 to start a new career.

Gordon was given the governorship of the equatorial province of the recently conquered Sudan, as well as command of an Egyptian force responsible for establishing Egyptian authority there. Applying himself diligently to mastery of the basic problems, political and geographical, he achieved his basic objectives in a few months, and after two years had established a line of stations from Khartoum to the Uganda frontier, mapping the region and improving the lot of the people. His efforts at abolishing the slave trade, however, were thwarted by his immediate superior, the Egyptian governor-general.

While on leave in England in 1876, Gordon tried to resign, but Khedive Ismail claimed that as a man of honor Gordon was obliged to return, as he had not resigned when he left on leave. Gordon consented to return to Cairo to discuss the matter further, and he finally took a stand refusing to return to the Sudan without full authority. To this Ismail finally consented, appointing Gordon governor-general of the Sudan. Upon taking up his new duties in 1877, Gordon's first job was to make peace with King John of Abyssinia, who in the course of a frontier dispute had twice defeated Egyptian forces. Despite many tactful moves, Gordon failed to accomplish much with King John, the matter being put off for an indefinite period. Hardly any more successful were his first moves toward abolition of the slave trade. Cairo refused to approve his proposal for the registration of all slaves.

In 1878 Gordon was summoned to Cairo by the bankrupt Ismail in a desperate effort to save himself from his European creditors. Gordon was appointed president of a commission of inquiry into Egyptian finances, but he refused to let himself be used to offset the European financiers, who finally forced Ismail's abdication in favor of his son Tewfik (q.v.). Gordon returned to the Sudan, where the slave traders were now in open revolt, and managed to defeat and crush them. Again he was sent on an embassy to King John of Abyssinia, who demanded Egyptian concessions, which Gordon had no authority to make. He returned to Cairo in disgrace and resigned his post, exhausted by three years of frustration and 9,000 miles of travel by camel and mule.

After returning to Europe, Gordon visited Brussels in March, 1880, and was sounded out by King Leopold about becoming administrator of Leopold's private African estate, the Congo Free State. He was also offered the military command of South Africa's Cape Colony, but declined. In May the new governor-general of India, the Marquess of Ripon, asked Gordon to accompany him to India as private secretary. Gordon accepted, then a few days later asked to be released. Lord Ripon, like Ismail, held Gordon to his word. So he went out to India, but shortly after arriving he resigned and immediately after accepted an invitation from the English Inspector-General of Chinese Customs. Arriving in Tientsin in July, Gordon learned from his old friend Li Hung Chang, now one of China's leading statesmen, that war with Russia was about to break out. Knowing how disastrous this would be for China, Gordon went to Peking and, using all his influence, managed to talk the emperor out of going to war.

Gordon returned to England briefly; then in March, 1881, he was assigned to command engineer forces on the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. Upon being promoted to major-general in 1882, he had to vacate the post, but before he could return home, he received an urgent telegram requesting his services for a crisis in Basutoland in South Africa. Despite the alleged urgency, Gordon was sidetracked for a few months reorganizing colonial forces to face the threatened Zulu attack. Finally he was sent to negotiate with the leading chief, but when he heard that a rival chief was being urged at the same time to attack the leading chief, Gordon decided he had been involved in something treacherous

and dishonorable, and he resigned his post, returning to England.

There being no immediate assignment in England for Gordon, he went to Palestine for a year, studying Biblical antiquities, being a great devotee of the Bible. When in 1883 he at last received a definite offer from King Leopold to take over the Congo Free State, Gordon returned to England to make his preparations. A few days after his arrival, he was ordered by the British government to return to the Sudan, because of the urgent crisis that had developed there.

In 1882 a nationalist revolt in Egypt had been the culmination of increasing resentment against foreign domination, and in the riots fifty Europeans were killed. The British responded by bombarding Alexandria and landing an expeditionary force, allegedly to protect the Suez Canal. The British defeated the nationalist army and went on to occupy Cairo and crush the nationalist revolt. To the outrage of the French, who had previously held equal status in Egypt, the country became a British protectorate, with real power after 1883 in the hands of the British resident and consul-general, Sir Evelyn Baring. Meanwhile, all Gordon's work in the Sudan had become undone under his incompetent successors, who were ordered to cut expenses and secure greater revenues. The discontented Sudanese rallied around a religious crackpot with great organizational ability who declared himself the Mahdi, or successor of Mohammed. After inflicting a number of defeats on Egyptian forces sent out against him, the Mahdi in November, 1883, wiped out an army under the British General Hicks. By the beginning of 1884 the British decided that it was hopeless for the Egyptians to try to hold the Sudan and obliged the reluctant Egyptian government to order its evacuation and abandonment. However, even the job of withdrawing the Egyptians and Europeans with their families in the face of the victorious Mahdi's forces proved a task no one would undertake until it was assigned to Gordon.

He arrived in Khartoum in February, 1884, and acted with despatch to evacuate 2,500 women, children, sick and wounded. However, he apparently began to get carried away by the vain hope that his own actions could reverse the tide, and instead of continuing the evacuation with full speed of the able-bodied also, he began political negotiation with various groups. By March the

Mahdi had begun to besiege Khartoum, with almost all of the Sudan having come over to him. Gordon asked for reinforcements but Baring, who rather disliked and distrusted him, refused to send any lest the whole evacuation scheme be undermined.

Only in August did the British government yield to the pressure of public opinion, stirred up by the newspapers on behalf of gallant Chinese Gordon, but it was not until November that the relief forces began to move actively toward Khartoum. The spear-head of the relief forces reached Khartoum on January 28, 1885, two days after its capture by the Mahdi, who had massacred the entire garrison, including Gordon. To his credit, Gordon had held out ten months in command of a people of different race and religion in the defense of a place poorly provisioned and poorly fortified. It was not to be until 1898 that Gordon was finally avenged by the great British victory at Omduran over the Mahdists, won by General Kitchener (q.v.), one of whose officers was young Lieutenant Winston Churchill.

Gordon's chief characteristics were his unique power to command men of non-European race, his utter lack of fear of death, perhaps even the courting of it, and his impulsive and intuitive belief in what seemed right to him, notwithstanding any opinions to the contrary from even the highest authorities. His temperament reflected swings from feminine gentleness to blazing outbursts of temper.

Gordon had brooded in his early days over the significance of his lack of interest in women. Late in life he wrote that at 14 he wished he were a eunuch, and at the time of the Crimean War he was hoping to meet his end in its course. Gordon's eyes, such a characteristic feature in most homosexuals, were noted as "bright with unnatural brightness . . . settled feverishness," and there was also that perennial boyish manner. That mature and affectionate female confidante that Michelangelo (q.v.) found in Victoria Colonna Gordon found in a devoted, religious matron named Mrs. Freese, to whom he wrote many letters (as to his sister), and with whose family he often visited in England.

While stationed in England in the 1860s, Gordon was given to picking up street urchins at Gravesend and taking several of them home to feed, clothe and teach some rudiments of learning and religion. He especially enjoyed mending their clothes for these

boys, whom he variously called his *wangs* (Chinese for kings), kings, scuttlers and doves. Eventually he found jobs for many, kept in touch with them, and sent them clothes and presents. He also taught at night at a school established for such children, and was also given to visiting sickbeds and passing out religious tracts.

Many of the characteristics of Gordon were to be found again a half century later in Lawrence of Arabia (q.v.).

Reference: Elton, 18, 27-28, 82-85, 119-20; Hirschfeld, 663; Mayne, 194.



PAUL VERLAINE (1844-1896)

French poet and writer.

He was born at Metz, the son of a captain in the army engineers. After being educated in Paris, Verlaine became a clerk in an insurance company, writing poetry in his spare time. In 1886 he joined the literary group known as the Parnassians (from their journal, *Parnasse contemporain*). In reaction to the looser form of the Romantic school, the Parnassians strove for exact and faultless workmanship, selecting exotic subjects which they treated with rigidity of form and emotional detachment. Under this influence, Verlaine issued his first volume of poetry, *Poèmes saturniens* (1866).

Shortly after, Verlaine reacted against this influence and became one of the leaders of the new Symbolist school, whose adherents employed free verse, indirection, and ultimately, morbid imagery. Verlaine's second volume of poems, *Fêtes galantes* (1869), began to show the new direction, which became even more pronounced in *La Bonne Chanson* (1870). By this time Verlaine was established as a leading figure in Paris' Bohemian literary world.

The years 1870-71, so fatal to France in producing the catastrophic Franco-Prussian War, the fall of the Second Empire, the Prussian occupation, and the proto-Communist revolution in Paris known as the Commune, were also fatal to Verlaine personally. In 1870 he married a Mlle. Mautet, and soon he discovered he had made a great mistake. All doubt was removed in 1871 when young Rimbaud (q.v.) came into his life. That same year Verlaine was in trouble with the authorities for sheltering friends during the Commune.

Abandoning his job, his home and his wife, under the influence of both Rimbaud and alcohol, Verlaine went travelling with young Rimbaud throughout France, England and Belgium. During the wandering he wrote what was considered to be some of his best poetry, subsequently published as *Romances sans paroles* (1874). With these verses he was established as a leading Symbolist poet.

The two lovers lived together in Brussels in 1872-73 but increasingly bitter quarrels over Verlaine's drinking and Rimbaud's infidelities culminated in the ill-aimed shooting of Rimbaud by Verlaine in 1873. Although Rimbaud soon recovered, their relations were finally severed, and for Verlaine it brought two years in prison at Mons. While in prison, Verlaine decided to "reform" and sought to become a devout Catholic. His new sentiments produced some of his most beautiful poetry, subsequently published as *Sagesse* (1881), which is also considered among the finest French religious poetry.

After his release from prison in 1875, Verlaine returned to France. He found that his wife had meanwhile divorced him and that he had become a social outcast. He went to England again and stayed for two years as a French teacher. Homesick for Paris, even a Paris where he could now never hope to live too well, Verlaine returned to France in 1877 and lived with his mother fairly respectably until her death. He taught at various schools.

After his mother's death, Verlaine drifted into shiftless poverty, becoming a famous "literary bum" of the Latin Quarter, generally in good humor despite his poverty, and very much aware of being always sought after by tourists for a good stare and an excited whisper.

In 1894 some English well-wishers, hoping for Verlaine's rehabilitation, secured for him appointments to lecture at both Oxford and Cambridge. He apparently carried this off fairly well. Before his rehabilitation could get very far, his health broke down completely, and he died after repeated hospital confinements.

During his later years of degradation and poverty, Verlaine continued to write his highly personal and intensely honest poetry, still as a leader of the Symbolist school, which was now very much identified with the Decadent school. The best known volumes of this period include *Jadis et Naguère* (1884) and *Parallèlement* (1889). The latter work contains some poems with homosexual

implications. In Verlaine's later verses, the elements of morbidity, melancholy and disillusion became especially pronounced. Verlaine also wrote a well-known prose work, *Les Poètes maudites* (1884), containing sketches of such fellow-Symbolists as Mallarmé and Rimbaud. In 1886, believing Rimbaud dead, Verlaine created a literary sensation by the publication of Rimbaud's poetry.

Reference: Ellis, 57; Hirschfeld, 671; Ullman.



JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS (1840-1895)

English writer, poet and translator.

He was born at Clifton, a suburb of Bristol, the only son of a doctor who also wrote proto-psychological books. A rather delicate boy, Symonds took no part in games at Harrow, which he entered in 1845, nor was he too outstanding as a scholar. In 1858 he entered Balliol College, Oxford, where for the first time his great intellectual faculties began to get properly developed. He won a number of prizes, honors, and distinctions, and in 1862 he was elected to a fellowship at Magdalen College. However, all the work involved (and possibly other causes) led to a nervous breakdown. His family sent him to Switzerland to recover his health.

Two years in Switzerland worked wonders for Symonds' lungs, and after his recovery he married a girl he met there, Janet Catherine North. In 1864, after his return to England, Symonds first attempted to settle in London and study law, but once again the stress caused a deterioration of his health, and again he went travelling to recover, this time to Italy and Greece. While in Italy Symonds completed his mastery of Italian, to add to that of Latin and Greek. On his second return to England, he settled at Clifton and taught at the nearby Clifton College, and subsequently at two girls' schools.

Symonds could now devote himself further to studies of, and books about, subjects that had greatly interested him. *Introduction to the Study of Dante* (1872) was followed by *Studies of the Greek Poets* (1873-76) and the scholarly travel book, *Sketches in Italy and Greece* (1874). Next he began work on his mammoth masterwork, for which he is best known, *The Renaissance in Italy*, which was published in seven volumes between 1875 and 1886. In the midst of this great work, Symonds' health broke down

again. This time he settled on a semi-permanent basis at the Swiss tuberculosis spa, Davos, in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland, where his house became a second home for his remaining years.

Besides working towards completion of the mammoth *Renaissance*, designed as a complete picture of the reawakening of art and literature in Europe, Symonds also embarked on individual biographies and, as a by-product, on translations. His biographies included those of Shelley (1878), Sidney (1886, q.v.), Ben Jonson (1886), Michelangelo (1893, q.v.) and Whitman (1893, q.v.). His translations included *The Sonnets of Michelangelo* (1878), *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini* (1887, q.v.), and an anthology of drinking songs from various lands, *Wine, Women and Song* (1884).

Meanwhile Symonds had also been writing his own poetry, which was collected in several volumes, notably *Many Moods* (1878), *New and Old* (1880), *Animi Figura* (1882) and *Vagabundi Libellus* (1884). A miscellany of favorite prose and poetry appeared in *In the Key of Blue* (1893).

A homosexual who had strenuously sought to sublimate his sexuality in both marriage and arduous work, Symonds nonetheless displayed many manifestations of it in his work. His poetry included a number of morbidly introspective verses touching on the subject with a haunting melancholy. His most distinguished translation, that of Michelangelo's sonnets, made clear, perhaps for the first time, the clearly homosexual nature of so many of the sonnets. In his travel books the reader finds sudden digressions into the homosexual relations of Hadrian (q.v.) and Antinous (q.v.), or on the homosexual poetic drama of Politian (q.v.). Most of the subjects of his biographies were notables with considerable homosexual element in their lives, including the contemporary and cantankerous Walt Whitman. This led Symonds to a correspondence which stretched over eighteen years as Whitman kept evading the requests for some acknowledgment of the deliberate homosexual purport of the *Calamus* poems in *Leaves of Grass*. The final result was the aging Whitman's famous letter of August 19, 1890, which included both the shamelessly hypocritical denial and the affirmation of lusty heterosexuality with six bastards.

In the meantime, Symonds himself had more boldly and directly advanced towards the heart of the matter. Inspired by the pioneer pamphlets of the German judge, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, whom he met in Italy, Symonds had had privately printed in 1883 twelve copies of a work entitled *A Problem in Greek Ethics, Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion* (reprinted in 1901, allegedly only 100 copies, but apparently some thousand). This work apparently contained the first usage of the term *inversion* which Symonds personally favored.

This work in turn led to a more really direct work, with no more nonsense about being merely a by-product of his classical studies. The companion work was *A Problem in Modern Ethics, Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion* (1891; reprinted 1896, again allegedly only 100 copies, but apparently some thousand). This was one of the pioneer general works in English, rivalled only by Sir Richard Burton's *Sotadic Zone* in his *Arabian Nights* (1888).

Finally, Symonds contacted Havelock Ellis, known to be working on an encyclopedic sexology opus, and suggested collaboration on a volume covering sexual inversion. The suggestion was at once accepted, with many contributions sent to Ellis by Symonds (probably including many of the names herein cited by Ellis). In the book's first edition, published in German in Germany (1896), the name of Symonds appeared as co-author. However, the alarmed family of Symonds (who had died in 1893) bought up most of the copies for destruction, while insisting on the elimination of his name on the English editions, which for many years came only from the United States after the book's prosecution in the British courts. In its many reprints, *Sexual Inversion* has borne only the name of Ellis as its author.

As must be quite obvious from the foregoing, Symonds remained intensely active even in his final years, despite ill health. Although perpetually tormented by the riddles of existence, and morbidly introspective about his own problems, he was also noted as being a gay and exuberant conversationalist, full of good fellowship, and on intimate terms with many great figures of his day. Aside from his residence in Switzerland, which inspired another travel book, *Our Life in the Swiss Highlands* (1891), Symonds spent much time in his beloved Italy, and he frequently visited

Venice with his friend Horatio F. Brown, who was to be his literary executor and biographer. He died in Rome of influenza, on the day his monograph on Whitman was published, and was buried near Shelley.

As for Walt Whitman, he had these comments to make about the persistent Symonds (to a biographer):

A wonderful man is Addington Symonds; some ways the most indicative and penetrating and significant man of our time. Symonds is a curious fellow; I love him dearly. He is of college breed and education, horribly literary and suspicious, and enjoys things. A great person for delving into persons and into the concrete, and even into the physiological and the gastric, and wonderfully cute.

It should perhaps be noted that Whitman's use of "cute" presumably goes back to its original etymology as an abbreviation of acute.

Reference: Bloch (S.L.E.), 420; Carpenter (I.S.), 103-04; Ellis (Forward, 1936), xi; Hirschfeld, 671.



SIR ARTHUR SEYMOUR SULLIVAN (1842-1900)

English composer.

He was born in London, the younger of two sons of an Irish musician who in 1845 became bandmaster at the Royal Military Academy (Sandhurst) and from 1857 until his death taught music there. Brought up to music since boyhood, young Sullivan learned to play every instrument in his father's band by the age of 8. After receiving his elementary education locally, Sullivan obtained at 12 a scholarship to the school for choirboys of the Royal Chapel. He was said to have had a fine treble voice.

In 1856 Sullivan won the Mendelssohn Scholarship for the Royal Academy of Music, where he did so well that in 1858 he was given an extension of the scholarship that enabled him to study at the Leipzig Conservatory. At Leipzig Sullivan studied all phases of music, including composition and conducting, and became acquainted with various masters who were ignored in England, such as Wagner, Schumann and Schubert. Grieg was a fellow student of Sullivan's at Leipzig. As a sort of thesis, Sullivan wrote incidental music for *The Tempest* of Shakespeare (q.v.).

Returning to London in 1861, Sullivan became the organist at St. Michael's and did some private teaching. In 1862, through his friendship with the secretary and conductor at the Crystal Palace, he was able to have his *Tempest* music performed there and was widely commended for it. With an attractive personality accompanying his recognized musical gift, Sullivan gained many influential friends, and in the next few years he produced his *Kenilworth Cantata*, his *Sapphire Necklace Overture*, five songs from Shakespeare, and his *L'Ile Enchantée* Ballet, which was performed at Covent Garden. Also performed at Covent Garden was his *Irish Symphony in E*. With these successes to his credit, Sullivan was appointed professor of composition at the Royal Academy of Music.

Upon his father's death, Sullivan wrote his *In Memoriam Overture* (1866). This was followed by his *Marmion Overture*, his *Di Ballo Overture*, and the setting to music of a cycle of poems by Tennyson (q.v.).

The turning-point in Sullivan's career occurred in 1867 when he was persuaded to compose music for the comic opera *Cox and Box*, for which his lyricist was one Burnand. After collaborating with Burnand again for *Contrabandista*, another merely moderate success, Sullivan met in 1871 the cynically and bitterly amusing William S. Gilbert, an unsuccessful poet and playwright. They decided to try pooling their talents, and in 1872 they achieved a minor success with the poorly-produced *Thespis; or the Gods Grown Old*. In 1875 Richard D'Oyly Carte, acting manager at the Royalty Theatre, persuaded the pair to create something for his theater. Gilbert suggested an operetta with its scene in a law court, and a few months later *Trial by Jury* became a smashing success beyond all expectations. To a considerable extent abandoning his serious music, Sullivan devoted himself now to twenty years of collaboration with Gilbert on those satirical operettas that provided incisive comment on the Victorian age and so much pleasure for so many.

D'Oyly Carte formed his own Comedy Opera Company and hired a theater which he called Opéra Comique Theatre. Here were produced *The Sorcerer* (1877) and *H.M.S. Pinafore* (1878), which after a two-year run was taken to the United States. In 1879 Gilbert and Sullivan formed their own company to produce

it in New York, where in 1879 they also brought out *Pirates of Penzance*, which then ran in London for more than a year, followed by *Patience*.

In 1881 D'Oyly Carte had the Savoy Theatre built especially for Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, which henceforth became known as Savoy operas, with the name Savoyards applied alike to the Savoy's actors and devotees. *Iolanthe* (1882) was followed by *Princess Ida* (1884), their greatest success *The Mikado* (1885), *Ruddigore* (1887), *The Yeomen of the Guard* (1888) and *The Gondoliers* (1889). Sullivan was knighted in 1883.

Increasing unpleasantness between Gilbert and Sullivan led to the dissolution of their partnership, and with a new librettist named Grundy, Sullivan produced the unsuccessful *Haddon Hall* (1892). After being persuaded to resume collaboration with Gilbert, Sullivan composed for the unsuccessful *Utopia, Limited* (1893) and *The Grand Duke* (1896). With another librettist he had also produced in 1894 *The Chieftain* (largely an adaptation of *Contrabandista*), and in 1896, with the eminent playwright Pinero for his librettist, *The Beauty Stone*. His last operetta was *The Rose of Persia* (1900), with Basil Hood as his librettist. Gilbert had died of heart failure in 1896 while attempting to rescue a girl from drowning.

Even while Sullivan, to the dismay of music critics, was allegedly prostituting his great talents to achieve popularity (and money), he did not entirely abandon serious music. Inspired by the success of his incidental music for *The Tempest*, he did the same for *Henry VIII* (1877). He also wrote two great oratorios, *The Light of the World* (1873) and *The Golden Legend* (1886) and, if it can be called serious music, the famous hymn *Onward Christian Soldiers* (1871). He also wrote a "serious" opera, *Ivanhoe* (1891). Sullivan's many songs included the immensely popular *The Lost Chord* (1877), in memory of his talented brother Frederic, a comedy singer.

In 1876 Sullivan began six years as principal of what became the Royal College of Music. As a famed conductor, he conducted the London Philharmonic between 1885 and 1887, and he made annual appearances year after year at the Leeds Festival (1880-98). He made himself available unstintingly for all projects aimed at raising the standards in England for the composition,

performance, and appreciation of music, and was never too busy for anybody or anything of merit.

Like Gilbert, Sullivan died of heart failure. He was mourned by all classes of society as a remarkable combination of genius and unaffected affability, whose prolific and diverse output inspired both the professional and lay devotees of music. At his burial in St. Paul's there was a great demonstration of public sorrow.

Sullivan's homosexuality was apparently widely known and thoroughly tolerated, being exercised with great discretion in contrast to that of the ill-fated Wilde (q.v.), whom he despised and whom he satirized, through Gilbert's pen, in *Patience*. There is some possibility that the increasingly bad relations with Gilbert, which led to their break, were in part prompted by the sexually intolerant Gilbert at last finding out that the rumors about his partner were true, or that Sullivan was involved with a youth to whom Gilbert took particular exception. There were of course many other known sources of disagreement between them, usually reconciled.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 671.



MODESTE PETROVICH MOUSSORGSKY (1839-1881)

Russian composer.

He was born at the village of Karevo (later renamed after him) near Pskov, of landowning Russian gentry. Moussorgsky's aristocratic lineage was complicated, however, by his paternal grandfather having married the daughter of a serf on his estate, to which Moussorgsky later ascribed his sympathy for the peasants and his sensitivity to their folk music. His mother was very musical, and gave him his first piano lessons.

In 1852 Moussorgsky was taken by his father to St. Petersburg and enrolled in the School for Cadets, which led to his entering the Preobrazhensky Regiment four years later at 17. Although he had had only superficial piano instruction up to this time, a nervous breakdown following excessive dissipation with his high-living fellow officers led Moussorgsky to abandon in 1858 his military career in favor of a musical career. He was now 19.

Moussorgsky studied musical composition with such leading figures of the progressive-nationalist school of Russian music as

young (22) Balakirev and Dargomiisky, both of whom he had met while still with his regiment. Moussorgsky began work feverishly on a variety of different musical compositions, and he set a life-long pattern of failing to complete one thing before switching to something new, with the exception of his many songs.

As a result of the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, Moussorgsky's family was impoverished. As his resources diminished, Moussorgsky took to sharing rooms with his brother Filaret, then with five other companions, and finally obtained a position as a government clerk. After the death of his beloved mother in 1865, Moussorgsky took to drink and eventually became a notorious alcoholic, which further undermined his health and led to the loss of his position in 1867. Some months later, however, an influential patron of music got him a new government position as assistant head clerk of the forestry department of the Imperial Domains Ministry.

In 1869, Moussorgsky completed his greatest work, the opera *Boris Godunov*, based on Pushkin's play. Although it was rejected by the imperial theaters committee both in its original version and in a revised version completed in 1872, it was finally performed in St. Petersburg in 1874, after more revisions. Although reviled by almost all the critics, the opera was such a great popular success that Moussorgsky was said to have taken thirty curtain calls. The opera was to be subsequently revised further by Moussorgsky's executor, Rimsky-Korsakov, who had been his roommate for two years (1871-73) until Rimsky-Korsakov at 29 decided to get married.

Despite the success of the opera, Moussorgsky continued to depend largely on his small government salary as he continued in the succeeding years to work in his spare time on operas, orchestral works, piano works and songs. Increasing trouble at his job because of his alcoholism led to his transfer to a lesser position. In 1879 he secured a leave of absence to accompany an aging singer, Darya Leonova, on a concert tour as her accompanist and soloist. After their return to St. Petersburg in 1880, Moussorgsky resigned from government service, supposedly to be a teacher at Darya's new school. But nothing much came of this, and Moussorgsky had to be supported by a fund to which friends and admirers contributed in the hopes that he'd finish the two operas

he'd long been at, the historical *Khovanshchina* and the comic *Sorochintsy Fair* (based on a Gogol short story set in the Ukrainian countryside). The hope was not to be realized. His health totally undermined by his alcoholism, Moussorgsky died in a military hospital in 1881.

Moussorgsky's unfinished opera *Khovanshchina* was completed after his death by Rimsky-Korsakov and produced in 1885. He also left about a score of more or less complete piano works, notably *Pictures from an Exhibition* (1874), and about a half dozen orchestral works, notably *St. John's Night on the Bare Mountain* (1874). In addition, there were several choral works and about fifty songs, many based on folk music, in line with the national tendency in music.

The objects of Moussorgsky's homosexual attachments, few if any of whom were probably homosexual, are thought to have included his young teacher Balakirev, the painter V. A. Hartmann (whose death in 1873 greatly affected Moussorgsky), and possibly his roommates Rimsky-Korsakov (1871-73) and the young poet, Count Golenishchev (1873-74). In 1875, evicted from his lodgings for nonpayment of rent, Moussorgsky went to live at the home of his friend Paul Naumov, who was separated from his wife and lived with his sister and his son Sergei, to whom Moussorgsky was also greatly attached.

Reference: Calvocoressi; Mayne. 396.



PIOTR ILICH TCHAIKOVSKY (1840-1893)

Russian composer.

He was born at Votkinsk near the Urals, the son of a mining engineer, probably of Polish descent. Shortly after his birth, his father was appointed director of the Technological Institute at St. Petersburg, where young Tchaikovsky was educated. At 10 he was set upon a career in jurisprudence, but during his studies, and later as a clerk in the ministry of justice, he became interested in music and became an amateur performer, popular at the many social gatherings he attended. He drank quite heavily.

Having developed a serious interest in music, Tchaikovsky gave up his bureaucratic post at 22 and entered the newly founded St. Petersburg Conservatory, studying under its founder, Anton Rubinstein, Russia's outstanding piano virtuoso and composer.

Tchaikovsky graduated in 1866, receiving a silver medal for his "thesis," a cantata on Schiller's *Ode to Joy*. He was appointed to the faculty of the Moscow Conservatory, founded by Anton's brother, Nicholas Rubinstein, and there he taught theory and composition and wrote a textbook on harmony. For six years Tchaikovsky resided in Nicholas Rubinstein's bachelor apartment.

Tchaikovsky's first public works, substantial failures, were an opera *Vojevoda*, which closed in 1869 after ten performances, and a symphonic poem *Winter Day Dreams*. In 1867 he also made an unsuccessful debut as a conductor. Slightly more success came in 1870 with his *Romeo and Juliet Overture*, which in its first version was produced by the Russian Musical Society. But that same year he failed with his opera *Undine*. His first two symphonies, written shortly afterward, also failed to bring him any acclaim. During this period Tchaikovsky perhaps found some consolation for his own lack of success in being able to criticize the works of others when he wrote frequently as a music critic for various journals.

In the late 1870s Tchaikovsky earned his first successes with the opera *Oprishnik* (including the best of the destroyed *Vojevoda*), his *Third* or *Polish Symphony*, the *E-Flat Quartet* (dedicated to Lamb), the *First Piano Concerto*, the *Swan Lake Ballet*, the *Marche Slave*, and the fantasy *Francesca da Rimini*. A great popular success came in 1879 with the opera *Eugén Onegin*, based on Pushkin's story.

In 1876 Tchaikovsky began a fourteen-year correspondence (they never met) with Nadezhda von Meck, the wealthy widow of a railway engineer and contractor. Deciding she could best use her fortune as a patroness of music, the widow began giving Tchaikovsky commissions in 1877, and in 1878 she granted him an annuity which made it possible for him to give up his teaching work and devote himself entirely to composition.

Tchaikovsky in his earlier years worried greatly about his homosexuality and wrote as follows in letters of September 22 and October 4, 1876, to his brother Modest (apparently also homosexual):

I shall make a serious effort to marry, legally, anybody.
I am aware that my inclinations are the greatest and most
unconquerable obstacle to happiness; I must fight my

nature with all my strength. . . . I shall do everything possible to marry this year, and if I am not brave enough for that, at any rate I shall conquer my old habits for once and all. . . .

And three weeks later:

. . . Since my recent letters to you, I have already succumbed to my natural inclinations three times.

Deciding to put his hopes in marriage rather than willpower, Tchaikovsky finally proved "brave" enough in 1877 to marry Antonina Milyukova, a 28-year-old woman who had written him a fan letter, followed subsequently by passionate love letters. A few months after his marriage, he despaired over the terrible mistake he had made, became taciturn and morose, abandoned his friends of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and tried to commit suicide by exposing himself to standing chin-high in a river during a frost. However, this suicide attempt was frustrated when his brother Anatol nursed him back to health and took him travelling abroad. Tchaikovsky's wife refused him a divorce and lived extravagantly at his expense with a lover, by whom she had several children. She died in 1896 in an asylum.

After his recovery abroad, Tchaikovsky accepted a position as director of the musical department of the Russian exhibition at the Paris Exhibition in 1878, but resigned after a few months. While abroad Tchaikovsky completed his *Fourth Symphony* (dedicated to Madame von Meck), his *Italian Capriccio*, and the unsuccessful opera *The Maid of Orleans* (about Joan of Arc). He also began work on his famous *1812 Overture*, *The Nutcracker Suite*, the *Sleeping Beauty* ballet, the *Mozartiana Suite* and the *Fifth Symphony*. Back in Russia, he completed these and worked on the unsuccessful operas *Mazeppa* and *The Queen of Spades*, as well as the church music *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*, which was almost destroyed due to bureaucratic entanglements.

In 1890 Tchaikovsky was greatly upset when Madame von Meck, allegedly believing herself impoverished, ended his annuity. Although now independently wealthy, Tchaikovsky resented this enough to terminate their correspondence.

Tchaikovsky travelled a great deal throughout western Europe, and in 1891 he visited the United States, where he conducted at the opening concert in New York's Carnegie Hall. He also conducted

at Cambridge in England, where he received an honorary Doctorate of Music. In 1893, a few days after appearing as the conductor at the première of his *Sixth* or *Pathetic Symphony*, he died of cholera.

Although he associated himself with western composers, Tchaikovsky's music is seen as more intensely Russian than that of most of his contemporaries. It is noted for its rich and emotional, often bombastic, quality and is also highly melodious. Many of his songs have lent themselves to modern adaptations.

Of Tchaikovsky's homosexuality there was never any great amount of dispute, especially after the publication of his *Life and Letters* (1901), of which a condensed English version appeared in 1906. His *Diaries* were published in English in 1945. Many of his male loves have been recorded. In his music student days, he had a passionate friendship with the poet Apukhtin. As a young professor at the Moscow Conservatory, he had a long affair with the wealthy young Vladimir Shilovsky, 14 when they met, who made Tchaikovsky gifts of clothes and furniture and financed trips for the two of them to western Europe in 1868, 1870 and 1872. When Tchaikovsky took his own Moscow apartment in 1872, he hired as his valet the 14-year-old Alexei Sofronov, who remained with him the rest of his life, and in his earlier years was probably sexually intimate. In the middle 1870s there was the violinist Joseph Kotek, through whom Tchaikovsky made contact with Kotek's patroness, Mme. von Meck. In the 1880s there was his nephew Vladimir Davidov (known as "Bob"), and a young pianist named Vassily Sapelnikov, who accompanied him on a tour to Germany, France and England. His diary for March 22, 1889, records a Negro lover in Paris.

There seems to have been little justification for the popular picture of Tchaikovsky as a morbid and miserable soul. His final years were filled with personal pleasures and official honors and the completion of a work with which he was thoroughly satisfied, his *Sixth* or *Pathetic Symphony* (said to convey a special message to homosexuals, whence it was facetiously known as the *Pathic Symphony*). Those devoted to Tchaikovsky continued to do him honor after his death. His homosexual brother Modest edited his *Life and Letters*, and his servant Alexei managed to buy Tchaikovsky's country house at Klin, where his younger brother, Ippolit Tchaikovsky, served as semi-official curator when it

became a virtual museum. After the Revolution, the Klin house became officially a museum and one of the musts for tourists.

Reference: Hirschfield, 671; Mayne, 396; Weinstock.



TEWFIK (1852-1892)

Khedive of Egypt (1879-92).

He was the eldest son of Ismail, khedive (hereditary viceroy) of Egypt. His mother was a fellah (peasant) woman. Unlike his younger brothers, Tewfik was not sent to Europe to be educated but was left by his scornful father to grow up in relative indolence in Egypt. In 1866 Ismail succeeded in having the succession changed so that it would go from father to son instead of going to the oldest descendant of Mohammed Ali, the dynasty's founder, which would have made Ismail's hated uncle his successor. Although Ismail had expected to name his favorite son as his successor, the European powers, particularly France and England, in ever greater control as Ismail was driven to bankruptcy by the vast expenditures of his modernization program, took the change as making Tewfik heir apparent. Eventually Ismail was persuaded to accept as such the despised Tewfik, whose very weakness made him desirable to France and England.

For more than a decade Tewfik lived fairly quietly on his estates and in his Cairo palace, somewhat excessive in his pleasures, particularly of the male flesh, but showing general moderation and common sense in politics insofar as he let himself be involved. In 1878 he served briefly as prime minister. In June, 1879, the sultan, at the behest of France and England, deposed Ismail for failure to cooperate sufficiently with European financiers to repair Egypt's financial chaos and pay off her debts. Tewfik was proclaimed khedive, and he was allegedly so disgusted at the news that he slapped the servant who brought the tidings.

Tewfik's reign began with the reappointment of European controllers over Egyptian finances, to be irremovable without French and British consent. The increasing foreign domination and the financial mess led to increasing unrest in the Egyptian army. Tewfik could make no substantial reforms, even if he had had the will, without the consent of his advisers, and they in turn had no power to institute reforms on their own. The rising nationalism and army unrest found a leader in Arabi Pasha, who

on two occasions in 1881 led an officers' movement against Tewfik.

In 1882 Tewfik at last responded to the nationalist feelings by forming a nationalist ministry, in which Arabi was war minister. Anticipating European attack, Arabi began fortifying Alexandria and scorned British demands that the forts be turned over to them. When riots broke out in Alexandria in which fifty Europeans were killed, the British bombarded Alexandria and landed troops which defeated Arabi's forces at Tel-el-Kebir. The British went on to occupy Cairo and to replace the previous Anglo - French Condominium with a British Protectorate.

Tewfik had been invited by the Powers to take refuge on a vessel during the fighting, but he replied, "I am still khedive, and I remain with my people in the hour of their danger." However, when the rebels attacked a palace of his, he fled through the burning streets of Alexandria to another palace and requested a guard of British marines. After the British victory, Tewfik returned to Cairo and accepted British demands for a constitutional monarchy under the guidance of a British resident. He returned briefly to Alexandria in 1883, when he learned of a cholera outbreak there, so that he might be with his people and visit the hospitals.

When Sir Evelyn Baring began his rule as British resident, consul-general and *de facto* ruler of Egypt, his first order of business was to persuade Tewfik to abandon Egypt's one vestige of empire, the Sudan, whose tenure against the victorious Mahdists seemed hopeless to Baring. After Tewfik reluctantly consented, he cooperated as much as possible, and he apparently bore no blame for the delays that produced the tragic massacre at Khartoum of Gordon (q.v.) and his garrison. The Mahdi died in 1885, but his successor, Khalifa Abdullah, continued to retain control of the Sudan for the next ten years.

Tewfik gained more and more confidence in Baring and deferred to him on almost all matters, though Baring encouraged him to play an active role in administration. Some financial relief for Egypt came in 1885 with an international guarantee on a new loan and the reduction of interest on the outstanding debt.

Tewfik's final years were spent trying in his amiable and courteous way to cooperate wherever possible with the British

in improving conditions in the country, especially in educational and legal reforms. His conviction that British direction of Egypt's affairs was best for his country was apparently quite sincere.

After his rather wild early life, Tewfik enjoyed a happy, monogamous marriage with a cousin. When he died in 1892, a prize exhibit of an eastern monarch reformed by Victorian British guidance, he was succeeded by his eldest son, who in turn was succeeded by Tewfik's younger brother Fuad and Fuad's son Farouk.

Reference: Edwardes, 210.



ARTHUR RIMBAUD (1854-1891)

French poet and adventurer.

Properly Jean Arthur Rimbaud, he was born at Charleville in the Ardennes, the son of an army captain who walked out on his domineering wife in 1860. Rebelling against the severe discipline of his mother, with whom he was involved in an intense love-hate relationship, young Rimbaud developed a sullen and violent temperament. At an early age he showed brilliant intellectual gifts, and began to write poetry at 10. By 15 he had already produced some of his lasting verses.

In 1870, after an especially violent quarrel with his mother, the 15-year-old Rimbaud ran off to Paris, where he was arrested as a vagabond and imprisoned for two weeks. Shortly after being taken home, he ran off again, this time to Belgium, where he lived as a tramp for several months, but even on the verge of starvation he did not neglect writing poems. After another brief return home, he ran off for a third time early in 1871, again to Paris, but after nearly dying of starvation during the convulsions leading to the Paris Commune, he begged his way home. All of these trials and tribulations helped to produce the great symbolist poem *Le bateau ivre*, which he sent to the leading symbolist poet, Paul Verlaine (q.v.).

In October, 1871 Rimbaud returned again to Paris, this time not as a starving beggar, but as the guest of the prominent and respected poet Verlaine, who had not known just how young Rimbaud was. Verlaine, a homosexual who had recently tried marriage, had supposed that the poet was about 30, and finding instead a handsome, 17-year-old youth, fell in love with him.

Rimbaud lived a while at Verlaine's house, but the tensions necessarily resulting from the presence of Mme. Verlaine caused the two poets and lovers to run off together in 1872. In the course of thirteen months' travelling in France, England (London) and Belgium, their quarrels became more frequent, touched off by Verlaine's increasing alcoholism and Rimbaud's infidelities. The climax came when Verlaine took to shooting at Rimbaud, once without touching him and a second time, at Brussels, seriously wounding him. Verlaine went to prison for two years. Rimbaud recovered in a few months.

Taking advantage of the notoriety, Rimbaud published in 1873 the only work he ever submitted for publication, not poetry but in prose an allegorical account of his extravagant relations with Verlaine, with the dramatic title *Une Saison en Enfer* (*A Season in Hell*). A few poems were interspersed in the memoirs.

Only 19, Rimbaud decided to abandon France and poetry. His poems were left behind, with various people. Entering his second career, as an adventurer, he travelled to Germany, and after a few years there, to Italy, where he worked as a stevedore on the docks of Leghorn. After a brief visit to his mother to obtain some money, Rimbaud went off to the Dutch East Indies, where he served as a soldier for some years, then deserted and spent more years as an outlaw in the cities and forests of Java. He returned to Europe around 1880, wandered around as a tramp, then went to the island of Cyprus and worked in the quarries. He crossed over next to the Asian mainland and worked his way down to the port of Aden in Arabia, then crossed the Red Sea to Abyssinia in Africa.

At the major Abyssinian city of Harrar, Rimbaud began another career, as a businessman. As a trader in coffee, perfumes, gold and ivory, he became a prominent figure in the country, and for a decade he led commercial expeditions into unknown parts, his headquarters shifting between Harrar and Shoa. He mixed freely with the natives and had a black mistress. By 1888 Rimbaud had become so prosperous in this new life that he had become a sort of semi-independent chieftain. He became deeply embroiled in Ethiopian politics, supporting Menelek, King of Shoa, against his rival, King John of Tigré, the titular emperor, who had caused so much embarrassment to Gordon (q.v.). After Menelek

defeated and killed his rival and successfully established a new dynasty (Haile Selassie is his grandson), Rimbaud as a favored friend of the new emperor was much sought after by the French to secure imperial favor towards them rather than the Italians.

Meanwhile in 1886 Verlaine, believing Rimbaud to be dead, had published a group of his poems as *Les Illuminations* and created a sensation. Unaware that his name had become a leading one in France's literary world, where he was hailed as the outstanding genius of symbolist poetry, Rimbaud returned to France in 1891 for the removal of a tumor on his knee. By the time he arrived in Marseilles, the case had become so serious that his leg had to be amputated. Apparently due to some kind of medical bungling, he died in a Marseilles hospital.

Rimbaud's complete poems, to which he had not added since he was 19, were published for the first time a few years after his death, and proved immensely influential on the development of poetry, not only in France but throughout the western world, a development not necessarily to everyone's liking.

Reference: Ellis, 57; Hirschfeld, 670; Ullman.



CECIL JOHN RHODES (1853-1902)

British Empire statesman and businessman.

He was born at Bishop Stortford, the fifth son of a clergyman. Rhodes was educated at the local grammar school with the intention of entering the Church. However, his health broke down in 1870, and with some doubts about how long he could live, he was sent to join his older brother Herbert, a cotton farmer in Natal, South Africa. Rhodes made a surprisingly fast recovery when diamonds were found at Kimberley the year of his arrival. The brothers Rhodes were among the successful diggers, and at 19 Cecil Rhodes found himself not only healthy but wealthy. Before returning to England to study at Oxford, Rhodes made an eight-months trek by ox-wagon through much of South Africa. Shocked to note that one of the healthiest and richest countries in the world was still largely unoccupied, he began developing an ambition to see this fault remedied in his lifetime by the settlement of this country by the finest race in the world, of course the British.

Rhodes entered Oriel College, Oxford, but before he could

complete his studies, his health broke down again and he was sent back to South Africa in 1873 with only six months to live. Once again Africa restored his health and he returned to Oxford in 1876, remaining until the completion of his studies in 1878, except for the summer vacations, during which he went to South Africa to look after his burgeoning business empire.

In 1880 Rhodes formed the De Beers Mining Company, which involved merger with many smaller companies so as to better compete with the rival giant, the Barnato Company. Deciding to use his wealth for the attainment of his political ideals, Rhodes entered politics in 1881 as a member of the Cape Colony parliament, where he was to hold a seat the rest of his life. He became a leader of the party bent on expanding northward, the equivalent of the American westward drive and the German and Russian eastward drives. Against the Dutch group striving for an independent United States of South Africa, Rhodes became the champion of Anglo-Dutch partnership in a self-governing federation within the British Empire.

Anxious to prevent further expansion of the Boer South African Republic into the interior to the north of Cape Colony, Rhodes persuaded the British to annex in 1884 the interior province of Bechuanaland, which came to be considered especially the key to the domination of South Africa after the Germans established themselves in southwest Africa. In 1889 Rhodes merged his De Beers Company with the rival Barnato Company to form the diamond monopoly, De Beers Consolidated Mines, which reputedly had the largest capital of any company of the time. That same year he organized the British South Africa Company, which secured exclusive concessions from the local king of the Matabele, Lobengula, in what is now Southern Rhodesia. Soon Rhodes' empire, which became known as Rhodesia, expanded northward to the Belgian Congo and German East Africa. After the defeat of various native rebellions, the new state attracted thousands of white colonists. The Boer Republic was now surrounded by British territory, except for a small border with Portuguese Africa on its eastern fringes. All efforts of the Boers to get a sea outlet of their own were promptly blocked by the British.

In 1890 the all-powerful Rhodes became prime minister of South Africa and its virtual dictator, the local Boers being among

his strongest supporters. He worked conspicuously for educational reform, restriction of the franchise, and the pushing northward of the railroad, aiming at ultimately connecting with a rail line pushed down from Cairo.

After the discovery of gold in the Boer Transvaal in 1886, thousands of Englishmen had flocked there, and they had since complained of discrimination by the Boers against them. Rhodes, who controlled another mammoth company there also, Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., became involved in a conspiracy to effect a *coup d'état* in Johannesburg. When the so-called Jameson Raid, headed by Rhodes' local viceroy, Leonard Jameson, met with disaster in 1896, Rhodes, hitherto a darling of London's empire builders, was given a frosty frown, although he had made a last-minute effort to call off the raid. Rhodes felt obliged to resign the premiership. In 1897 a committee of the House of Commons found him guilty of grave breaches of duty both as prime minister of South Africa and as administrator of the British South Africa Company.

Admitting frankly that his continued presence in South Africa would not be useful to the country, Rhodes abandoned it for his Rhodesia, hoping by his presence to stimulate the development of its resources. When he arrived, the British were ending a campaign against revolting Matabeles, who had developed a nearly impregnable position. To preclude continued bloody fighting, Rhodes established himself unarmed near the Matabeles as a friend, and in due course they invited him to a parlay, where he persuaded them to surrender on honorable terms. Although contemptuous of Negroes as equal citizens with voting rights, Rhodes was personally fond of them, on good terms with them, and believed in encouraging their self-government as much as possible, much the present South African approach.

Rhodes continued to work on local Rhodesian projects, especially the railroad extension, telegraphic communications and colonization. When the increasing tensions between the Boers and the British that had followed the Jameson Raid culminated in the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899, Rhodes participated with a command at besieged Kimberley but played no very significant part in the war. He died in 1902 when British victory was assured, but before the peace treaty had been concluded.

The bulk of his immense fortune of £6,000,000 Rhodes left for the creation of the famous Rhodes scholarships, whereby every important British colony and every U.S. state and territory and several states of Germany were to send carefully selected students to Oxford each year, the hope being that in the course of their studies they would see the necessity of the world being firmly but benevolently ruled by the superior Anglo-Saxon and Germanic peoples, under British leadership, and would themselves play leading roles towards the attainment of this desirable end. As his will stated, "The object is that an understanding between the three Great Powers will render war impossible and educational relations will make the strongest tie." The principles of selection were to be:

- 1) literary and scholastic attainments;
- 2) fondness for and success in manly outdoor sports, such as football and cricket;
- 3) qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness and fellowship;
- 4) exhibition of moral force of character and instincts to lead.

The first printed reference to Rhodes as a homosexual, with an allegedly Lesbian sister, occurred in a monthly periodical of the German homosexual organization in 1905, three years after his death.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 670.



WALTER HORATIO PATER (1839-1894)

English writer and critic.

He was born at Shadwell, the second son of a Dutch-American doctor from New York. His father, who had practiced mainly among the poor, died while Pater was an infant, but his mother managed to obtain a good education for her children. In 1853 Pater went to King's School at Canterbury, whose cathedral awoke those esthetic sensibilities that were to dominate his life. Although only a mediocre student, interested in art above everything else, Pater managed to obtain a scholarship to Queen's College, Oxford, where he studied the humanities and secured a degree in 1862 without any great distinction.

Pater had once cherished the idea of becoming an Anglican minister, but under the influence of his Oxford reading, his faith in Christianity became shaken. For a time he considered becoming a Unitarian minister, but he decided against this also. He settled down at Oxford as a private tutor. In 1864 he obtained a fellowship from Brasenose College and began to develop his interest in literature. Soon he was writing distinguished articles himself. An essay on Coleridge (1866) was followed by a since-famous essay on Winckelmann (q.v.) in 1867.

Pater's article, "Aesthetic Poetry," in the influential *Fortnightly Review* in 1868, represented the beginnings of his "art for art's sake" theories. Essays followed on Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.), Sandro Botticelli, Mirandola and Michelangelo (q.v.). In 1878 all of Pater's esthetic studies were collected as *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. Pater soon became the idol of the esthetic circle at Oxford, conspicuously including in due course Oscar Wilde (q.v.), whose preposterous exaggerations of Pater's precepts greatly shocked him.

All Pater's views on artistic precision and clarity and the pursuit of beauty for its own sake were put into his great philosophical novel, *Marius the Epicurean* (1885), which made him a leading figure in British literary circles. Other late works included his series of essays in philosophic fiction, *Imaginary Portraits* (1887); *Appreciations, with an Essay on Style* (1889); *Plato and Platonism* (1893); and *The Child in the House* (1894).

Despite his health, Pater worked unceasingly correcting and re-correcting his writings, and with his austere and magnificent and sonorous style, continued to the end to "burn with a hard, gem-like flame." He died of rheumatic fever on his staircase, in the arms of his sister. Among his posthumously published works were *Greek Studies* (1895); *Miscellaneous Studies* (1895); the romance *Gaston de Latour* (1896); *Essays from the Guardian* (1897); and *Collected Works* (1901).

Both by his character and his interests, intellectual and other, Pater was frequently the subject of comparison with John Addington Symonds (q.v.). Delicate references to his homosexuality appeared as early as 1906 in A. C. Benson's study of him for the "English Men of Letters" series.

Reference: Carpenter (I.S.), 104; Hirschfeld, 669.

OSCAR WILDE (1856-1900)

English dramatist and writer.

Properly Oscar Fingall O'Flahertie Wills Wilde, he was born in Dublin, the son of a distinguished Irish surgeon. His mother was a writer of both verse and prose under the pen name of "Speranza." At 9 he followed his older brother Willie to one of Ireland's leading schools, the Portora Royal School at Enniskillen, where he remained seven years. Although he took little part in games, he established himself at an early age as a great talker, and in schoolwork he was noted for being the best translator of the classics. Besides being devoted to the classics, especially everything to do with ancient Greece, Wilde was a great reader of novels, prizing those of Disraeli over those of Dickens. His closest friend was a homosexual boy of whose devotion he was unaware until he received a sudden passionate kiss at their final parting.

In 1871, a few days after his seventeenth birthday, Wilde entered Trinity College, Dublin. He studied intensely, especially the Greek authors and certain contemporaries, such as Symonds (q.v.) and Swinburne, and was known as an exemplary, pure-minded youth, moderate and good-humored at all times, who took little interest in the games and coarse horseplay of most of the students. In 1874 Wilde won a gold medal for Greek and a scholarship allowing for five years study at Oxford.

At Magdalen College, Oxford, Wilde at first continued diligently his studies in classical and modern literature. After he wrote his first poems, Wilde became a leading figure in the Oxford poetry circle, which at the time became completely dominated by the esthetic movement, which had been initiated on a lofty level by Pater (q.v.) and Ruskin, and preached on a more worldly level by the American etcher, painter and wit, James Whistler (now most famous for the portrait of his mother). As the movement was interpreted by Wilde, who professed to be devoted to the Pater-Whistler doctrine of "art for art's sake" and to be Whistler's apostle to Oxford, it involved speaking contemptuously of sports, decorating his rooms with peacock's feathers, lilies, sunflowers, and the like, and wearing his hair long while affecting a lackadaisical manner. In conformity to an old tradition, Wilde's fellow students wrecked his rooms and threw him into the

Cherwell. Nevertheless, he persisted in the affectations and won many adherents. When this decadent estheticism spread to London, it became the subject of cartoons in *Punch* and was ridiculed in the operetta *Patience* of Gilbert and Sullivan (q.v.).

All the notoriety was far from displeasing to Wilde, who now had his disciples at Oxford (and was spending less and less time at his studies) and established connections with the more daring wings of London's social and literary elite. Of these connections he made all the use he could after leaving Oxford in 1878. His widowed mother was living in London with his brother Willie, who as a society reporter could give Oscar frequent mention. He began to be in great demand for his wonderful conversation and wit, and was invited as a minor celebrity to the best houses.

In 1881 Wilde published at his own expense his *Poems*, which went through four printings, since he had included two sonnets addressed to the actress Ellen Terry (Shaw's friend), who recommended it widely. Despite these apparent successes, the ill will stirred up against him by the cartoons in *Punch* and by *Patience*, as well the demands of his creditors for repayment of his extensive debts, made Wilde receptive to any opportunity to leave England for a while, perhaps to return as an affluent and honored celebrity.

Oscar had his brother Willie announce in his column that on the strength of the great success of his poems, he had been invited to lecture in America. Arriving in New York in 1882, Wilde got an immediate burst of publicity by announcing to Customs, in the presence of many reporters, "I have nothing to declare except my genius." Advertising the subjects of his lectures as "The English Renaissance" and "House Decoration," he was invited to lecture at Chickering Hall in New York on January 9, and he got sufficiently talked about that an American impresario engaged him for a lecture tour. Depending more on his own eccentric appearance in knee breeches, etc., with long flowing hair, and his wonderful voice, than on the rather pedantic and uninspired subject matter (much of which was stolen from his idol, Whistler), Wilde covered dozens of cities and towns from New England to the wild West and made about £1200 (about \$6,000 at that time). His most spectacular lecture was at Boston, where several dozen Harvard students came dressed in swallow-tail

coats, knee breeches, wigs and green ties, with large lilies in their button-holes and huge sunflowers in their hands. Having learned of the planned caricature in advance, Wilde brilliantly achieved his oneupsmanship by appearing that night in ordinary dress, and he won over his audience by his imperturbability. The tour also included a visit to Walt Whitman (q.v.), who was impressed by Wilde's manliness. Before returning to England, Wilde also toured Canada for several months.

After his return to England in April, 1883, Wilde tried to establish himself in journalism as a writer of reviews. He generated new publicity by a well-publicized feud with his one-time master in wit, Whistler, and delighted the aristocratic public with the exchanges of barbed wit, e.g.:

Wilde (on Whistler lecture): Whistler is indeed one of the very greatest masters of painting in my opinion. And I may add that in this opinion Mr. Whistler himself entirely concurs.

Whistler: Oscar . . . with no more sense of a picture than of the fit of a coat, has the courage of the opinions . . . of others.

Wilde also did some lecturing on "Personal Impressions of America," and in the fall of 1883 he returned briefly to New York to attend the opening of *Vera*, his play about a Nihilist conspiracy in Russia. It flopped in New York as in London. The lectures earned him enough money for a trip to Paris, where he sought to meet as many as possible of the literary great, including Verlaine (q.v.), Hugo and Bourget. He also tried to perfect his French. Around this time he also wrote another play, in blank verse this time, *The Duchess of Padua*, which flopped when finally produced in New York in 1891.

Wilde's extravagant tastes caused the fast disappearance of his slight earnings from his lectures, and once more he was beset by financial worries. While lecturing in Ireland, his problem was solved. He met Constance Lloyd, who while not very distinguished in either looks or wit, offered the two attractions of professing great admiration for him and having a comfortable annual income. Wilde married her in 1884 and settled in a house in Chelsea. He kept her busy at home bearing several children and himself continued much as before, accepting invitations alone and still charming everyone with his wit and conversation. Meanwhile, his "literary promise" remained unfulfilled. And it was in this

period shortly after his marriage that Wilde apparently for the first time indulged his homosexual tastes. His disciple and literary executor, Robert Ross, later the bitter rival of Alfred Douglas, was to claim proudly that in 1886 he was Wilde's first boy. According to one account, Wilde's homosexual indulgence took place when syphilis, contracted at Oxford and thought cured, broke out again and he wished to protect his wife by breaking off marital relations with her.

Whether it was the reappearance of the syphilis, the cessation of the heterosexual labors, or the newly discovered joys of homosexual fulfillment, Wilde's dormant literary talents at last began to bear fruit, successful fruit this time. Supposedly written originally for his own children, a book of fairy tales, published as *The Happy Prince* (1888), enjoyed substantial success. In 1890 he began to be much talked of with the serialized publication in a leading magazine of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, and after its publication in book form in 1891, he was already established as a literary figure, the subject of violent opinions. He had also caused something of a furor in 1889 with the short story in *Blackwood's* entitled, "The Portrait of W. H.," which involved speculation about a boy actor being the inspiration for the sonnets of Shakespeare (q.v.).

After the publication of these rather dangerous works, with their corrupt and homosexual implications, Wilde began to achieve fame for less controversial works. In 1891 he published *Lord Savile's Crime and Other Stories*, a book of short stories, and *Intentions*, a collection of essays on his theory of art and other essays he had written for reviews. In 1892 he published a second book of fairy tales, *The House of Pomegranates*, which was not too successful, and his collected poems. A minor work, since become quite famous, was published in 1892 in the Humboldt Library of Science as *The Soul of Man under Socialism*.

It was in 1892 that Wilde first achieved his really extravagant success as a dramatist of comedies. *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892) was to be followed by *A Woman of No Importance* (1893) and finally, in 1895, his most fatal year, by both *An Ideal Husband* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*. In between these eminently respectable comedies Wilde once more ventured into the decadent and corrupt with the drama *Salome*. Written

in French and produced with Sarah Bernhardt in Paris in 1894, its English translation, allegedly by Alfred Douglas, was refused a license for production. However, it was published in book form in 1894, with singularly apt illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley, representing an English version of the French decadent school, and caused another sensation of disapproval associated with Wilde's name. There was also published in Paris in 1893 a pornographic homosexual novel, *Teleny*, which was believed to have been written by Wilde.

Meanwhile Wilde's homosexual affairs were becoming more dangerous. At first he confined himself to the homosexual equivalents of the bobbysoxers, Robert Ross having been succeeded in due course by the handsome young man said to be the model for Dorian Gray, the now-forgotten John Gray. In the fall of 1891 Lord Alfred Douglas, the dazzlingly handsome son of that Marquess of Queensberry, now noted mainly for his boxing rules but in his own day noted as a brawling whoremonger, attached himself to Wilde somewhat as Cleopatra did to Antony (q.v.), except that he ultimately yielded far less than Cleopatra. Delighted at the idea of having his hated father and all London shocked by the assumption that his constant accompaniment of Wilde indicated a status as Wilde's "minion," Douglas actually kept their sexual relations to a minimum, being interested only in youths himself.

Much as Wilde enjoyed the flattery and devotion of an ardent disciple so handsome, his newly aroused sexual demands made their own claims, which Douglas refused to satisfy personally, but which in his role as the indispensable *alter ego* he undertook to satisfy indirectly. Douglas introduced Wilde into the underworld of male prostitution in London, and soon Wilde's connections in this underworld became widespread. Meanwhile, in the great social world, Douglas continued to be his constant companion at the social life of London and in trips abroad, neither being concerned with the whispers their association produced or the increase in Wilde's debts (which Douglas liked to claim inspired him to write more and better plays).

The fervent hope of Douglas that the worst possible interpretation would be made by his hated father of his relations with Wilde was soon fulfilled. An ill-tempered and arrogant debauchee

who treated his wife and children with cruelty and contempt, and was a self-proclaimed atheist, Queensberry nevertheless considered nothing else in the world as low as a homosexual. Late in 1894 he wrote his son a letter, signed, "Your disgusted so-called father," warning him to mend his ways and break off relations with Wilde.

By way of reply, Douglas sent a short telegram, saying only, "What a funny little man you are!" Later Queensberry came to call on Wilde, and threatened to thrash him if he was ever found again with Douglas. Wilde pointed out that their friendship was at his son's insistence, and showed Queensberry the door. Shortly afterward, Douglas wrote his father on a postcard that he would go anywhere he pleased with anyone he pleased, and he would shoot his father like a dog if he raised a hand against Wilde or himself.

Meanwhile, Wilde's status in London society was becoming more shaky, despite his successes with his comedies. Indignation against him had been aroused by his falsely alleged authorship of the short story *The Priest and the Acolyte*, which appeared in 1894 in *The Chameleon*, an Oxford undergraduate magazine, and dealt with the murder of a seduced acolyte by a homosexual priest. Contempt was aroused for Wilde and Douglas by the anonymous satirical novel *The Green Carnation* (1894) (actually written by Robert Hichens, a prolific novelist and movie scenarist whose career extended to the middle of the twentieth century). There were also whispers about the male prostitutes and reports of attempted blackmail of Wilde and of police surveillance.

In February, 1895, Queensberry brought matters to a head by leaving for Wilde at their club, The Albemarle Club, his card with the notation, "To Oscar Wilde, Posing as a Somdomite!" with the key word misspelled in his fury. Against the advice of such friends as Frank Harris and George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde yielded to the relentless pressure of Douglas, and brought suit against Queensberry for criminal libel.

Three trials followed. In the first trial, *Regina v. Queensberry*, the defendants produced so much evidence of the justification for the libel (which made it a public service) that Wilde was persuaded on April 5, two days after the trial opened, to with-

draw his suit. However, as anticipated, on the strength of the evidence brought to light, Wilde was arrested that same night (after he refused to heed the advice to flee England) along with Taylor, his chief procurer, and denied bail. The second trial, *Regina v. Wilde and Taylor*, opened on April 26. Although the trial produced a vast amount of evidence involving male prostitutes whom Wilde had had (Edward Shelley on February 26, 1892; Frederick Atkins on November 18, 1892, and in Paris in February, 1893; Alfred Wood in January, 1893; Charles Parker on March 13, 1893, in the Savoy Hotel; Charles Parker and Sidney Mavor on many occasions in his bachelor apartment between October, 1893, and March, 1894), the second trial ended after five days, with the jury in disagreement on several counts, and dismissed. Wilde was released on £5,000 bail, and again refused the advice to flee England.

The third trial, in which Wilde was tried separately from Taylor, began on May 21, 1895. On May 22 Taylor was found guilty on all counts but one, and on May 25 the new jury found Wilde guilty on all counts except the one involving Edward Shelley. Both Wilde and Taylor were sentenced to two years at hard labor, after hearing a long oration by the judge about his never having been able to conceive before that such incredible things took place, let alone that they could involve distinguished people.

After enduring some horrible months in the prisons of Pentonsville and Wandsworth, Wilde was transferred in November to Reading Gaol, where he passed two far from terrible years (except for the food), during which he regained physical fitness and did much thinking along lines of religion and his responsibility to use his talents for the good of humanity. His chief literary production was *De Profundis*, a sort of confessional essay in the form of a long letter to Lord Alfred Douglas, on whom he blamed all his troubles. Upon his release in May, 1897, Wilde entrusted *De Profundis* to Douglas' chief rival as the favorite disciple, Robert Ross, who published it in drastically expurgated form in 1905 and in more complete form subsequently.

Wilde at once left England. Taking the name Sebastian Melmoth, he took up residence at an inn in the Norman village of Berneval near Dieppe, where he was visited by André Gide (q.v.),

who noted that he was once again much as he was before 1891, when his successes began to make him puffed up with pride and good living. Wilde told Gide that prison had for the first time taught him the meaning of pity, the consequence of which he expected would be a beneficial influence on his work. The accuracy of this forecast was soon shown as he worked towards completion of one of his finest works, the poem *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, which was published in 1898. In a few weeks it ran through dozens of editions in England and America, and went into translation in almost every European language. Wilde is said to have gotten substantial inspiration from the recently published *A Shropshire Lad* of A. E. Housman (q.v.), sent him by his friend Reggie Turner. Lord Alfred Douglas later claimed he had ghost-written much of the famous poem. A few months after its publication, *The Daily Chronicle* of London published a letter from "The Author of the Ballad of Reading Gaol," making a well-documented plea for reforms in the prisons.

While still at Barneval, Wilde was persuaded by heterosexual friends who visited him to test the sexual extent of his reformation by a visit to the local whorehouse. As the word spread around the town, a large crowd gathered outside to await his exit. Unwilling to leave his audience without a memorable comment, Wilde said, loud enough for all to hear, "It was just like cold mutton!"

Having made a good start on the road to redemption, being in good health and full of literary plans, Wilde came to the crossroads again in 1897 when at the same time he was confronted by offers from mutual friends to effect a reconciliation with his wife and by urgent pleas from Douglas to join him at Naples. The blandishments of Douglas during a meeting in Rouen he had at first resisted. After some hesitation, Wilde finally yielded to Douglas, who now once again proved his ruin.

After meeting Douglas near Naples in the fall of 1897, he found out that far from having funds and a house and plans, Douglas had been counting on Wilde once again to produce enough money for both of them to live on. Actually, by living with Douglas Wilde at once forfeited the annuity his wife had arranged for him. Douglas walked out on him, after many quarrels about money, late in 1897, after which Wilde went to Paris,

where once again he received payment from his wife and friends. By now the "new Wilde" had disappeared.

Unable to apply himself seriously to work, Wilde spent all his money on liquor and male prostitutes, cynically despairing of reform. He told Frank Harris, "That talk about reform, Frank, is all nonsense; no one really reforms or changes. I am what I always was." However, far from being a brooding martyr, he spent his last years enjoying dazzling, vivid and humorous conversation, visited by most of his still faithful friends, and making trips whenever invitations were forthcoming to southern France, Italy and Switzerland. He became increasingly unpleasant in his unremitting demands for money from his friends, which led to another fight with Douglas after a period of reconciliation. It also led to a scandalous swindle in which he took advances from different parties with divergent interests on a play he claimed he was writing. In 1900 his health took a turn for the worse. A skin disease made him lose all desire to live, which caused heavier drinking, which in turn worsened the disease. He died on November 30, after being received into the Catholic Church.

Wilde's son Vivyan, who had taken the name of Holland, became a writer in his own right, and in recent years he has made considerable efforts towards the official rehabilitation of his father in England.

Douglas in due course married, proclaimed the renunciation of his youthful follies and became a Roman Catholic. He became involved in various court cases, notably in 1912 when he sued for libel the author of *Oscar Wilde: A Critical Study*. On behalf of the defense Robert Ross produced much of the hitherto suppressed *De Profundis*, and Douglas lost the case and his wife, who got a separation. Douglas continued as a minor poet, his work being published in several collections, with *Lyrics* containing his most homosexual material. His prose efforts of course related to his connection with Wilde, and were stretched into four works: *Oscar Wilde and Myself* (1914); *Autobiography* (1929); *Without Apology* (1938); and *Oscar Wilde: A Summing Up* (1940).

Reference: Harris; Hirschfeld, 672; Hyde (W).

ALFRED EDWARD HOUSMAN (1859-1936)

English poet and educator.

He was born at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, of distinguished gentry, numbering Sir Francis Drake among his ancestors. His father was a lethargic lawyer, inclined to alcoholism and inept at managing business affairs. The eldest of seven children, several of them equally brilliant, Housman grew up in a close-knit family, especially devoted to his mother, a frail woman whose ill-health was further undermined by constant child-bearing. Both parents were devoted to literature, and there were frequent family readings.

Housman early showed a passion for scholarship and books, as well as a talent for poetry, and after entering Bromsgrove Grammar School in 1869, he was soon noted as a scholar and poet. He was also noted, as he was to be most of his life, for his shy aloofness. After his mother's death in 1871 on his twelfth birthday, Housman took to brooding in the Shropshire hills to the west, losing his faith in conventional religion, eventually becoming an atheist.

When Housman's father took as his second wife his old-maidish cousin Lucy, suitably devoted to literature, Housman became her close friend and helped her in raising the younger children and in trying to circumvent the results of her husband's financial mismanagement and alcoholism. In 1877 Housman entered St. John's College at Oxford on a scholarship of £100 a year, aided by his stepmother's scrimping to provide him with clothing and necessities.

At Oxford Housman fell in love with one of his roommates, Moses J. Jackson, a thoroughly normal type who reciprocated only with the warmest of conventional friendship. The other roommate, Pollard, withdrawing more and more, Housman's agony increased as more and more of his hours were spent in the sole company of Jackson. Housman was also unhappy with his studies, bored by the unimaginative teaching of the courses aside from his beloved classics, to which he devoted all his academic time. During his final exams in 1881, as a result of both his intellectual unpreparedness and his emotional agony, Housman turned in a blank paper, and thus failed to graduate.

On the point of suicide when he left Oxford in 1881, both

for emotional reasons and for the disgrace to his family, whose sacrifices for him were seemingly in vain, Housman took a job teaching Latin at Bromsgrove School. However, he continued to correspond with Jackson, and after eighteen months he was persuaded to join Jackson in London, working for the civil service while pursuing studies. He was employed in the trademarks section of the Patent Office as a clerk, his starting salary by chance the same small sum as his Oxford scholarship. After ten years, his salary had increased to only slightly over £200.

In 1882 Housman moved in with Jackson and his brother, at the same time becoming estranged from his own family. The estrangement was caused by a guilt complex over his relations with Jackson, who was apparently persuaded to yield to some kind of sexual relationship, which meant nothing to him and everything to Housman, probably on the threat of the trouble Housman might get into if forced to go elsewhere. When in 1886 Jackson learned from Housman's brother and sister, whom he met at an art show, that they had been living in London for several years while Housman refused to invite them to the Jackson flat, Jackson was mortified and quarreled bitterly with Housman, who took his own lodgings for the first time. Relations with Jackson were thereafter limited to occasional suppers, with the brother present, and in 1887 the affair was essentially ended when Jackson, having secured his degree, went off to India to become president of Sind College, Karachi. (In 1889 he returned to England to get married and subsequently went to Vancouver, B. C.)

His emotional life about over now, Housman began to read-just with emphasis on the intellectual. Thanks to a kindly landlady, Mrs. Trim (who respected his privacy so adequately that when she had to move in 1905, he moved with her), Housman now had serene surroundings for his writing and the studying not done at the British Museum. With convenient hours at the patent office, he had enough time to study and to contribute many learned papers on the classics to scholarly periodicals. Having passed a special exam to remedy his final failure at Oxford, Housman in 1892 applied for the post of professor of Latin at University College (subsequently part of the University of London). With testimonials from seventeen scholars in Eng-

land, the United States and Germany impressed by his papers, Housman secured the job. In his first lecture, he extolled fortitude, continence and honesty for those who commend the pursuit of knowledge.

Although noted for his austerity and aloofness, Housman won the esteem of his colleagues and a special sort of popularity with his students. His academic duties allowed him not only sufficient time to continue his research in the classics but also to indulge his gift for original English poetry. In 1896 Housman published at his own expense, through Messrs. Kegan Paul, 500 copies of *A Shropshire Lad* (a title he was persuaded by his former "other roommate," Pollard, to use instead of an anonymous *Poems by Terence Hearsay*).

It took two years for the 500 copies to be sold, but after Housman transferred publishing rights to that great entrepreneur of turn-of-the-century esoteric literature, Grant Richards, printing followed printing, the volumes doing especially well after being illustrated. *A Shropshire Lad*, comprising a loosely connected series of striking lyrics, was distinguished for its economy and directness of wording and its romantic views of the English countryside, interspersed with morbid reflections on life and death. Criticism ranged from "as nearly perfect as lyrics can hope to be" to "an orgy of naturalism" and "false pastoralism." There was even the inexplicable remark by a Scottish lawyer that it was "the filthiest book I ever read." In any event, it had great influence on modern English poetry, and was said to have inspired the form of *Ballad of Reading Gaol* by Oscar Wilde (q.v.), who received a copy shortly before his release from prison.

With his new affluence, Housman was able to afford fine clothes and the luxury of annual trips of two to four weeks to Europe, usually France or Italy. In Venice he established some sort of odd relationship with a gondolier (referred to as "Andrea" in *More Poems*, 44), which lasted for many years, and after the gondolier's death in the 1920s (curiously about the same time as that of Jackson) was deemed such by his survivors as to constitute grounds for further claims on Housman.

In 1910, at the age of 52, Housman secured the highest honor as a scholar and educator with appointment as Kennedy Pro-

fessor of Latin and Fellow of Trinity College at Cambridge. The *Oxford Magazine* endorsed the appointment editorially as fitting for "the greatest living critic of Latin poetry." For Housman it meant the sacrifice of giving up his own comfortable lodgings with Mrs. Trim in London and moving to a bleak third-floor suite in Cambridge, where he lived for most of his remaining quarter-century of life.

Housman's final years were passed much as the previous ones. He lectured twice a week on such Latin poets as Catullus (q.v.), Horace (q.v.), Martial (q.v.), and Persius (q.v.), and continued research for his definitive five-volume work on *Manilius*, the last volume of which was published in 1930. He also published his own editions of Juvenal (1905) and Lucan (1926). Constantly pressed by Richards for more poetry, Housman finally yielded in the 1920s. *Last Poems* (1922), of which No. 12 was seen as relevant to his homosexual passions, was so well received that 21,000 copies were sold by the end of the year. Further poems of Housman's were to be published posthumously: *More Poems* (1936) and *Additional Poems* (1938), with reference to his homosexuality seen in Nos. 21, 31 and 42 in the former, and in Nos. 2, 6 and 7 in the latter.

As at University College, Housman was esteemed by his colleagues but regarded with awe. Periodically he acted as host for the dining club, the Family Club, on such occasions gaining a reputation as a gourmet and connoisseur of wines with his special French recipes and vintages. To his students he was noted for his grim austerity, relieved frequently by flashes of wit and kindness, a sort of prototype of Mr. Chips. Wherever possible, he enjoyed the home life he had always missed with those of his siblings who had younger children and with the family of his publisher, Grant Richards. During a picnic outing, he saved the lives of two of the Richards children by dealing boldly with a menacing viper. Housman even stood as godfather to Gerald Jackson, one of the children of his former great love, who died in 1928.

He maintained his lifelong interest in literature, his reading including the works of Gide (q.v.), Proust (q.v.), and Lawrence of Arabia (q.v.), with whom he oddly identified himself. A series of lectures on poetry by Housman was published in 1933

as *The Name and Nature of Poetry*.

As he grew older and his health failed, he was relieved of his duties at Cambridge until finally he was transferred to a nursing home, where he died in 1936. His brother Laurence, distinguished in his own right as an illustrator, poet, essayist, novelist, and dramatist, published the posthumous editions of his poetry as his literary executor.

Reference: Anderson, 335-40; Hawkins.



HORATIO HERBERT, LORD KITCHENER (1850-1916)

English general and statesman.

He was born at Bally Longford, County Kerry, Ireland, the son of a British officer. In 1868 Kitchener entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Upon his graduation in 1871 he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. After doing survey work in Cyprus and Palestine, he was promoted to captain in 1883 and attached to the Egyptian army of Khedive Tewfik (q.v.) as part of the team of British officers reorganizing it.

In 1884 Kitchener served on the British expeditionary force which tried unsuccessfully to relieve the besieged Gordon (q.v.) at Khartoum. In the following years, Kitchener distinguished himself in the campaigns against the Sudanese, serving with Hector Macdonald (q.v.), as he was again to do in so many future wars and campaigns. He rose rapidly in rank, commanding a brigade in 1888, and in 1889, for his performance at Toski, where the last Sudanese invasion of Egypt was turned back, he received his K.C.B. and was appointed adjutant-general with the rank of colonel.

In 1892 Kitchener was appointed *sirdar* or commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, and proceeded to complete the work of reorganizing the Egyptian forces begun by his predecessor. By 1896 Kitchener, now also a major-general in the British army and backed up by the new imperialist government of Lord Salisbury, was ready to undertake, with great thoroughness, his well-conceived plan for the reconquest of the Sudan and the destruction of the Mahdist forces. After several peripheral successes during 1896 and 1897, Kitchener led a combined British

and Egyptian army on the epic campaign of 1898, which culminated in the Battle of Omdurman and the complete destruction of the Mahdist dervishes in that last classic action of imperialist days, whose participants included young Winston Churchill. A few weeks after the battle, Kitchener almost got Britain into a war with France by his arrogant demand for instant French evacuation of their outpost on the Nile at Fashoda.

Now Britain's leading military hero, he was created Baron Kitchener of Khartoum, made a G.C.B. and awarded, with the thanks of Parliament, £30,000. In 1899, when the Boer War broke out, Kitchener, though commander-in-chief of the army, stepped down to become chief of staff to Lord Roberts, who came out of retirement to stop the tide of Boer successes. Between them, they managed in 1900 to halt the Boers and to develop that mobility that finally allowed British power to prevail. By the end of the year the Boers were reduced to guerilla warfare, Lord Roberts returned to England, and Kitchener succeeded him as commander-in-chief. To fight the guerillas, Kitchener built up his forces to 300,000 and organized a line of block-houses. Ruthlessly destroying Boer farms, he herded 120,000 Boer women and children into concentration camps where about 20,000 died of disease and neglect. After the Boers in 1902 submitted and accepted British sovereignty by the Treaty of Vereeniging, Kitchener, now a viscount and a full general, was more than ever England's greatest military hero since Wellington. This time Parliament gave him £50,000 with its thanks.

Kitchener was now sent to India as commander-in-chief, where he remained seven years, reorganizing and redistributing the British and Indian units and making many administrative reforms in the face of opposition from the Viceroy, Lord Curzon.

In 1909 Kitchener was promoted to field marshal and left India, supposedly to accept appointment as commander-in-chief and high commissioner in the Mediterranean, a post that was supposed to coordinate all imperial forces west of India. Kitchener after leaving India made a tour of Japan and the Pacific outposts of empire, including Australia and New Zealand, discussing local schemes of defense. Upon his return to England in 1910 Kitchener refused to accept the appointment offered him, considering it too unworthy.

He retired from the army and accepted the post of consul-general in Egypt, a post whose occupant was in effect the *de facto* viceroy of Egypt (whose puppet ruler, the khedive, was himself supposed to be the viceroy of the Turkish sultan).

When World War I broke out, Kitchener was recalled to England as war secretary. Almost alone in the higher echelons in his belief the war would last many years, Kitchener planned and carried out a vast expansion of the army from twenty divisions in 1914 to seventy in 1916. He was in frequent clashes with other members of the cabinet and was often attacked in the press.

In June, 1916, fearful of Russia's ability to stay in the war, Kitchener embarked on the *H.M.S. Hampshire* on a secret mission to Russia to confer with the Tsar and Russian military leaders. Off the Orkney islands, the *Hampshire* in mysterious circumstances struck a mine and Kitchener was drowned.

Kitchener enjoyed a famous reputation as a woman-hater and was also alleged to have been an active "practising homosexual," notably for many years with his military secretary. After his death, which stunned the whole British Empire, the king, the queen, both Houses of Parliament and other national leaders went in solemn procession to St. Paul's to honor his memory.

Reference: Mayne, 194; Plummer, 31-32.



SIR HECTOR ARCHIBALD MACDONALD (1852-1903)

English general.

He was born at Muir in Scotland, of humble parentage. After a perfunctory elementary education, Macdonald was employed in a drygoods store at Dingwall. Upon reaching 18 in 1870, he enlisted in the Gordon Highlanders. He rose rapidly through the ranks to colour-sergeant. In the Afghan War of 1879, Macdonald won a battlefield commission for distinguished bravery, a promotion said to have been equally pleasing to the enlisted men and to his new fellow officers.

Macdonald served as a subaltern in the so-called First Boer War (1880-81), a rehearsal for the big one, which brought a sort of dominion status for the Transvaal. Taken prisoner at Majuba, Macdonald was given back his sword by the Boer general Joubert in recognition of his bravery. In 1885, shortly

after the death of "Chinese" Gordon (q.v.), whom he resembled in many ways, Macdonald was sent to Egypt, where he helped Sir Evelyn Wood reorganize the Egyptian army of Khedive Tewfik (q.v.). Later in the year he took part in the Nile expedition.

In 1888, while continuing to serve with the Egyptian army, being particularly occupied with the training of Sudanese battalions, Macdonald was promoted to captain in the British army. He received the D.S.O. for his actions in the Sudan campaign and in 1891 was promoted to major. When in 1896 the reconquest of the Sudan was undertaken by Kitchener (q.v.), Macdonald commanded an Egyptian brigade in the Dongola Expedition. In the final climactic Battle of Omdurman (1898), Macdonald's Sudanese brigade won great distinction by its cool, precise, parade-ground maneuvers and its successful repulse of the most determined Mahdist attacks. Macdonald became a great favorite of the press as a war hero in England, with the nickname "Fighting Mac." He was promoted to colonel and appointed aide-de-camp to the aged Queen Victoria.

Promoted to major-general in 1899, a rare eminence for one risen from the ranks, Macdonald was appointed to a command in India. Due to the outbreak of the Boer War, he was sent instead to South Africa to command the Highland Brigade, which had suffered heavy losses, including its former commander, in the Battle of Magersfontein. In 1900, after Lord Roberts assumed command, with Kitchener as his chief of staff, Macdonald led his brigade in the aggressive actions which took Paardeberg, Bloemfontein and Pretoria. In 1901 Macdonald was made a Knight Commander of the Bath.

In 1902 he was appointed to a pleasant peacetime job, the command of British forces in Ceylon, and it was there that his blazing career was shattered. Although he had apparently been an active homosexual for many years, known as such to his intimates in the service without any ill fortune resulting, in Ceylon his relations with Cinghalese youths, and one in particular, led to charges being brought against him by a member of the legislative council. He was summoned to London to answer the charges, with the assurance of support by such powerful friends as Lord Roberts.

Despite the assurances that if he faced the accusations the

charges would be dismissed, Macdonald decided he couldn't face it. Stopping over in Paris, he shot himself in his hotel room on March 25, 1903. So great was his popularity that a brief wave of sympathy for the plight of the homosexual swept England and Scotland, with some of the English and Scottish journals referring to him as the victim of unnecessary official scrutiny into "personal affairs."

A public monument to Macdonald at Dingwall, in the form of a tower a hundred feet high, was completed in 1907.

Reference: Hirschfeld, 667; Mayne, 194-195; Peyrefitte (E), 63-64.



EDWARD CARPENTER (1844-1929)

English writer, poet and reformer.

He was born at Brighton. After securing his degree at Cambridge in 1868, Carpenter applied himself to theological studies, leading to his ordination in the Church of England in 1873. While a curate at Cambridge, Carpenter had a change of religious views, apparently the reverse of "the call," and resigned.

In 1874 he renounced all formal religion and, in due course, he became a Fabian Socialist, spending most of his long, active life among the working people of England's industrial cities and among the farm laborers at suburban farms, lecturing or writing. His travels included lecture tours of the United States, and in 1877 (and once subsequently) he visited Walt Whitman (q.v.) and became his eager disciple, a sort of apostle of Whitman's to the English. Inspired by Whitman, Carpenter wrote during periods of rest on a farm Whitmanesque verse published in four parts between 1883 and 1902 as *Towards Democracy*. The fourth part, which first appeared in 1902 as *Who Shall Command the Heart*, corresponded to Whitman's *Calamus* section in *Leaves of Grass*.

Politico-social works published by Carpenter throughout his life ran parallel to his sexological works, which he aimed to make an indistinguishable part of them. Early works included *England's Ideal* (1889) and *Civilization, Its Cause and Cure* (1889). His first work on homosexuality, which ranked with the pioneer works in English of Symonds (q.v.) and Burton, was

Homogenic Love and Its Place in a Free Society. Published by the Labour Press in Manchester in 1894, when the activities of Oscar Wilde were becoming just too much to too many, Carpenter's booklet developed the thesis that the bisexually endowed were specially fitted for progressive leadership in a democratic society. The term "homogenic" was Carpenter's entry for the "what-are-we-going-to-call-it-now-that-we-can-talk-about-it" competition, against the continental homosexuals' favorite word ("uranian"), the Hungarian doctors' leading favorite ("homosexual"), the German doctors' favorite ("contrary sexual"), the French doctors' favorite, endorsed by the distinguished Symonds ("of sexual inversion"), Burton's lone entry ("Sotadic"), to which one might perhaps add the clerico-legal favorite ("sodomitical") and the new mid-twentieth century favorites ("homophilic" and "homoerotic"), and of course the traditional popular heterosexual term ("queer") and homosexual euphemism ("gay").

Somewhat similar to this first work of Carpenter's was *An Unknown People* (1897). His best known work, *Love's Coming of Age* (1896), published at his own expense after it was refused by six London publishers, was essentially devoted to his espousal of a new role for women as equal partners of men in the new society, but it also included the chapter "The Intermediate Sex," with a plug for the important role for homosexuals in the new society. This chapter, which was generally similar to its predecessors, was enlarged to form a separate work, *The Intermediate Sex* (1908), which gathered together all Carpenter's previous published and unpublished works on the subject, and added contributions and quotations from the works of Symonds, Hirschfeld (q.v.) and others. It perhaps remains the outstanding small book in English to combine a vast comprehensiveness of scholarly material with that positive and optimistic approach generally called "uplift." It became one of the most widely read works on the subject in England and America in the first half of the twentieth century, second only to Havelock Ellis' *Sexual Inversion*.

In the meantime, Carpenter had also published another significant work in this field, *Iolaus: An Anthology of Friendship* (1902), which collected prose passages and poems of a homoerotic nature from all literature, from ancient Israel and Greece to contemporary England and America. It was reprinted many

times. Recently it has been dwarfed by the more ambitious and extensive *Eros*.

Yet one more work directly in this area was published by Carpenter in 1914 as *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*, which stressed the privileged and honored status of the homosexual in those primitive societies studied so eagerly by anthropologists as the source of human behavior patterns uncorrupted by civilization.

It was *Love's Coming of Age*, with its demands for a new deal for women, that really established Carpenter's reputation. After swiftly bringing a repayment of his investment, it was translated into many foreign languages and frequently reprinted. Its author was in demand as both a socialist and a sexological lecturer, and he became a frequent contributor to journals. Whenever possible, he threw into such articles a plug for matters dearer to his heart.

In February, 1902, Carpenter did an article on Whitman for the magazine *Reformer* in which he perversely introduced Whitman's assertion of his six bastards (as quoted from the 1890 letter to Symonds). To profit by his role as England's leading expert on Whitman, apparently now the subject of renewed interest because of the allegation about the six bastards, Carpenter published *Days with Walt Whitman* (1906), and toward his last years *Some Friends of Walt Whitman: A Study in Sex Psychology* (1924), which he used as a springboard for another "uplift" theory, this one about the innate moral superiority of nonprocreative homosexual marriages. He apparently practiced what he preached, with a railway porter named Fred in one period, and at another period with a man known as George.

Carpenter's autobiography, *My Days and Dreams*, was published in 1916. He lived on till his eighty-fifth year as a sort of cautious English version of André Gide (q.v.), living mostly at his farm near Sheffield. The daring souls who proposed writing homosexual novels or other literature in the field invariably wrote to him, or made pilgrimages, to receive warm encouragement as long as no demand was made for his personal involvement officially.

Reference: Davidson, 131.

MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD (1868-1935)

German writer and sexologist.

He was born at Kolberg, the third of three sons of a Jewish doctor in the Prussian public health service. Determined from an early age to be a physician, Hirschfeld was also greatly attracted to philosophy and languages in his studies, and at 15 he published an erudite essay in a Berlin weekly on a proposed universal language. Hirschfeld attended schools at Breslau and Strasburg and completed his medical training at the University of Munich.

Given the opportunity by his father of seeing something of the world before settling down, Hirschfeld visited the Chicago World Exposition in 1893, serving also as a reporter for various newspapers and periodicals, and returned to Germany via North Africa, Spain and Italy.

In 1894 Hirschfeld began his career as a general practitioner in Magdeburg, moving in 1896 to Charlottenburg, a western suburb of Berlin. First specializing in public hygiene problems, like his father, Hirschfeld founded a workers' health insurance institution, which was widely imitated.

The trial of Oscar Wilde (q.v.) and the suicide of a patient on the eve of his marriage triggered Hirschfeld's lifelong devotion to sexology in general, and homosexuality in particular, perhaps also causing him to examine his own emotions more honestly. In 1896 he published anonymously the first of his sexological works (the titles are hereafter given in English, although few have been translated), *Sappho and Socrates*, in which he defended the view that the homosexual urge, like the heterosexual, is "the result of a certain inborn goal-striving constitution, influenced by glands of internal secretion."

Heartened by the response to his article, Hirschfeld founded in 1897 the Scientific-Humanistic Committee, and he gained immediate publicity for it by drawing up a petition to the Reichstag for the repeal of Section 175 of the German Criminal Code, the section dealing with homosexual offenses. With a feeling for statistics and polls ahead of his time, Hirschfeld prepared in 1900 a "psychobiological questionnaire" with 130 questions, copies of which were ultimately to be filled out by more than 10,000 men and women.

With this impressive application of the principles of science to the study of human sexuality, Hirschfeld rapidly established a reputation as the most knowledgeable and undogmatic of doctors specializing in sexual problems, especially homosexuality. In 1903 he published *The Uranian Person*, and the following year the two-volume *Berlin's Third Sex*, which provided an unprecedented amount of well-informed "inside" material on matters homosexual.

In 1908, with the collaboration of other leading sexologists, Hirschfeld began his *Journal of Sexual Science*, and in 1909, for matters more specifically homosexual, his *Yearbook for Sexual Intermediate Stages*, which in the years 1909 to 1923 produced the richest collection of homosexual studies of all time in the areas of history, literature, art, music and psychology, bringing contributions from learned specialists hitherto without an outlet for their specialized knowledge. Somewhat similar was *Quarterly Reports of the Scientific-Humanistic Committee*. The Committee also served as the publisher of books, such as the collected works of the pioneer homosexual judge and pamphleteer Karl Ulrichs.

Recognition of Hirschfeld as Germany's leading expert on homosexuality was established when he was called as an expert witness during the Moltke-Eulenberg (q.v.) trial in 1909. In 1910 he moved to Berlin proper and became officially Germany's first avowed specialist in the psychosexual. In 1913, together with such other leading sexologists as Iwan Bloch, Hirschfeld founded the Medical Society for Sexual Science. In 1914 he published his masterwork in the field, *Homosexuality in Men and Women*, which was expanded into a two-volume edition (1920), and formed the most comprehensive and knowledgeable book to date on all phases of homosexuality.

In 1918 Hirschfeld launched his most ambitious scheme. Acquiring the beautiful mansion of Prince Hatzfeld, the former German ambassador to France, he set up there his *Medical Society*, which now became the *Institute for Sexual Science* with a wide range of activities never since equalled anywhere. The Institute, which in 1919 was taken over by the Prussian government as the Magnus Hirschfeld Foundation, acquired a library of about 20,000 volumes, a collection of about 35,000 pictures

from all over the world, and it served as a world headquarters for specialists in the field.

Its Marriage Consultation Department, free in most cases, was the first of its kind in Germany, soon followed by many imitators there and elsewhere, offering a physical and psychic examination for the prospective couple to determine their suitability, as well as advice on problems like birth control, frigidity and impotence. Once a week there was the so-called Question Evening, when anyone could deposit a written question in a box for discussion, a program that of course brought large crowds to the Institute's auditorium. The Institute's Sexual-Forensic Department dealt with moral delinquencies and any robberies, assaults, murders or homicides with a sexual connection, providing expert testimony at many trials, usually helpful to the accused homosexual. The Institute also conducted biological studies on blood, sperm, etc.

The more general books of Hirschfeld, which have been translated in part into English, include *Sexual Pathology* (three volumes), *Sexual Knowledge* (five volumes), *The World Journey of a Sexologist* and *Sexual History of World War I*. A highly specialized work related to his homosexual books, on a problem of great personal interest to him, was *The Transvestites*.

Hirschfeld presided over various International Congresses for Sexual Reform (Berlin, 1921; Copenhagen, 1928; London, 1929; Vienna, 1930; Brunn, 1932), the congresses being organized by the World League for Sexual Reform, founded by Hirschfeld in conjunction with Havelock Ellis of England and August Forel of Switzerland.

When the Nazis began to come to power, Hirschfeld was doomed on every count — as a Jew, as a pacifist, as a socialist, as an advocate of women's rights and as an anti-racist lecturer. His meetings were terrorized, and he himself was beaten up and sent to the hospital with a fractured skull. At the end of 1931 he went to New York at the invitation of the German-American Medical Society to deliver a series of lectures in his special field, and he never again returned to Germany. After travelling through the United States, he went to Japan, China, Java, Ceylon, India, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Greece, delivering lectures in the main cities of these lands. Much sexual-ethnological mate-

rial collected on the way was shipped to the Institute.

Advised by friends of the danger of returning to Germany, Hirschfeld settled for a while in Vienna and then in Switzerland. He was writing his *World Journey* when he learned that on May 6, 1933, the Nazis had pillaged his Institute and burned most of his books and collections. His own property was confiscated on grounds that he was "antagonistic to the spirit of the state." Hirschfeld settled next in Paris, where he founded a more modest Institute of Sexual Science, using the remnants of the Berlin showplace that had been salvaged by friends. He died at Nice on his sixty-seventh birthday.

Hirschfeld was said to have had transvestite as well as homosexual leanings and to have been affectionately referred to by many homosexuals as "Auntie Magnesia." Combining in himself, as it would seem, the greatest of scientific and scholarly background with firsthand knowledge, Hirschfeld's works on homosexuality would seem to hold automatically a place as the most truly authoritative of the works of the great sexologists. Yet his major homosexual works have not been translated into English, and those sexologists opposed to his "innate homosexuality" views assert that his own alleged homosexuality disqualified him from objectivity and credibility. This seems rather like saying that a naval officer with long service on submarines is much less qualified to write about submarine warfare than a naval officer who has never been down in a submarine.

Reference: Ellis, A. (*Mattachine Review*, June, 1959); Peyrefitte (E), 144.

Biographical reference: *Encyclopedia Sexualis*, 1936.



FRIEDRICH ALFRED KRUPP (1854-1902)

German industrialist.

He was born at Essen, the son of Alfred Krupp, the "cannon king" who by his prodigious new applications of cast steel (muzzleloading guns, railways wheels, etc.) transformed a small family business into a vast empire, from which he grew rich and powerful. Young Krupp was trained to devote himself to the financial rather than the technical side of the business, but when he succeeded his father in 1887, he proved even more success-

ful in expanding the empire. When the kaiser decided to build up a German navy, Krupp acquired his own shipyard and played a leading part in German naval expansion.

In the 1890s Krupp developed a great passion for the island of Capri off Naples, the one-time favorite residence of Tiberius (q.v.). Already one of the richest and most powerful men in Germany, Krupp had little difficulty in attaining the same status on Capri. He bought a hotel, enlarged it and had its proprietor elected mayor. He spent money prodigiously in local construction, in acquisitions for his art collections and as a patron of music. As befitted the chief builder of the new Germany navy, Krupp was fond of the sea and had his own yacht, ironically named *Puritan*.

Soon Krupp became well-known in a connection that recalled Tiberius. He showed a great attachment for many handsome boys, usually from the lower classes of Capri, the sons of fishermen, muleteers, etc., and in view of his lavishness with money, entertainment and gifts, he was soon in the position of having trouble turning them away rather than acquiring them as more and more of the amoral local youth indicated their availability. The word "orgies" came to be used in connection with some of his social activities on Capri. Undaunted by the recent sad experience of Oscar Wilde (q.v.), Krupp considered himself too powerful and too well-connected to have to worry about gossip.

Krupp's troubles started when his secretaries refused to pay off to some Neapolitan blackmailers, who thereupon gave their information, highly documented, to the local clerical party, whose candidate for mayor was opposed by Krupp's friend. The clerical party gave the information on the homosexual orgies to the Naples newspaper *Mattino*, which printed an article full of carefully phrased innuendoes. For good measure, the churchmen notified the authorities in Rome who, to Krupp's astonishment, prepared an expulsion order for him.

Learning of the pending expulsion order, Krupp made some arrangements to have things "fixed" during his absence and went back to Germany to attend the great regatta at Kiel with his good friend Kaiser Wilhelm, to whom he played host. Then the first German newspaper to take up the "Capri scandal," a small paper at Augsburg, came out with a careful reference to it. Shortly

after this, the powerful Socialist paper *Vorwärts*, which had opposed Krupp's naval building program, did a major series on his activities at Capri, backed up by pictures of him more or less nude with local youth, and full of quotes from local authorities about the "orgies." There was a report of his being officially expelled.

Like Oscar Wilde, Krupp was pushed into a hopeless libel action. Before the case came to trial, he was apparently given irrefutable evidence of the trap he was getting into and killed himself. On orders from the "all highest," the suicide was reported in the newspapers as death from natural causes. At his funeral there was a wreath from the kaiser with the inscription, "To my best friend."

Krupp was succeeded by his elder daughter, Bertha (who gave her name to the "Big Bertha" cannon of World War I fame), and in 1903 management passed to her husband, von Bohlen, now Krupp von Bohlen, who lasted through Nazi times and World War II. Their son today heads the de-nazified and re-organized Krupp.

Reference: Ellis, 39; Mayne, 277; Peyrefitte (E), 42-45; 57-59.



PHILIP, PRINCE ZU EULENBURG-HERTEFELD (1847-1921)

German statesman.

He was the son of a Prussian count, from whom he apparently inherited little but vast estates and castles. From his artistic mother, Eulenburg inherited a delicate and emotional constitution, great charm as a conversationalist and raconteur, and a passion for all things artistic, which ultimately found expression in his efforts as a poet, playwright, composer, painter, singer and architect.

At 17 Eulenburg was forced by his father into the traditional army career, but later he was permitted to resign to study law. He married in 1875 and dutifully sired eight children. In 1877 he entered the diplomatic service and during a brief tour as third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, Eulenburg made a friend of an attaché, Bernhard von Bülow, later to be foreign minister and chancellor. Subsequently at Munich, where the

Prussian government still maintained an embassy, he happened to be in temporary charge in 1886 when the report came of the suicide of the dethroned Ludwig II (q.v.), with whom Eulenburg had much in common and with whom he had a close personal friendship. The Munich years he considered the happiest of his life; it was there that he fathered six of his eight children.

A few months after Ludwig's death, Eulenburg met and made a very favorable impression on the 27-year-old Prince Wilhelm, grandson of the emperor, who thereafter considered Eulenburg a close personal friend. In 1888 the death of Wilhelm's grandfather was followed a few months later by that of his father, and the young prince became suddenly Kaiser Wilhelm II. Devoted to his artistically talented friend as a useful contrast to the uncultured martinets by whom he was of necessity surrounded most of his time, Wilhelm frequently took Eulenburg with him on trips or visited at the Eulenburg estates.

When his father died, Eulenburg sought to retire to his estates and devote himself to art, but the kaiser would not permit it. Bismarck, not yet tossed out, had faith in Eulenburg's influence and encouraged him to accompany the kaiser on cruises and trips. He became officially the foreign ministry's liaison officer to the kaiser. At the same time, Eulenburg's diplomatic career continued officially with assignments to the courts of the petty monarchs of imperial Germany, assignments with little responsibility and allowing for absence whenever the kaiser desired his company. He was at the court of the homosexual Charles I of Württemberg (q.v.) in 1890 when Bismarck was dismissed by Wilhelm, who henceforth assumed personal direction of Germany's destiny through complaisant tools who were generally elderly mediocrities.

The new situation provided a golden opportunity for the acquisition of more power by Bismarck's old enemy, Friedrich von Holstein, the mysterious "grey eminence" of the foreign office, sometimes called "the man with the hyena eyes." He was actually the permanent under-secretary. Holstein at first had great hopes of using Eulenburg to get his ideas through to the kaiser. But in 1894, after the kaiser accepted the resignation of von Caprivi, the first post-Bismarckian chancellor, it was a man opposed by Holstein whom Eulenburg was influential in pushing

into the chancellorship, the tired old (75) Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. As though being permitted to escape the anger of Holstein, Eulenburg was now given an important diplomatic assignment, ambassador to Vienna, where he performed his duties with great skill and was very popular. After illness forced his resignation in 1901, Eulenburg received the title of prince and retired to his beloved Liebenberg estate in Brandenburg.

Meanwhile, in 1900, Hohenlohe had resigned, and the chancellorship went to Eulenburg's old friend, Foreign Minister von Bülow, with whom the intriguing Holstein now established a close relationship, at the expense of Eulenburg. Although the kaiser had somewhat cooled towards his "Phili" he still visited him once or twice a year and had to listen to advice against militaristic ventures. When in 1906 Eulenburg's health was again restored, he returned to Berlin and reestablished himself as a close adviser of the kaiser, if less close than formerly. He also became part of an inner circle of like-minded art-and-culture types, called the Round Table, whose other prominent members included Kuno von Moltke, nephew of the great field marshal and commandant of Berlin.

It was in 1906 that the clash between Germany and France over Morocco had ended in German humiliation when, contrary to Holstein's "intuition," Britain stood firmly by France. Holstein, who had pushed the kaiser into his aggressive brinksmanship, went through his fifteenth *pro forma* offer of resignation, and was horrified when this time the kaiser accepted it. Although the real explanation was that in the concurrent illness of both the chancellor and the foreign minister the resignation had for the first time been passed along without recommendations to the angry kaiser by a mere acting foreign minister. Holstein was certain that it was Eulenburg's machinations that had undone him, or that of Eulenburg together with the other members of the Round Table.

On May 1, 1906, Holstein wrote Eulenburg a letter, somewhat like Queensberry's note to Wilde (q.v.), mentioning the danger to anyone's reputation in being seen in the company of someone with Eulenburg's homosexual reputation. After Eulenburg challenged him to a duel, Holstein backed down and made a partial public apology. However, shortly after, a series of curious

articles began to appear in an obscure newspaper, *Die Zukunft*, belonging to Maximilian Harden, a chauvinistic, Bismarck-idolizing, journalistic friend of Holstein's, till recently his enemy. The articles described the tremendous influence on the kaiser of the effeminate "Phili" and his musical, poetical and spiritualistic friends of the Liebenberg Round Table who were accused of flattering the kaiser into divine right ideas of rule while emasculating his foreign ambitions. Hints were included of the orgies staged by these men who shunned women.

When the kaiser learned of the articles, he was infuriated and wanted to clap Harden into jail. However, a coalition of powerful figures hostile to Eulenburg and the Round Table, including the Crown Prince, Chancellor von Bülow and high army officers, demanded that Eulenburg and Moltke clear their names in court or leave the country. Wilhelm acceded to this demand.

In October, 1907, Moltke launched a libel suit in a lower court. Like Queensberry in the Wilde case, Harden through his lawyers now produced extensive data about Moltke during a dramatic week in court. Psychologists testified on both sides, including Hirschfeld (q.v.), who pronounced Moltke obviously homosexual. Harden, like Queensberry, was exonerated and cheered as the country's savior by the crowds outside the courtroom. Meanwhile Eulenburg, at a spa in Austria, was involved only indirectly. However, he acceded to the kaiser's demand to file a libel suit of his own, which took place at the same time that Moltke appealed his case to a higher court. Due to legal complications, the proceedings Eulenburg had sought to initiate were held up pending resolution of Moltke's case.

In October, 1908, the second Moltke trial took place. Eulenburg came to Berlin to testify but was kept from the court by bronchitis. During the trial, a convicted blackmailer named Bollhardt testified that Eulenburg had seduced him ten years ago at the house of Count Lynar, another member of the Round Table. The evidence proved so fraudulent that Moltke won this time and Harden was sentenced to four months in prison. A rumor developed that Eulenburg had bribed Harden with a million marks to lose his case. To make things even wilder, a leading homosexual writer, Paul Brand (as "Hans Licht" the author of *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*) declared Chancellor von Bülow, as

a homosexual himself, was a sort of traitor to his class, for which Brand was tried and imprisoned.

In 1909 Eulenburg's suit finally came to court, mixed in with juridical confusion with a suit of Harden's against the publisher whose journal alleged he'd been bribed by Eulenburg. Harden's lawyer produced two fishermen, Reidl and Ernst, former employees of Eulenburg, who claimed that about 25 years back, they had been seduced by Eulenburg. Eulenburg, ill with influenza and a heart condition, had delivered a sworn affidavit that he had never violated Article 175. Attempts to arrest him for perjury were prevented only by his doctors, but he was considered under arrest in the hospital, with armed guards at his door.

During May and June, 1909, Eulenburg attended the trial on a stretcher, hearing the testimony of a number of witnesses who claimed to have had homosexual relations with him decades earlier and of the police records, which included the accounts of informers, especially one who operated in a bathhouse. When Eulenburg grew more ill, the court adjourned to the hospital. When Eulenburg suffered another heart attack, followed by pneumonia, the proceedings were held up. Finally, in July, 1909, the court adjourned *sine die*. Eventually Eulenburg returned to his estate, where he continued to be periodically examined by doctors and pronounced unfit to stand trial until World War I, which ended with the collapse of the regime responsible for the whole farcical proceedings. He died in happy oblivion in his mid-seventies.

Whatever the moral shortcomings of Eulenburg and the Round Table, they used all their influence on the kaiser for peace and against militaristic adventures, and the triumph of their enemies was not without effect in the events leading to the catastrophic First World War.

Reference: Bulliet, 212-14; Pedersen (*One*, November/December, 1956).



SERGEI PAVLOVICH DIAGHILEV (1872-1929)

Russian impresario.

He was born at Novgorod, the son of a Russian general and noble who was also an owner of distilleries and a patron of music. Diaghilev's mother was a musician and a singer. Carefully brought

up in his parents' palace at Perm (later Molotov), he attended high school there and was noted for his not unjustified arrogance derived from his consciousness of personal cleverness to match his inherited social superiority.

For his higher education, the dandified little prince from the provinces came to St. Petersburg, where he rapidly won the same social status he had enjoyed at Perm, his uncle being minister of the interior. He became an intimate of both the court society and the capital's artistic circles, to which his own interests drew him. At the University of St. Petersburg, where he was supposed to study law, he devoted himself increasingly to music and later he took courses from Rimsky-Korsakov in harmony at the Conservatory, becoming an expert pianist. His efforts as a composer, however, proved futile.

In 1894 Diaghilev made a grand tour of western Europe and was greatly attracted by it, especially Paris, where he developed a reputation as a figure of mystery. He became very interested in art and, on his return to Russia, began organizing Russian artists so that they would be aware of each other's work, and stimulating the rich to become patrons of art. In 1897 he organized an exhibition of contemporary French and English painters and in 1898 of Russian painters. Diaghilev was appointed special adviser to the director of the Imperial Theater on special novelties for the staging of opera and ballet.

As a minor sideline of his new job, Diaghilev was entrusted with the editing of the *Annals* of the five imperial theaters, which he insisted on turning into lavish literary productions. Acquiring a taste for fancy publishing, he founded in 1898 *Mir Iskusstva* (The World of Art), a magazine of art and letters on which he spent much of his own fortune. Leading painters were commissioned to illustrate it, and such writers as Chekhov and Tolstoy were asked to contribute to it. Diaghilev earned himself additional publicity by arguing with Tolstoy on whether his ethics really made any sense. In 1899 *Mir* sponsored an exhibition of French impressionists, and in 1901 Diaghilev founded the Society for Evenings of Contemporary Music. Meanwhile Diaghilev, anxious to be known as the discoverer of new talent, kept open house at his elegant apartment for artists, and in 1903, with paintings collected from all over Russia he staged

a dazzling collection of Russian historical art. All these expenses, however, so far exceeded the returns earned by *Mir Isskustva* that it folded up in 1904, no more funds being available either from Diaghilev's own fortune or from patrons.

In 1906, entering a new career, Diaghilev arranged for an exhibition of Russian art in Paris, the capital of the tsar's new ally, and in 1908 he followed this with five concerts of Russian music. This led to an even more ambitious scheme in 1908, the performance of Russian opera in Paris with Chaliapin starring. The next step was yet more ambitious, a tour of Russian ballet.

Russia's most promising male ballet dancer, Nijinsky (q.v.), had come completely under Diaghilev's spell and was later to refer to him as "a genius, the greatest organizer, discoverer and developer of talents, with the soul of an artist and a grand seigneur, the only man I could compare to Leonardo da Vinci." Although twenty years older, Diaghilev apparently had little trouble in becoming Nijinsky's lover and henceforth the dominating influence in his life.

The 1909 performance of the Marinsky troupe in Paris brought Diaghilev to the peak of his fame as an impresario, and established Nijinsky as the most dazzling new male dancer in the world. As an impresario Diaghilev was responsible for giving opportunities for new development to many diverse artistic talents aside from Nijinsky's, especially to Fokine as a choreographer, to painters like Bakst as set designers, and ultimately to Stravinsky for original music. *Scheherazade*, *Petrouchka*, *The Firebird* and *Le Spectre de la Rose* were all soon recognized as monuments in ballet to the various talents brought together by Diaghilev.

When in 1910 Nijinsky, suspended from the Marinsky, tendered his resignation, he was persuaded by Diaghilev to become *premier danseur* of Diaghilev's own new company, to be based on Monte Carlo. The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo toured all the major cities of Europe, achieving many successes. In 1912 *L'Après-Midi d'un Faun*, with Nijinsky's own choreography, achieved another great success, and in 1913 Stravinsky's music contributed to the success of *Le Sacre de Printemps*.

Later in 1913, while Diaghilev's whole company was off on a South American tour without him, his beloved Nijinsky sought to free himself forever from his Svengali by marrying a Hungarian

girl who had recently joined the company and ardently wooed him. Shortly after the couple's return to Europe, Diaghilev, who had taken the marriage as an unforgivable personal affront, sent Nijinsky a telegram firing him, without even arranging for payment of back salary due. Another dancer of the company, Leonide Massine, was groomed to replace Nijinsky as a dancer and encouraged to become a choreographer. However, Diaghilev soon found that booking agents and prospective patrons were constantly demanding Nijinsky, who had been interned by the Austrians during a visit to his wife's family after the outbreak of World War I.

Nijinsky having been finally released to the Americans in 1916, his arrival in the United States coincided with final arrangements made by Diaghilev for a tour of his company. In the face of the insistence of his American sponsors on Nijinsky, Diaghilev finally acquiesced in his return, but, anxious for a minimum of personal contact, sailed off to Europe.

After a successful tour of the United States and Canada, Nijinsky returned with his wife to Europe, and in 1917 Diaghilev made his peace with them in Spain. Later it turned out that he had tricked Nijinsky by a legal technicality into committing himself to a tour of South America. The tour, reluctantly entered on by Nijinsky, proved less successful than usual and full of misfortunes. Shortly after Nijinsky's return to Europe to wait out the war in Switzerland, his mind began to give way, and the rest of his life was spent in confinement at home or in institutions, his dancing forever lost to Diaghilev and the world.

Diaghilev continued as a ballet impresario into the 1920s his final choreographer being George Balanchine. He of course never again found a male dancer to match the fame and talents of Nijinsky, with whom he had a few meetings after his insanity.

Reference: Nijinsky, 34-35, 40, 44.



VASLAV NIJINSKY (1890-1950)

Russian ballet dancer.

He was born at Kiev, the son of a third-generation professional dancer of Polish origin. His mother was the orphaned daughter of a wealthy Polish landowner, said to have been dancing an hour

before his birth. In order to avoid later Russian military service for her son, his mother took him to Warsaw for his baptism.

The Nijinsky dancing troupe was "on the road," and Vaslav made his first public appearance as a dancer at three, his brother and sister also dancing as infants. When the older brother Stanislav became mentally retarded, allegedly after a serious fall, the family settled in St. Petersburg in the vain hope of securing curative treatment there for Stanislav. The older Nijinsky deserted his family for his long-time Jewish mistress, when she became pregnant, so Nijinsky's mother gave up her dancing and, taking a large apartment, opened a boarding-house to support her family. Young Vaslav, greatly devoted to her, helped with the housekeeping.

Disregarding the advice of her husband, who still maintained some contact and sent small remittances, that she have Vaslav learn a trade, his mother tried unsuccessfully to enroll him at 7 in the Imperial School of Dancing. She was told to bring him back when he was 10, and in 1900 his early dancing paid off when Nijinsky was among six chosen out of 150 applicants for the school. Subjected to an iron discipline similar to that of a military academy, the students were trained for eight years in all phases of the dance, as well as in their general studies.

Nicknamed *Kitachek* (the Chinaman) because of his somewhat Mongoloid features, Nijinsky became a great favorite of one of the leading instructors, Nikolai Legat, who gave him extensive extra tutoring. By 1902, when a two-year probationary period was over and he became a boarder, Nijinsky was already famed as the school's most promising dancer. Like other students, he began receiving small parts and walk-ons in the ballets and operas at the imperial or Marinsky Theater, his first part being that of a Negro boy in *Aida*. He was greatly impressed by Chaliapin, and studied his makeup and his every dramatic movement. The school's instructor in pantomime predicted Nijinsky would be Russia's greatest actor as well as dancer.

Although he worked so hard that he mixed little with the other boys (his Polish nationality and Catholic religion contributing to the estrangement), he did occasionally appear as a ringleader in mischievous pranks and when one such prank led to a tutor being hit with a toy arrow, he was expelled. Admirers

on the faculty in due course secured his reinstatement. Within a year he was out again, hospitalized for three months from a fall after an ambitious pirouette. In 1905 he again suffered injuries when he was cut on the forehead by a charging Cossack after he wandered into the procession of demonstrating workers led by Father Gapon on that famous day during the Revolution of 1905 known as Bloody Sunday.

By 1906 Nijinsky's instructors declared they could teach him nothing more and he was offered regular membership in the Marinsky two years before he was supposed to graduate. However, he begged to remain the final two years, meanwhile receiving bigger parts. For the ceremonies attending his class' graduation, Nijinsky danced in Mozart's *Don Juan* ballet, and he was such an immense success that Chaliapin embraced him, kissed him on both cheeks and called him the pride of Russia.

Upon his graduation in 1907, Nijinsky became automatically a member of the Marinsky or Imperial Opera of St. Petersburg, which belonged to the tsar and was directly subsidized by him, all of its 200 members being graduates of the imperial schools. Nijinsky rose rapidly, securing universal recognition for his extraordinary talent, both as a dancer and pantomimist, and was soon the partner of such prima ballerinas as Pavlova, who became very jealous of his greater applause.

Nijinsky was now able to move with his mother into an expensive apartment. At first he devoted his few leisure hours to avid reading, Shakespeare (q.v.), Ibsen, Chekhov and Tolstoy being especial favorites. Later he was introduced at the home of a ballerina to Prince Lvov (q.v.), a great patron of the ballet and of attractive young ballet dancers (also guardsmen and pages). Lvov took an instant liking to Nijinsky and had him as a frequent guest at the entertainments at his palace, where Nijinsky was caught up in the social whirl, and found his first homosexual fulfillment. It was not long before he met the man who was to cast the greatest influence in his life, Sergei Diaghilev (q.v.), the great impresario who dominated almost every branch of art and culture in contemporary Russia. The two being virtually made for each other sexually and artistically, a partnership was gradually formed which was to bring ballet to its greatest heights.

In 1909 Diaghilev brought to Paris a troupe from the Marinsky that included Nijinsky in a starring role. Publicity for the troupe was handled in Paris by young Jean Cocteau, and among its major patrons was the great friend of Proust (q.v.), Robert de Montesquiou, the inspiration for the "Baron du Charlus." In his *Pavillon d'Armide* Nijinsky took Paris by storm, and he also made an impression in the national dances he did. Later, he starred in the added items on the program, *Cléopâtre*, *Les Sylphides* and *Les Orientales*.

In the summer of 1909, after the season, Nijinsky and Diaghilev went off together on vacation to Carlsbad and then Venice, where Nijinsky met the American dancer, Isadora Duncan, and was among the few men failing to comply with her usual request to all famous men to sleep with her. When they returned to St. Petersburg in August, they received a triumphant welcome and the tsar's thanks for the honor brought Russia by their success. Approaches had already been made for a return to Paris in 1910, and the following year the success was repeated, with Nijinsky dancing in new roles in *Carnaval*, *Scheherazade*, *Giselle* and *The Firebird*, the latter with music by Stravinsky. Nijinsky's tremendous talents as a pantomimist were admired almost as much as his dancing. During the season, he became the sought-after idol of Paris' cultural world, and he met such greats as Ravel, Debussy and Bernhardt. Before returning to Russia, Nijinsky and Diaghilev again had their private vacation.

Nijinsky's glorious career as the *premier danseur* of the Marinsky was cut short by a fantastic and somewhat bawdy episode. For his appearance in St. Petersburg in *Giselle* in the costume designed for Paris, Nijinsky suddenly decided that somehow his role would be portrayed more faithfully without the dancer's equivalent of an athletic supporter. He discarded it just before the curtain went up, with members of the imperial family in the audience. Whether or not the tsar's mother registered a personal protest (the lady, the same one who had the dramatic role in the Anastasia story, later denied it), the director, outraged at Nijinsky's refusal to put it back on, suspended him after the performance, an unprecedented action that brought a storm of protest. On Diaghilev's suggestion, he resigned.

Diaghilev already had plans for himself and his boy. He

formed his own permanent company, with headquarters at Monte Carlo, with Nijinsky as *premier danseur* and with a large number of Marinsky veterans lured by the fantastic salaries he offered. The choreographer Fokine joined up, and Stravinsky agreed to write some music for the new group from time to time. In the spring of 1911 Nijinsky left Russia, forever as it turned out.

In the ensuing years the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo scored triumphs in all the major cities of Europe. New favorite roles for Nijinsky were born in *Petrouchka*, *Spectre de la Rose*, and the ballet in which he created choreography for himself, *L'Après-Midi d'un Faun*, which also drew both raves and boos for his startling costumes. Some leading moralists declared it obscene and the Paris police first stopped the performance until one scene was modified, apparently involving Nijinsky's genital exhibitionism again. The great sculptor Rodin came to his defense, and soon all the cultural world of France was divided into pro and con groups. The success of *Faun* led to some depreciation of Fokine, and after hasty words, he resigned. The loss of Fokine, followed soon after by that of other great artists who couldn't stand Diaghilev's increasing paranoia, gradually brought a decline in the quality of the troupe. But even with the decline it was generally considered the best in the world.

In 1913 Romola Markus, the dancing daughter of a Hungarian actress, joined the troupe and decided Nijinsky must marry her. The Ballet Russe sailed in August on a South American tour, and on the *S.S. Avon* Nijinsky in due course became aware of how ardently he was being courted, this time by a woman. As this courtship apparently coincided with his own feelings he was getting too old at 23 to be Diaghilev's boy, and she pleased him by a vague resemblance to his beloved sister Bronia, he proposed to her—through a mutual friend. They were married in Rio de Janeiro in September. Diaghilev did not accompany the troupe to South America and, when informed of the marriage, failed to send the expected congratulations. When Nijinsky returned to Europe after a fairly successful tour and contacted Diaghilev, he received the wired reply, "Your services with the Ballet Russe are no longer needed. Don't join us." There was no offer of settlement of back pay due.

When the news that he was free spread around the world,

Nijinsky was flooded with offers, the most impressive of which was 100,000 gold francs to be *mâitre de ballet* and *premier danseur* at the Paris Opera. Lacking Diaghilev's shrewd judgment on such matters, he kept turning down good offers and finally accepted the sleaziest of all, that of the Palace Theater in London, which he believed to be a center of culture rather than a variety house. After eight disastrous weeks in the spring of 1914, he quit and was then threatened by lawsuits. Finally settling with both the management and his own company out of his savings, he left England nearly penniless and ready to accept the first remunerative offer, which was a private performance for the King of Spain at the wedding reception for Teddy Roosevelt's son Kermit. By way of Paris, where Diaghilev was not doing too well without him, Nijinsky went to Hungary to be with his wife, who had gone home for the birth of their child, a daughter named Kyra, born on June 19.

Just before the outbreak of World War I Nijinsky was called to London at the insistence of London patrons that Diaghilev's Ballet Russe performance must include him. However, because of the hostility shown him by the cast at Diaghilev's prompting, he concluded further collaboration was impossible, and he returned to Austria-Hungary, where he was interned after the outbreak of war, when on the point of returning to Russia with his wife. First confined in his mother-in-law's house, Nijinsky was abused by her and denounced as a spy to the authorities and nearly thrown into prison. Russia tried to exchange him but balked when the Austrians demanded in exchange five general staff officers. After various other efforts on his behalf fell through, the Austrians finally accepted that of the United States. Nijinsky was released on parole to the United States, and by way of Switzerland he passed through France with his wife, sailing from Bordeaux on the *S.S. Rochambeau*.

Meanwhile Diaghilev had signed up with the Metropolitan Opera people for an appearance of the Ballet Russe, and as soon as Nijinsky's imminent arrival was known, they insisted on his being part of the show. Nijinsky's personal and financial disputes with Diaghilev being solved by lawyers as best they could, he opened at the Met with the Ballet Russe on April 12, 1916. The cast behaved politely to him this time, as did Diaghilev

in a cool way until he sailed back to Europe.

Nijinsky again scored a great triumph, especially with *Prince Igor*, *Spectre de la Rose*, *Scheherazade* and *Petrouchka*. He came to adore America, and in the summer of 1916 used to walk up and down Broadway at night and study the movie marquees. He had great faith in the future of the movies, seeing them developing into a fine art and foreseeing special dances being created for the movies. He also grew fond of jazz, and after buying a Peerless, a motoring enthusiast. One emblem of Americanism, however, Coca-Cola, he found intolerable.

An American tour of the Ballet Russe in the fall of 1916 was held up when Nijinsky sprained his ankle (his old rival Pavlova called to ask hopefully if he hadn't really broken his leg). An X-ray taken at the time revealed to fascinated doctors a curious prehensile foot. When the tour finally took place, it was another great triumph for Nijinsky, who added a new ballet, *Tyl Eulenspiegel*. The tour began on October 30, and in five months included Boston, Washington (with President Wilson and the whole diplomatic corps present), Atlanta, Tulsa, New Orleans, Des Moines, Omaha, Denver, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles (where Charlie Chaplin was a great fan), San Francisco, Vancouver in Canada, Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Memphis, and finally ended at Albany on February 24, 1917.

In the latter part of the tour, Nijinsky became increasingly subject to the Tolstoyan preachings of the dancer Kostrovsky, who persuaded him to become a vegetarian and thereby undermined his health. He became nervous, irritable to his wife and began talking of retiring to the good rural life. Moderating such extremes, he finally became merely critical of American commercialism as a threat to creative artistry and anxious to return to Europe. He wired a tentatively favorable response to Diaghilev's offer of a tour of Spain and South America.

Diaghilev met Nijinsky and his wife in Spain and appeared to be fully reconciled and friendly during appearances of the Ballet Russe in Spain. But when Nijinsky decided against the South American tour, Diaghilev pointed out that under Spanish law, his cabled tentative acceptance was as good as a contract

and when Nijinsky tried to leave Spain, had him arrested. Nijinsky gave in, feeling that Diaghilev had now managed to regain complete control of him even without their sexual ties. The appearance of the troupe in South America in the latter part of 1917 was not too distinguished, and the tour was full of mishaps and unpleasant relations within the troupe.

After Nijinsky and his wife returned to Europe late in 1917 to wait out the end of the war, they took a house at St. Moritz in Switzerland, where they were joined by their daughter. Nijinsky participated in winter sports with his usual bodily skill and worked on his new ballet, which involved a house of prostitution for all sexes and tastes. Shortly after the Armistice, his mental fantasies began to develop prodigiously, at first connected with giving up dancing and become a Tolstoyan preacher. He began to rant about crosses and suffering, and in his mind mixed up the many roles he had played with others he aspired to play.

By 1920 he was declared incurably insane and confined for some months to an asylum near Zurich. He was then taken home and given the illusion of freedom and domestic life, but with trained nurses at hand. Later he was taken to see great doctors in Vienna and Paris. "Let him have his dreams in quiet surroundings," was the most impressive verdict. Sometimes he became violent and had to be institutionalized again. In Paris in 1927 he again met Diaghilev, who joked about his dancing again for him. "I can't since I'm mad," replied Nijinsky with somewhat suspicious lucidity. He lived on and on, in homes and institutions in central and western Europe, and for some time in England, through World War II, dying in 1950 at 60. A fascinating diary kept by Nijinsky, edited and translated by his wife (and biographer), was published in 1936.

Reference: Nijinsky.



ANDRÉ GIDE (1869-1951)

French writer.

He was born at Paris, the son of a Protestant law professor. Gide was educated at the École Alsacienne in Montpellier, near the home of his grandparents, and at the Lycée Henri IV in Paris. Many of his early memories involved the countryside,

from visits to his many relatives both in Provence in the south and Normandy in the north. In his early years he conceived the idea of marrying his uncle's daughter Emmanuele, who was always greatly attached to him, but their respective parents opposed the marriage for many years.

In 1891, at 22, Gide began his long literary career by having printed at his own expense *Les Cahiers d'André Walter*, half psychological novel and half lyrical confessions that, like most of his work, drew heavily on personal experiences, in this case a student perplexed about masturbatory and metaphysical problems alike.

Owing to lung trouble, Gide was turned down for military service, and in 1893, accompanied by an artist friend, went to North Africa. At Sousse he was initiated into his first homosexual experience by a precocious Arab boy, and later at Biskra, the setting of *The Immoralist*, Gide was torn between the desires aroused by various boys (from the streets or the hotel staff) and his desire to conform. In the latter connection he shared with his heterosexual friend Paul a local whore named Meriem, who was later passed on to his friend Pierre Louys and inspired some of his *Songs of Bilitis*. Gide's lung trouble, after taking a turn for the worse, began to show marked improvement, and after a trip with Paul to Sicily and Italy, he underwent decisive treatment in Switzerland. During this period Gide completed two more minor works, *Le Voyage d'Urien* (1893) and *Paludes* (1895), reflecting his recent travels and his sense of estrangement from the mediocrity of his fellow men.

In 1895 Gide returned to North Africa and at Blidah, and later at Algiers, he met Oscar Wilde (q.v.), whom he had previously known in Paris, on the eve of his return to England and those dramatic events that led to his trial, disgrace and imprisonment. Except insofar as amorous adventures required absences, Lord Alfred Douglas was constantly with Wilde, and their behavior together was so extreme that Gide was embarrassed to be seen with them. During an outing one night at a café in Algiers, Wilde secured for Gide, about whose homosexuality he had not previously been certain, a beautiful boy named Mohammed, a previous favorite of Douglas', who later came to a special apartment where Wilde had arrangements. That

night remained one of Gide's most powerful memories, the source of especial gratitude to Wilde. The rapture Gide felt as he clasped (five times) "that perfect little body, so wild, so ardent, so sombrely lascivious," ended for him forever any doubts about his homosexuality. In his frank confessions he also mentions a further night of rapturous masturbation over the memories.

After Wilde returned to England, Gide was joined on the way to Biskra by Douglas with his new Arab boy Ali, and at Biskra Douglas and Ali occupied a set of rooms across the hall from those of Gide, whose old boy friend Athman of the hotel staff acted as interpreter for them. When Ali was found to be perversely flirting with that ubiquitous whore Meriem, already mentioned, Douglas flew into rage, beat him, sent him home, and then himself returned to England in time to push Wilde into the disastrous collision with Queensberry, Douglas' hated father. After a final homosexual fling in Algiers, Gide returned to France, frustrated by his mother's violent opposition to his plan to bring Athman with him.

Shortly after Gide's return to France, his mother died and he lost no time in carrying out his long-planned marriage to his devoted cousin Emmanuele, who was to be immortalized as Marcelline in *The Immoralist*. In 1897 he published his first work to achieve any distinction, *Les Nourritures terrestres* (*Fruits of the Earth*), reflecting both his anti-intellectualism and his anti-puritanism by an appeal to pure voluptuousness as the source of human salvation, a philosophy that England's D. H. Lawrence was soon also to work out. Around this time Gide succeeded Leon Blum, the future statesman, as book reviewer for *Revue Blanche*, the periodical with which Marcel Proust (q.v.) was also associated. When Gide's old friend Oscar Wilde was released from prison, and ended up in Paris to spend his final few years, Gide saw him quite often.

In 1902 Gide published his famous novel *L'Immoraliste*, in which he drew heavily on his experiences at Biskra in a story of the marriage of a repressed homosexual, who refuses to acknowledge his homosexuality, to a girl very much like Emmanuele. Not until 1930 was it considered possible to publish the English translation as *The Immoralist* (followed in 1954 by a dramatization).

In 1909 Gide founded the influential *Nouvelle Revue française*, which was to remain outstanding in French literature until World War II. That same year he published *La Porte étroite* (*Strait is the Gate*; 1924), followed by *Isabella* (1911) and *Symphonie Pastorale* (1919), all short analytical novels again heavily autobiographical. In 1914 Gide attempted a humorous picaresque novel with *Caves du Vatican*, which appeared in English as *Lafcadio's Adventures* (1925), in this case with little of an autobiographical nature.

In 1924 Gide shocked most of his colleagues, to whom his homosexuality had of course been well-known, by publishing a purely autobiographical work, *Si le grain ne meurt*, about his coming to terms with his homosexuality in his twenties, including all those episodes with the Arab boys already referred to. The English translation, *If It Die*, was cautiously issued in a limited edition in 1935, though in 1957, with the new permissive standards, a paperback reprint had very wide sales. Also published in 1924 was the first regular edition of *Corydon*, Gide's dialogues on homosexuality, which had previously appeared in part in anonymous limited editions. This work, in which Gide sought to prove as a natural philosopher and scientist the relative normality of homosexuality, was not published in English translation until 1950.

In 1925 Gide published his best-known work, *Les faux-monnayeurs*, whose English translation, *The Counterfeiters*, followed in 1927. A later edition added the curious author's notebook in which the working out of the book was traced. Full of innovations in novel-writing, this book also introduced the novelty of homosexual characters whose homosexuality was simply taken for granted and not especially relevant to the main plot, or even representing any particular subplot of itself. Another work of Gide's with some homosexual implications was the drama *Saul*, in which the old king was seen as also homosexually motivated in forming a sort of incestuous triangle with his son Jonathan (q.v.) and David.

Meanwhile, as one of France's leading literary figures, his position unaffected by his homosexual confessions, Gide wrote many reviews and essays. Extensive travels in Africa in the 1920s produced *Travels in the Congo* and *Return from Tchad*,

leading to a reform of French colonial policy. Travels in Russia in the 1930s produced the sensational *Return from the U.S.S.R.*, reflecting disillusionment with the Soviet experiment, and not leading to any kind of reforms, except possibly on the ease with which M. Gide might ever again get a Soviet visa.

Gide also did a great deal of translating, including the plays *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Hamlet* of Shakespeare (q.v.), the poem *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* of Blake (q.v.), and the *Gitanjali* of India's Tagore. Gide's collected works were published in French in fifteen volumes between 1932 and 1939, followed by his *Journals* in 1939 (English translation in 1947-49), with considerable additional homosexual confessional material.

In his final months, Gide gave his approval to an attempt at the seemingly impossible dramatization of *The Immoralist*, which was successfully presented in New York some two years after his death. It was in the role of the amoral Arab boy Bachir, based on Athman and several other boys from the 1890s, that the late James Dean started his meteoric career. An even more faithful production, highly praised, was staged "off Broadway" in New York in 1963.

Although Proust's name was to be more strongly associated with the removal of the nineteenth-century taboos on frankly homosexual characters in books published in the west, especially in England and the United States, the efforts of Gide were earlier, more comprehensive, and far more courageous both in personal identification and in what might be called decaricaturization. The years in which the respective original French works of Gide or Proust ultimately saw English translation and publication was of course a purely circumstantial matter, for which neither credit nor blame could attach to the original French author.

Reference: Gide.



MARCEL PROUST (1871-1922)

French writer.

He was born at Paris, the son of a professor of medicine. His mother, to whom he was greatly devoted, was Jewish. Proust was educated at the Lycée Condorcet, and then in 1892 he became associated with Léon Blum, the future premier, and others

on *Revue Blanche*, a periodical edited by a select group of intellectuals, mostly Jewish. Proust sought the company of both fashionable and intellectual society, and he became a great favorite of the salons. In one of these salons Proust met Anatole France, who was persuaded to write an introduction to Proust's collection of society love stories, published as *Les plaisirs et les jours* (1896), which appeared in English a half century later as *Pleasures and Regrets* (1948).

Although his first work was praised by a few intellectuals for its psychological subtlety, it left Proust unknown to the public. In 1902, his health began to fail and he was obliged to lead a retired and careful life. When he lost both of his parents in 1904 and 1905, he withdrew almost completely from society, first devoting himself to extensive reading, especially of Ruskin (some of whose works he translated into French) and of the great memoirs-writer, Saint-Simon.

Proust conceived the idea of doing for salon life of the 1890s what Saint-Simon had done for court life in the 1690s, and using his almost infinite free time, Proust began to work on his great cyclic novel which was to become, in English, *Remembrance of Things Past*, a long and leisurely work full of incredibly minute details.

By 1913, when the first part, known in English as *Swann's Way*, was published in Paris at his own expense, and drew little attention, Proust had almost completed the entire work. For the second part, however, known in English as *Within a Budding Grove*, Proust had been able to find a publisher, and it drew a rave review from Léon Daudet, the royalist and anti-democratic writer who happened to be a member of the Goncourt Academy. In 1918 Proust received the Goncourt Prize and was now read, discussed and criticized on all sides.

Proust's reputation continued to grow with the publication of further parts. He died in 1922, in the midst of the publication of the part known in English as *Cities of the Plain*, the part with which his name is perhaps most identified, involving the homosexual Baron de Charlus. Not until 1927 was the last part published in French. English translations began in 1922 and were completed in 1932, after which inevitably a single giant volume appeared embracing the whole work.

Proust's influence on subsequent writers throughout the western world has been considered tremendous. Applying Freudian theories to literature, in this case semi-autobiographical, he developed the theory of involuntary memory, whereby a new encounter with an already experienced sense impression permits the past to be recalled. Proust is also distinguished, as he originally intended, as a faithful chronicler of a segment of society in his period.

Because Proust became "must" reading for all those with any literary pretensions, his name came to be identified, somewhat unjustifiably, with daringly unambiguous delineation of a homosexual character, involved in homosexual episodes, thus overcoming a century-old taboo in western literature, especially in the United States and England. For many years references to Proust's Baron de Charlus (believed to have been based on a former lover, Robert de Montesquiou) and to the term "Proustian" remained a polite circumlocution for homosexual.

In recent years, manuscripts of earlier works of Proust's have been located and published in France, and in due course appeared in English translation, as has his unsuccessful book of love stories. *Marcel Proust on Art and Literature* (1958) contains the short *A Race Accursed* with an earlier version of Baron de Charlus, in this case named M. de Quercy, together with some bleak asides about homosexuals and homosexuality. In British publication this collection appeared as *By Way of Sainte-Beuve*. Another novel *Jean Santeuil*, appeared in English translation in 1955.

The *Journals* of Gide (q.v.), notably for May 14, 1921, contain explicit reference to Proust's own homosexuality and his attitudes about it. During his long confinement as an invalid, his principal homosexual attachment was reputed to be his chauffeur-secretary Alfred Agostinelli. Previous attachments included the famous Comte Robert de Montesquiou, Reynaldo Hahn and Lucien Daudet.

As Proust admitted to Gide (*Journals*, May 1921), he transposed all his attractive and charming homosexual recollections to fill out the heterosexual portions of his mammoth work, and was thus left only with such more grotesque characters as the original for Baron de Charlus for the homosexual portion. How-

ever, this appears also to have coincided with his own soured sentiments, somewhat like those of the anti-Semitic Jew.

Reference: Anderson, 265-66, 275.



ALFRED VICTOR REDL (1864-1913)

Austrian (intelligence) staff officer.

He was born in Lemberg in Austrian Galicia (later the Polish city of Lwow, and since 1945 the Russian city of Lvov), the son of a railway freight clerk who had formerly been an army lieutenant. He was the ninth of fourteen children. Redl's bright mind was put to early use gaining advantages for himself among his many brothers and sisters. Although his father died in 1875, his pension and the added special allowances for the children made it possible for the education of the older children to be continued.

Inspired by the stories of army life of an older brother who was a cadet, Redl took and passed the necessary examinations in 1879 and entered the Cadet School. In 1881 he signed up with the regular army, and after his graduation in 1882, he served as an acting noncommissioned officer for a year. This was followed by several years as a sort of probationary officer before he received his commission in 1887. Assigned to a regiment at nearby Stryj, Redl performed his duties with such exemplary conscientiousness and success that he came to the notice of the senior regimental officers and by 1889 was battalion adjutant.

As he continued to perform his duties outstandingly, and to cultivate the most important officers, he was marked as a "comer." In 1892 Redl was encouraged to take the examinations for the War College, which he passed with honors. Reports on him included such key words as "friendly, tactful, cooperative, capable and good-natured." Even a reference to syphilis, apparently the result of a rare heterosexual affair, marked as successfully treated, confirmed the necessary breadth of interest. In an era filled with thoughts of "progress" and "social adjustments," the senior officers took pride in being able to advance an officer of humble origin with so fine a record, even if he had not come properly from a military academy. First Lieutenant Redl

graduated twenty-eighth in his class from the War College in 1894, and at last reached his goal, affiliation with the General Staff. This time the report on him referred to his outstanding diligence, even and quiet temperament, strong and manly character, quick comprehension, and a frank and unmistakable loyalty that made him "especially suitable for service in the General Staff."

Redl left Vienna for two years' staff work on the brigade level in Hungary and was promoted to captain in 1897. After a year's garrison duty in Lemberg, he was advised to file an application in 1898 to be one of the staff officers who would go to Russia for a year in accordance with an exchange arrangement. Redl was amongst those selected to spend a year in the Russian city of Kazan, supposedly for cultural and linguistic purposes, but mutually understood to be a starting point for a career in intelligence or counter-intelligence. From this point on, his name went down for further watch by agents of Russian intelligence. During his year in Kazan, he learned Russian fluently (not too difficult for one who spoke Polish and Ruthenian in addition to German) and spent most of his time at gay parties given by the hospitable Russian aristocracy, proving quite popular.

Upon his return to Vienna in 1900, Redl, now permanently assigned to the General Staff, was appointed chief of the Russian Section of the Intelligence Bureau of the General Staff, with duties mainly limited to culling reports from military journals, foreign newspapers and military attachés. However, he was also made chief of the Operations Sections, and in that job was responsible for undercover work, recruiting, training, and despatching agents, and supplying information to other sections of the Bureau. In this work he got into counterintelligence, and applying himself with his usual diligence, energy, and enterprise to his studies, Redl after six months presented the chief of the Intelligence Bureau with a report embracing plans for a complete overhaul to increase efficiency. The colonel was so impressed that Redl was relieved of his job with the Russian section and given full authority as chief of the Operations Section and chief of Counter-Intelligence, to reorganize everything in accordance with his report. By 1901 he was working fifteen hours a day, often spending Sundays and holidays on the job.

Gradually, however, after Redl had established his new pro-

cedures and had dazzled his superiors with his performance, he began to conclude the time had come to start enjoying life. He proceeded to indulge the expensive tastes he had long since acquired, and he also began to indulge his homosexual tastes with more regularity. He felt assured that any threat of blackmail could rapidly be countered by a curt warning that as chief of Counter-Intelligence he worked closely with the police. Aside from more routine homosexual activities, Redl was also disposed towards transvestism.

As Redl's brilliant innovations began to take a heavy toll of Russian espionage activities and agents, he became a target for his Russian opposite number, Batjuschin. When a female operative who had been assigned to Redl since his Kazan days, and had followed him to Vienna, failed to get any results beyond amiable dates, devoid alike of sex and information, Russia's best agent was assigned to the job. He succeeded in assembling a vast amount of data on Redl's homosexual and transvestite activities, and in a climactic personal encounter convinced him that he held the upper hand despite Redl's apparently secure position. Perhaps somewhat more influential than the logic was the offer to provide ample funds to meet Redl's expensive tastes. An additional factor, perhaps, was the challenge presented to him for new heights of brilliance in his new double role. In any event, Redl agreed, and after 1901 the brilliant chief of Austro-Hungarian Counter-Intelligence, soon to be deputy chief of the Intelligence Bureau, was to be in the pay of Tsarist Russia.

As additional payment for handing over the Austrian plans for the fortresses of Cracow, Halicz and Zalescyski, Redl got his Russian colleague to agree to provide him with the names of expendable Russian agents on the frontier. This proved to their mutual benefit, for Redl was able to inflate his reputation even more by catching so many agents, while in the process of investigating what they were after, he was able to get copies of secret plans to hand over to Batjuschin. So invaluable was Redl considered by his superiors that in 1903, when he would normally have been given troop duty again, he was retained by the new chief of the Intelligence Bureau.

Early in 1904 Austrian intelligence was advised that a high-ranking Austrian officer was in Russian pay, but once again

Redl was able to call on Batjuschin for assistance. He provided evidence to identify with this secret report an Austrian officer whose guilt over some minor misdeed had caused his flight to South America. In 1905 Redl was promoted to major and temporarily taken out of intelligence work, with an assignment as divisional chief of staff. In this new position, he received various honors and special assignments of a semi-diplomatic nature.

When the international crisis over the Balkans in 1908 brought Austria to the brink of war, Redl was recalled to intelligence duty as deputy chief of the Intelligence Bureau and promoted to lieutenant-colonel. Again he impressed his superiors with his splendid performance and came close to being appointed chief when his superior moved on, but the appointment went instead to the well-connected Colonel Urbanski, to whom Redl became the indispensable right arm.

With his superior at last familiar with his duties, Redl was taken out of the Intelligence Bureau in 1911, permanently as it happened. Seemingly, the risks that he had been running were now over. He was assigned the command of the 4th Infantry Battalion, still stationed at Vienna, and once again was a great success, having made himself in a few weeks one of the most popular officers in the regiment, noted for his friendliness to junior officers. In the war games he performed so well he was marked for a regimental command. In 1912 Redl was promoted to colonel and taken to Bosnia by the chief of the General Staff to study terrain in anticipation of an invasion of Serbia. He impressed his superior as highly suited for a divisional command. Later in 1912 Redl was appointed chief of staff of the Eighth Army Corps, headquartered at Prague.

For some time Redl allowed himself to be seen openly with his latest and greatest young flame, Stefan Hromodka, whom he had gotten a cadetship and a commission and referred to as his nephew. He spent money lavishly on Stefan, giving him his own automobile and his own apartment, all of which Stefan was warned would be withdrawn if he went through with his sudden wild scheme of getting married. In Prague Redl also had great expenses, having set up his own luxurious apartment, which was to be described as one of "sybaritic sensuality," containing secret closets full of dresses and wigs, and secret drawers full of

pictures (often nude) of himself with his youths. Despite the severance of his connection with the Intelligence Bureau, Redl was apparently still considered a valuable agent, not necessarily for only the Russians, and his great expenses made him appreciative of the continuation of his extra income.

In April, 1913, shortly after German intelligence chiefs had reported to their Austrian counterparts the interception of a letter from a known espionage agent to "Herr Nikon Nizetas" c/o General Delivery in Vienna, a trap was laid for Herr Nizetas and Redl eventually walked right into it. The astounded agents, after following Redl and establishing his identity, secured further incriminating evidence, and they finally got the approval of Redl's erstwhile respectful colleagues for decisive action. To avoid any single responsibility, an arrest commission was formed, and in the early hours of May 25, Redl was confronted in his hotel room with the evidence. Already aware that he had been caught, he confessed. He was permitted to shoot himself. Shortly afterwards, his Prague apartment was searched, and the investigators were of course shocked by its contents.

Hoping to hush everything up, Austrian authorities at first announced that Redl had shot himself after a nervous breakdown due to overwork and would be given a full military funeral. However, Redl's servant raised an uproar when he told a newspaperman that the fatal weapon was not Redl's and that he must have been murdered. Rumors spread. A reporter in Prague interviewed the locksmith employed to open Redl's apartment and learned of its contents, and of remarks the locksmith had overheard about the espionage and homosexuality. With great guile, the reporter's newspaper, *Bohemia*, printed a "denial of the rumor" that Redl had committed suicide because of the discovery that he had been blackmailed into selling secrets to Russia. Having reached the sad conclusion that the case could no longer be hushed up, the authorities had the semi-official *Military Review* publish the following on May 29:

The existence of Colonel Redl was ended by suicide.

Redl committed this act as he was about to be accused of the following severe misdeeds:

- 1) Homosexual affairs which brought him into financial difficulties.

- 2) Sale of secret information to agents of a foreign power.

The story became front-page news around the world. The planned funeral was cancelled and instead Redl's remains, in a cheap pine coffin, were interred in unconsecrated ground at a large Vienna cemetery. In July Stefan was convicted of "unnatural prostitution," dishonorably discharged and given three months' hard labor. He later married and had several children and was still living within recent years.

A number of Austrian disasters in World War I were attributed, none too convincingly, to the consequences of Redl's treachery, such as the poor Austrian success in Serbia and the availability of seventy-five Russian divisions on the Galician front. As it turned out, the Austrians nonetheless emerged triumphant over the Russians.

The Redl case has become the classic example to prove that homosexuals are security risks in any position involving confidential knowledge useful to an enemy, especially an enemy given to blackmail for sexual weaknesses like the Russians. Had the aristocratic monarchy of Austria survived, the Redl case would doubtless have been used to prove that low-born types could not be trusted in such elite posts as general staff officer, traditionally reserved for those of reliable aristocratic background.

Reference: Asprey.



SIR ROGER DAVID CASEMENT (1864-1916)

English consul and pro-Irish traitor.

He was born at Kingstown, Ireland, of a distinguished Ulster family. His mother was a Roman Catholic and may have had him baptised a Catholic despite the Protestant traditions of the Casements. He received his early education at the Ballymena Academy, spending many vacations with his Irish nationalist aunt and uncle, the Bannisters, in whose library he consumed Irish patriotic lore. To some extent Casement also became sensitive to the causes of all "oppressed" peoples.

At 17, instead of following the family tradition of the army or navy, Casement took a job as a clerk with a shipping company, of which his uncle was a director. After several years of increasing boredom, he became unruly and was saved from dismissal by

his uncle, who obtained for him a purser'ship on a vessel bound for West Africa. Casement arrived in the Congo in 1884, quit his purser's job, and he eventually became employed by the Africa International Association, the Congo's nominal authority under King Leopold of the Belgians. Casement had many years of adventure in the Congo, in 1886 with an exploring expedition, in 1888 with a railway surveying expedition, and in 1890 organizing transport on the lower Congo for the Belgian authorities.

Deciding he'd rather work for the British, Casement secured a Colonial Office appointment in 1891 as a travelling commissioner in the Niger Coast Protectorate, where his capable performance won him the warm commendation of the high commissioner. In 1895 he was appointed British consul at Lourenço Marques in Portuguese Mozambique, on the east coast of Africa.

In 1898 Casement was brought back to West Africa and the Congo area when he was appointed consul at Loanda in the Portuguese Congo (part of Angola), and subsequently, after service as an intelligence officer at Capetown during the Boer War, he became consul in 1900 at Boma, a key port. It was soon suspected by the Belgians that Casement had been assigned by the British to dig up dirt about their rule in the Congo, a recently popular activity of do-gooders which was encouraged by vested interests jealous of the wealth drawn from the Congo by the Belgians. The suspicion, which was correct, brought Casement an invitation from King Leopold to visit Brussels, where he received a warm welcome. Nonetheless, after his return, he began his conscientious exploration and note-taking in the interior of the Congo, where he met Joseph Conrad and impressed him as "a limpid personality . . . with some particle of Las Casas' soul in his indomitable body . . ."

After several trips to England for consultation, Casement issued in December, 1903, his *Report on the Congo*. With ample documentation about the cruelties practiced on the rubber plantations, it gave the British just what they wanted to bring pressure on King Leopold. Casement was honored and enjoyed some slight fame. He was now also clearly unwelcome in the Congo and was assigned as consul in Lisbon as soon as he had cleaned up his affairs in the Congo. It was in this year that Casement also began his fatal diaries, which recorded his homosexual

activities along with his more noble humanitarian ones. Thus during the London report in February there was Arthur (for £0.11.6), and on his way back to Africa to complete his report, several boys at Funchal in the Madeiras in March, especially Agostinho (for \$4) and later in the month at Las Palmas in the Canaries there was "Fair hair . . . around 17 . . . enormous" Juan, and also Pepe. At Loanda, while arranging his files in October, there was Mawuki and someone "about 9" and awfully active." During a final visit to London about his famous report, there was "Dusky depredator huge, 7 in." And in Dublin, on a visit prior to service in Lisbon, there was J.B. (£1.9.0).

Shortly after his arrival in Lisbon, Casement learned that the British were beginning to apologize for him and his report to avoid too much Belgian ill-will, and angrily resigned from the consular service. However, not too long afterwards, in 1905, he was asked by Sir Edward Grey to return to the consular service to more or less duplicate his African work in that other dark continent, South America. Casement consented, and in 1906 he was appointed consul at Santos in Brazil, in 1908 consul at Para, and in 1909 he became consul general at Rio de Janeiro. In view of the many stories of atrocities inflicted on the rubber plantation workers in the Putumayo region of Peru, Casement was sent to make an investigation of the stations of the Peruvian Amazon Company on the Putumayo River. His well-documented report about the barbaric inhumanities practiced on the Indians was submitted late in 1910, and though not officially published until 1912, brought him knighthood in 1911.

Once again sexual recordings in a diary otherwise devoted to conspicuous humanitarian work, that for 1910, was to prove Casement's undoing. For January 13 there was reference to the "very, very deep thrusts" of "Polpito" in Rio, as well as various references to Valdemiro, and on February 28 there was reference to Mario with "Biggest since Lisbon July, 1904 and as big," specified as length $8\frac{1}{2}$ and circumference 6 inches. On March 2 at Sao Paulo there was Antonio "to hilt deep X," and two weeks later at Buenos Aires there was Ramon "10" at least. X in." (Homosexual cryptographers are invited to figure out what the X refers to). During a visit home, back in Ireland on May 26 at Belfast, there was John McGonegal, "huge and curved," and in

June Casement's old friend Millar as well as some Argentine sailors. Then in July in London there was Albert, 15½ (10 s.). Heading back to South America to gather his material, Casement stopped off at Funchal and found Carlos Costa, 17 with "splendid testinhos, no bush to speak of Soft as silk and big and full . . . Very fine one, big, long, thick—wants awfully and likes very much." Safely arrived in Brazil, he celebrated at Belem on August 11 with "darkie policeman . . . enormous."

Even while conducting the public Putumayo investigation, Casement remained busy on his own private investigations. On October 28 at Puerto Peruana there was "beautiful muchacho Black and stiff as poker." En route down the Amazon in November there was a Cholo sailor, "a perfect dusky Antinous" (q.v.), named Aredomi, whom Casement excited with pictures from something called Bates' Book. Throughout the month, while taking notes on the sufferings of the Indians, Casement continued busily recording his estimates of erect sizes of the frequently erect Indian boys or just their "enormous exposures." After all his various statistics were gathered, he set homeward in December, but still found time on December 13 for Marco in Belem, on December 28 for a soldier in Lisbon, and on December 31 for a soldier in Paris.

1911, the year of Casement's knighthood, was also the year of his third and most revealing diary. The entries became more detailed. In January and February his cosmopolitan and unprejudiced tastes embraced in London a Jew, a Japanese sailor, a Welsh guardsman and others. On March 5 in Dublin he recorded "Enormous 19 about 7" and 4 thick." In May at Belfast there was old friend Millar again, concerning whom he carefully noted on May 13, "Millar into me," and on May 14 "into Millar. . . . Imagine!" July and August saw him in London and Dublin with the comments getting more explicit: e.g., Dublin, August 7, "I to meet enormous at 9. Will suck and take too." By the end of August Casement was on his way back to South America to clean up his affairs, and while stopping over in the Barbados for several days, made careful notes at Hasting's Bath, especially about Stanley Weeks "20, stripped, huge one circumsize. Swelled and hung 9 quite." By September 13 he was back at Belem, recording, "Huge tram inspector . . . Stiff as sword and thick

and long." Back in Peru at Manaos he had Raymundo, Agostinho and a Negro sailor.

In 1913 Casement retired from the service and took up residence at Antrim, determined to work for the Irish cause. He found his country on the verge of civil war. Sir Edward Carson, who as Queensberry's counsel had produced the evidence that ruined Oscar Wilde (q.v.), was now leading the Ulster opposition to Home Rule for Ireland, taking the curious position of being so loyal to Britain as to threaten to meet with armed rebellion any attempt at separation from Britain. In October, 1913, Casement entered Irish politics as a Protestant Home Ruler who refused to consider the exclusion of Ulster from Home Rule. He represented this group in Dublin where the Irish Volunteers were formed to oppose by force any threat of force from the rapidly arming Ulster opposition.

In the newly formed Irish Republican Brotherhood, the distinguished Sir Roger Casement, so long a fighter for the rights of other peoples, became now a fighter in the cause of those he considered his own people. He became the organization's treasurer and joined in the issuance of its Manifesto. Meanwhile in August, Carson had visited the kaiser and had commented afterwards that he had been promised a German army to save Ulster since Germany was "the greatest Protestant nation on earth." The Germans proceeded to supply large quantities of arms to the Ulster Volunteers but declined to supply any to Casement's Nationalists.

Arms being now the prime need, Casement undertook a mission to the United States, and in New York he met leading Irish-American personalities. He addressed the Hibernian Convention in Norfolk and managed to get a "Victory Fund" set up, with the full support of the Irish-American papers. While Casement was getting much support, but not yet any arms, World War I broke out on the other side. Anxious to get Irish volunteers, Britain passed a compromise Home Rule bill designed to cause the minimum of friction: Home Rule, with Ulster possibly to be excluded, was accepted but would not be put into effect until after the war.

Casement considered Britain's step an outrage and now took the fatal plunge towards technical treason. He issued an open

letter to Irishmen protesting that the Irish had been betrayed, and that since they had never been harmed by Germany, or in fact by any nation but Britain, they had no reason to fight against Germany. Ironically, the Ulster Irish under Carson, previously closely allied with Germany, had now rallied to Britain.

By now established as an irreconcilable rebel against Britain, Casement contacted the German military attaché, Franz von Papen, that durable intriguer of four decades of German history, and made arrangements for what was to consume the next two years of his life: plans for an Irish Brigade to be made up in Germany of Irish prisoners of war, and for the shipment of German arms to Irish nationalists. In October, 1914, Casement sailed for Norway, accompanied by Adler Christensen, a 24-year-old Norwegian ex-sailor he had picked up in New York one night and allowed to become his constant companion. For the first time Casement mixed his professional and sexual careers openly.

Casement now became a prime target for the British. They failed to find him when they inspected his Norwegian ship, and in Oslo they failed to capture him despite the cooperation they obtained from the treacherous Christensen. Early in November Casement arrived in Berlin as "Mr. Hammond of New York." He remained in Germany until April, 1916, meeting with constant obstacles to all his plans, unable even to get much enthusiasm from the Irish prisoners or much German support beyond declarations of sympathy.

Having been informed of the uprising against the British planned at Dublin for Easter Sunday (April 24), and having been unable to secure any substantial German assistance, Casement decided it was imperative that he stop the uprising. He persuaded the reluctant Germans to get him back to Ireland in a submarine, and he landed on the coast of Kerry on April 21. Left in hiding by his companions while they made their contacts, he was seen and reported to the local constabulary, who took him to Tralee for questioning. By Saturday April 23rd it was suspected Casement had been captured, despite the phony papers. He was taken to Dublin, then to London where he arrived when the ill-fated Easter Rebellion took place and was put down by the British with heavy Irish casualties. Meanwhile, the ship carrying German arms for

the rebellion, in negligible quantity as they were, had been intercepted and scuttled.

Casement was tried for treason in June. His principal defense was that being an Irishman and not an Englishman, his acknowledged hostility to Britain could hardly be called treason, while his lawyers argued that whatever Casement's intentions, he had not actually accomplished anything treasonable. He was nevertheless found guilty and given the opportunity to make a magnificent speech on the history of Britain's oppression of Ireland before being sentenced to be hanged.

Appeals on his behalf for a reprieve poured in from such notables as G. K. Chesterton, George Bernard Shaw, John Galsworthy, the Webbs and many Americans. On July 29 the U.S. Senate adopted a resolution favoring Casement's reprieve, and this was a time when American public opinion was of vital concern to Britain. The resolution did not reach the White House until August 2, and by that time President Wilson had been informed by his ambassador in London that diaries of Casement's, left by him in trunks in his London rooms in 1914, had been found and indicated that he was a depraved sexual degenerate of the lowest sort, Irish patriot or not. Copies of sections of the diaries had been helpfully typed up by Scotland Yard clerks and distributed to influential persons. King George V, who had been especially shocked by the entries, deprived Casement of his knighthood and all other honors, doubtless at the same time thanking God there was nothing like that in his family. When American leaders, from President Wilson on down, were informed of the diary entries, protests against the hanging ceased. On August 2 the cabinet confirmed the sentence, which was carried out on August 3. Casement, like Wilde, died a Catholic, having gone back to his mother's faith at the prison, a faith he considered most appropriate for a martyred Irish patriot.

As a martyr of Irish nationalism, Casement's story remained the subject of bitter controversy for many years. The Black Diaries, as they were called, were damned by Casement's admirers as devilish forgeries, since obviously a dedicated fighter for Irish freedom could not at the same time be an enthusiastic and active homosexual. The text of the diaries, based on the Scotland Yard copies, was about to be published in 1925 when publication was

suppressed by the British government, which also refused to show the original. This was taken by many as confirming the suspicions that they were a forgery. In 1959, however, confronted with the imminent publication of the diaries in Paris as a respectable historical sideline of a firm otherwise devoted to merely entertaining pornography, the British government at last yielded and showed the original diaries to eminent historians. "A record of vice perhaps unparalleled in the English language," declared a recently enthusiastic Casement biographer.

The moral of the sad Casement story seems to be that homosexuals espousing embittered causes in the public eye should sacrifice their homosexual pleasures, or if that proves impossible, at least not record them in such detail, and if even that proves impossible, at least not leave the records in an abandoned trunk in the capital of a hostile country. The diaries had no relationship to his arrest, or the charge of treason, but it was plainly due to them that Casement was hanged instead of reprieved (and then surely pardoned in the 1920s).

Reference: Singleton.



PRINCE GEORGI YEVGENEVICH LVOV (1861-1925)

Russian statesman.

A member of the old Russian nobility, Lvov became early in his career a liberal leader in the *zemstvo*, or provincial government unit of his province. In 1888 he became a member of the executive board of the Tula *zemstvo*, and in 1902 its president. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), Lvov organized relief for the sick and wounded. After the Revolution of 1905 led to a constitutional monarchy, Prince Lvov was elected a member of the first Russian *duma* or parliament, and he joined the Constitutional Democrat Party, known as the Cadets. He became a leader of the right wing of this middle-of-the-road party.

During those golden years at St. Petersburg on the eve of World War I, the happiest and most prosperous in Russia's history, the wealthy and charming Prince Lvov became not only a prominent political leader but also a social leader, renowned as a great patron of the arts and a giver of lavish parties. He was also known as a generous patron of handsome guardsmen and of *danseurs* at the ballet. It was apparently at a party at his palace

that the hitherto withdrawn young Nijinsky (q.v.) was introduced to the homosexual world of St. Petersburg and met his famed Svengali, Diaghilev (q.v.).

By the time of World War I, Prince Lvov had become president of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos and Municipalities. When the moderate revolution of February, 1917, succeeded in March in obtaining the tsar's abdication, Lvov was an obvious candidate for Russia's nominal leadership. As premier and interior minister of the new provisional government formed in March, Lvov was a respected figure, but his idealism and hatred of violence soon proved him little suited for that crucial period. Pending the elections to the constituent assembly, the provisional government proclaimed all civil liberties and recognized the legal equality of all citizens without social, legal or religious discrimination. It also recognized the independence of Finland and Poland. Lands belonging to the monasteries and the imperial family were declared nationalized for distribution to the peasantry, the exact details of the land reform program to be worked out by the constituent assembly. The provisional government proposed a loyal continuation of the war, now to be prosecuted with more efficiency toward a victorious conclusion.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks, a totally insignificant faction of the Social Democrats (despite being in a distinct minority they had taken a name which meant "majority group," because on one issue years back a majority had favored a single proposal of theirs), an organization riddled by tsarist spies (one of whom had even become their leader in the crucial Moscow area), most of whose leaders were in exile in Siberia or abroad, began to act with extraordinary enterprise. The brilliant Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, returned from exile and proceeded to take every advantage of what Lenin called "the freest state in the world." Seizing upon popular issues, the Bolsheviks demanded immediate peace and immediate land reform, and through the Socialist municipal organizations, the councils or Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, began issuing orders conflicting with those of the provisional government, whose powers they demanded be transferred to the Soviets under the slogan, "All power to the Soviets."

Under the pressures set in force by the Bolsheviks, Lvov's

colleagues began quarreling among themselves, and in May his war minister and foreign minister, two leading political figures, resigned. In the new government, in which Lvov was again premier and interior minister, the ambitious Kerensky as war minister sought to revive the war spirit by spectacular visits to the front and stirring appeals to the soldiers, as a result of which catastrophic offensives were undertaken.

On July 16 the Bolsheviks, in the wake of the disorganization of Russian troops following one of Kerensky's ill-fated offensives, tried to seize power but were firmly dealt with by Lvov's forces. Trotsky was arrested, and Lenin fled to Finland, disguised as a woman. But once again Lvov's government was torn by disagreements, and the vain and arrogant Kerensky made it clear he was ready to take over at any time. Further disheartened by separatist movements in southern Russia, Prince Lvov resigned on July 20 and was succeeded by the radical and unstable Kerensky.

Russia's conservative forces, alarmed at the leadership of the reputed leftist Kerensky (nominally of the Social Revolutionary Party), turned to the recently appointed new commander-in-chief, General Kornilov, as their savior. When Kerensky broke with the able Kornilov in September and dismissed him, Kornilov refused to obey and ordered all troops to advance on Petrograd, as St. Petersburg was now called, with the avowed aim of destroying the Soviets and liberating the provisional government from its influence. To counter the imminent military dictatorship, which probably would have been the salvation of Russia in that period, the vain Kerensky took a fatal step designed to save himself, which was to prove fatal to Russia and much of the twentieth-century world. He began releasing all the beaten Bolsheviks from prison. The Bolsheviks, under the leadership of the returned Lenin and the freed Trotsky, organised defenses against Kornilov and secured his defeat, and after winning over many of Kornilov's soldiers, went on to win over many other workers and soldiers with their Machiavellian scheme of promising all things to all men if it would serve to gain power.

By October the Bolsheviks were in control of the Petrograd Soviet, which had Trotsky as its chairman. On November 6 (October 24 in the old Russian calendar), Lenin considered the

time ripe for another coup, and this one proved successful. Lenin's forces succeeded in capturing the government offices and arresting most members of the provisional government. Kerensky managed to escape, and after a futile attempt to reorganize resistance, went into hiding and subsequently escaped into exile, eventually to the United States, where he was still living in the 1960s.

Meanwhile Prince Lvov had also been arrested and thrown into prison at Ekaterinburg (later Sverdlovsk), where the imperial family was also confined. While the imperial family was shot in 1918, Lvov managed to escape to Siberia and eventually to Paris, where he died in 1925.

Reference: Nijinsky, 52; Peyrefitte (E), 175.



JOSEPH SIMON GALLIENI (1849-1916)

French general and statesman.

He was born at Saint-Béat and entered the St. Cyr military academy, from which he graduated in 1870. Gallieni saw some service in the Franco-Prussian War. From 1877 to 1881 he played an important part in the explorations and military expeditions extending French domination on the upper Niger in Africa. For a treaty with a local potentate granting France exclusive commercial rights, Gallieni, since 1878 a captain, received the gold medal of the French Geographic Society.

Gallieni served on Martinique in the French West Indies from 1883 to 1886, then as a lieutenant-colonel returned to West Africa in 1886 for duty in Upper Senegal, where he later became governor and extended French sovereignty in the course of wars with the Negroes. In 1891 he was promoted to colonel.

Transferred to the Far East, Gallieni fought in Indo-China colonial wars as commander of the Second Division at Tongking, where he subdued the local pirates. In 1896 he became resident general. Later he was transferred back to the African scene, becoming governor-general of Madagascar, where he performed the same services that his subordinate and friend, Lyautey (q.v.), was later to perform in Morocco—subjugation, then energetic organization for peace and prosperity.

In 1906 Gallieni, now a general, was given command of the Fourteenth Army Corps at Lyons. In 1914 his age put him in

line for retirement, but he was retained on the active list without duty. When World War I broke out, it was Gallieni who urged the appointment of Joffre as commander-in-chief. Gallieni himself was made military governor of Paris.

With the evacuation of the French government from Paris in the face of the German advance, Gallieni's greatest hour had arrived. He took energetic steps for Paris' defense, and in September, 1914, sensing a weakness on the German flank, ordered a general counter-offensive that became the Battle of the Marne, that great epic in French tradition in which the Paris taxi-drivers shuttled soldiers to the front. The tide was turned, and as the Germans began falling back, the troops passed outside the zone of Gallieni's command, and Joffre, spurred on by Gallieni's strategy, reaped the credit for the success. Although Gallieni had every right to expect that a grateful Joffre would ask for a bigger role for Gallieni in the strategic planning, Joffre failed to do this.

In October, 1915 Gallieni became war minister in Briand's cabinet. He fought continuously for reforms in military administration and in the command system. Verdun seemed to bear out his criticisms, but his plan to have Joffre brought to Paris as the supreme coordinator involved complex political problems from which his colleagues shied away. Accordingly, Gallieni resigned in March, 1916, on the usual grounds of "ill health." As it turned out, the alleged cause of his resignation proved all too true. Two months later he died after an unsuccessful operation. He was given a state funeral and in 1921 was posthumously created a Marshal of France.

Reference: Peyrefitte (E), 147.



LOUIS HUBERT GONSALVE LYAUTEY (1854-1934)

French general and statesman.

He was born at Nancy in Lorraine. After graduating from the St. Cyr military academy, he attended the General Staff College. In 1894 Lyautey served as a staff officer in Indo-China under Gallieni (q.v.), and helped defeat the pirates of Upper Tongking. Subsequently he served under Gallieni in Madagascar, both during the period of fighting and when Gallieni ruled as its able governor.

Promoted to colonel, Lyautey received the command in the Ain Sefra territory of Algeria, which he had to protect against attacks

from Morocco. After serving briefly in France in command of the 10th Corps at Rennes, he was sent in 1912 to Morocco, now a French protectorate, as high commissioner and resident general. Except for a brief period during World War I as war minister (1916-17) in succession to Gallieni, he spent his remaining active years building up the French administration in Morocco, developing its economy and resources, extending its borders, and pacifying native resistance. A skillful diplomat as well as an able soldier, Lyautey has been considered the architect of modern Morocco, now once again an independent kingdom.

Lyautey's final years of service included the conquest of the Atlas mountain territory and the organization of the campaign which vanquished the Riff leader Abd-el-Krim, who, fresh from his successes against the Spanish army in Spanish Morocco, invaded the French protectorate in 1925. After organizing a French army of 150,000, Lyautey left the final campaigning to Marshal Pétain and resigned in 1925. He himself had been made a Marshal of France in 1921. Since 1914 he also had the unusual distinction for a general of being a member of the French Academy.

Reference: Peyrefitte (E), 147.



RENÉ VIVIANI (1863-1925)

French statesman.

He was born at Sidi-bel-Abbès in Algeria but was educated in France. After securing an outstanding reputation as a lawyer, Viviani was elected as a Socialist to the Chamber of Deputies. By 1906 he was a cabinet officer, minister of labor in Clemenceau's cabinet. During his three years in this office, Viviani twice achieved national prominence, once for the law providing for workmen's pensions, and the other time for a famous speech in which he affirmed his atheism, thereby of course drawing widespread criticism. When in 1909 Clemenceau had to resign and was replaced by Briand, Viviani continued in his office in the new cabinet. However, in 1910, he resigned in the face of the attitude of his colleagues toward the pending railway strike.

In 1913 Viviani was back in the government as minister of education in the Doumergue cabinet, and in June, 1914, a cabinet shuffle made Viviani both premier and foreign minister on the

eve of World War I. Viviani was on a visit to France's ally Russia with President Poincaré in July, 1914, during the fatal days following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and urged the Russians to stand firm in their warnings to the Austrians against attacking Serbia. However, anxious to avoid antagonizing Austria's ally, Germany, Viviani, on his return from France, ordered French troops to withdraw ten kilometers from the frontier to demonstrate France's pacific attitude.

When Germany nevertheless declared war, Viviani made a magnificent speech to the Chamber of Deputies, calling for a "sacred union of all parties," and in this most famed speech in a career noted for eloquence, Viviani electrified his audience. With his wealth of imagery and brilliant metaphor, seldom equalled in French politics of his day, Viviani was perhaps the Third Republic's closest rival to Churchill. Viviani's speech led to the formation of a coalition government.

In October, 1915, Viviani was replaced as premier by Briand, who made Viviani minister of justice. When Briand's government fell in 1917, Viviani went into retirement. He visited the United States.

Viviani emerged from his retirement in 1921 to serve Briand as the leading French delegate to the Washington Conference on naval armaments and the Far Eastern question. His final years were marked by severe illness, and he died after an especially long and painful illness.

Reference: Harper (*Sexology*, February, 1950).



THOMAS EDWARD LAWRENCE (1888-1935)

English adventurer, soldier and writer.

He was born in a small Welsh town, the second of five illegitimate sons of "Thomas Lawrence" and the mistress for whom he had abandoned his wife and four daughters, who knew him under his real name of Thomas Chapman, of a family of Anglo-Irish gentry (in 1914 he succeeded his cousin as Sir Thomas Chapman, seventh Baronet). Lawrence's early years were spent constantly on the move as the family shifted from one home to another in Wales, Scotland, England and various isles. In 1896 they settled in Oxford where young Ned, as he was known, became noted for his physical and intellectual precocity. He attended the Oxford

high school, and he was to be intimately associated with Oxford institutions in one way or another for many years.

Although he won various prizes in English, history and scriptures, Lawrence failed to get the scholarship he sought, and this blow, added to his discovery of his illegitimacy, caused him to run away from home and join the artillery. When his family located him, his release was secured, and his estrangement from his sinful parents was given recognition when he was furnished with his own bungalow and given ample freedom for trips to distant points. In 1907 Lawrence managed to get into Jesus College at Oxford, and he studied there for four years, being especially interested in history, French and archeology. He read voraciously, though hardly the 50,000 books he later claimed to have covered. Summer vacations were spent in France the first year, then in Syria.

His interest in mediaeval castles in France led Lawrence to the idea of research on crusader castles in Syria, and in the summer of 1909 he decided to tour Syria and Palestine on foot. He carried out his project with great enterprise and picked up much colloquial Arabic. In 1910 Lawrence secured his degree with first-class honors in modern history with his thesis on the crusader castles.

During the summer of 1910 he made another bicycle trip to France, studying mediaeval pottery. Towards the end of 1910 a fellowship was procured for him by D. G. Hogarth, who was about to explore the Hittite mound of Carchemish on the Euphrates, and retained Lawrence as an assistant. Lawrence worked on and off at Carchemish until 1914, absenting himself frequently for trips and enterprises of his own. He made many exploratory trips in Syria and Mesopotamia in native company, particularly that of the beautiful teenage Arab boy Dahoum, also known as Sheik Ahmed (Lawrence's own title for him), who was apparently the great love of his life, and whom he took with him to England on a visit in the summer of 1913. Lawrence perfected his Arabic and for a few weeks in the winter of 1913-14 participated in the survey of northern Sinai being made by the British War Office.

When World War I broke out, Lawrence was at Oxford and was deemed to be very useful for operations in the Arab world

in view of his intimate knowledge of the area. He was first attached to the geographical section of the War Office, completing the Sinai map work. After Turkey entered the war, Lawrence was sent to Cairo as a temporary second lieutenant, working there in the map department until he managed to arrange a transfer to the military intelligence section.

In 1916 Lawrence thrust himself energetically into the negotiations that were being undertaken to incite an Arab revolution against the Turks, and he arranged to be transferred to the mysterious Arab Bureau, which was under the foreign office rather than the war office. Sent on a mission to Hussein, hereditary Sherif of Mecca, he secured Hussein's permission to contact his unruly son Feisal, who had recently deserted from the Turkish army.

Lawrence won the confidence of Feisal and induced him to reorganize his army of irregulars and move northward to threaten Turkish communications with Medina by attacking the Hejaz railway. With the cooperation of other forces under his brother Abdullah (later the first king of Trans-Jordan), and with Lawrence as his constant adviser, Feisal achieved some successes in northern Arabia, culminating in the spectacular capture of the port of Aqaba in August, 1917. He also succeeded in raising tribes in Syria behind the Turkish lines.

In 1918 when General Allenby began his march northward near the coast through Palestine (Jerusalem fell in December, 1917), Lawrence had Feisal move his forces, based on Aqaba, northward through the interior, parallel to Allenby. Specializing in train-wrecking, Lawrence himself succeeded in severing Turkish communications with Arabia, and came close to severing the communications of Turkey's Palestine army with Damascus. The Turks offered a reward for "El-Orens, destroyer of engines," and indeed in November, 1917, Lawrence had been captured at Deraa during a scouting operation, the occasion of his rape by a Turkish officer which was the heart of the drama *Ross*, after which he was released. Presumably this was before the reward had been posted.

In October, 1918, the Arab forces of Feisal and Lawrence entered Damascus shortly before the arrival of Allenby's forces, and Lawrence held the city for the British. In the spring of 1919

Lawrence, soon to be referred to as "the uncrowned King of Arabia," accompanied to Europe Feisal, who expected to be proclaimed caliph of all the Arabs as a reward for his services. After they toured England, Lawrence accompanied Feisal to the Paris Peace Conference as his adviser, holding the status of British delegate. Unable to prevent the establishment of a French protectorate over Syria, Lawrence felt that the Arabs and he personally had been double-crossed and resigned from the service, returning many of his decorations.

Under the enthusiastic publicity engendered for Lawrence by the American Lowell Thomas, he was hailed as one of the greatest heroes of the war, whose nobility was only magnified by his resignation. Averse to showing off to more than small groups, Lawrence did his best to get out of the public limelight. Late in 1919 he was elected a research fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, where he resided, though taking little part in college activities. He went to work on his memoirs, lost the first manuscript after destroying his notes, then started all over again from memory. The work appeared in 1926 in a limited private edition titled *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, followed by an abridgment in 1927 as *Revolt in the Desert* (the original work finally appeared in 1935 in a general edition). The dedication was to S. A., generally assumed to be "Sheik Ahmed," as Lawrence called his Arab boy friend Dahoum, who had died during the war.

In 1921 Winston Churchill, who as war minister in 1919 had participated almost as enthusiastically as Lowell Thomas in the adulation of Lawrence, now as colonial secretary called upon Lawrence to advise him on Arab affairs. Together they made Lawrence's friend Feisal king of the new state of Iraq, and his brother Abdullah king of the new state of Trans-Jordan. Lawrence, however, still considered this payment an inadequate fulfillment of Britain's (and his own) moral obligations to the Arabs, and in 1922 he severed all ties with the government.

In 1923 Lawrence enlisted in the tank corps after his attempted enlistment in the RAF as John Hume Ross was blocked by wary officials. However, in 1925 he was able to arrange a transfer to the Royal Air Force, and served in the Northern Frontier province of India. A protégé since 1922 of George Bernard Shaw and his wife, Lawrence changed his name legally to T. E. Shaw

in 1927. Shaw was believed to have helped him with his *Seven Pillars*, and he in turn provided Shaw with the model for Meek in *Too True to Be Good*, and possibly also to some extent for Shaw's Joan in *Saint Joan*.

Lawrence returned to England in 1928 and spent a number of years mixing routine duties in the RAF with hobnobbing with the great. *The Mint*, testifying to Lawrence's aversion to the vulgarities of barrack-room life, was written while he was in the RAF, but by the terms of his will not published until 1950, and then with some deletions.

Lawrence got out of the RAF in March, 1935, and two months later was killed in an accident while riding a motorcycle given him by George Bernard Shaw. His alleged homosexuality remained a matter of great controversy, such distinguished boosters as Lowell Thomas feeling obliged to denounce it as a libel. Aside from his intimacy with Dahoum, and his dedication of his great work to him, attention has been given to his sympathetic account of a pair of young Arab lovers, Farraj and Daud, in *The Seven Pillars*. The recent dramatization *Ross* suggests that his rape by the Turkish officer first made him aware of his homosexuality towards the close of his spectacular career in the desert, leading to his demoralization and flight from the public eye. This of course conflicts with the Dahoum romance having taken place five years previously and the fact that his most spectacular activities, and some years of basking in the public eye, followed the rape (which took place in November, 1917).

Other works of Lawrence include a translation of *The Odyssey* (1932), a collection of his papers called *Oriental Assembly* (1940) and his *Letters* (1939).

Reference: Aldington.



ERNST RÖHM (1887-1934)

German soldier and paramilitary leader.

He was born at Munich in Bavaria, the son of a railway official. Röhm became a professional soldier in 1906 and received a commission in 1908. During World War I he served bravely and was wounded three times. After the German defeat, Röhm served as adjutant to von Epp in various organizations seeking to overthrow the leftist Bavarian government. These included a terrorist

society called the Iron Fist, the Bavarian Free Corps, and the tiny German Worker's Party, an offshoot of the wartime chauvinist Fatherland Party that had sought to win over the workers. In this last party, Adolf Hitler was Röhm's colleague, and he was vigorously backed by Röhm in his efforts to make the party, renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party, more dynamic and active, a sort of super-nationalist version of the German Communists. When in 1920 the generals succeeded in overthrowing Bavaria's leftist government and assuming power themselves, their favored party increased in influence, and many generals, elsewhere in trouble, such as the World War I hero Ludendorff, came to Bavaria.

With the backing of the generals, Röhm became the guiding spirit in building up a new secret army, made up mainly of unemployed veterans and remnants of various paramilitary forces, these forces mainly Bavarian but with ties throughout Germany in the framework of a so-called Citizens Defense Force, for protection against Communist plots. In due course this became the Sturm Abteilung, or S.A., better known as the Brown Shirts. In 1921 the force adopted as its insignia the swastika, first using a red banner with a black swastika in a white disk. It was to have tremendous hypnotic power, perhaps second only in history to the cross as a simple inspiring symbol.

In 1923 the remnants of the professional army in Prussia made their peace with the Social Democratic regime, and they yielded to pressure to bring their Bavarian colleagues into line. Both von Epp and Röhm were subjected to disciplinary action, accused of profiteering on armament sales and forced to resign from the army. A showdown came when the army cracked down on Nazi activity, bringing on Hitler's ill-fated Munich Putsch. During the Putsch, Röhm occupied the headquarters of Bavaria's infantry commandant, fortified it and was besieged by army troops. Several thousand Nazi followers under Ludendorff, with Hitler on his left, marched to relieve Röhm, certain the army would not fire on their comrades. But fire they did, and the Nazis fell to the ground for cover while many of their leaders fled. The wounded Goering was carried into a bank and given aid by its Jewish owner. Finally Röhm surrendered, his old friend and superior von Epp acting as intermediary. Hitler received the

heaviest sentence, five years, of which he served only about a year, and in great comfort. Goering fled to Italy, then to his wife's native Sweden, for a three-year exile. Ludendorff was completely acquitted, while Röhm was formally condemned, then released.

The conclusion of the Putsch was seen as a great victory for socialism and democracy, with international repercussions. In Germany it was seen as finishing the Nazi cause. The Nazi leaders fell to quarreling, and Röhm, who considered Hitler his own creation and stood in no awe of him, during his visits to him in prison criticized his failure to act effectively to unify the party and his yielding instead to depression. Hitler considered this disrespect insulting, and they broke in 1925.

After his break with Hitler, Röhm was removed from his command of the S.A., which became increasingly rebellious against and contemptuous of Hitler, with the homosexuality of its leaders, aside from Röhm, a source of constant friction. Röhm went to Berlin where for several years he was active in high and low homosexual circles, living with friends both wealthy and poor, and peddling books.

In 1928 Röhm was reconciled with Hitler, who found him too valuable to spare. Röhm formed an officers' club which sought to win over as many professional officers as possible to the Nazi cause by revealing the great plans Hitler had in store for them. Hitler was laying the groundwork for Röhm to take over the S.A. again when Röhm suddenly left the country, under the threat of revelations by a former intimate friend, now an enemy. He went to Bolivia to join the German general who was training Bolivian troops, and became a lieutenant-colonel in the Bolivian army. Late in 1930 Röhm's position in Bolivia having been undermined by his superior's involvement on the losing side of a revolution, he responded eagerly to Hitler's cable to come home to take over the S.A. again.

Although Röhm aroused at once the alarm of Hitler, Goebbels and others by filling most leading positions in the S.A. with homosexuals, his position reached new heights in 1931 when the rebellious Prussian Nazis defeated the attempt of Goebbels as Berlin gauleiter to bring them into line and caused him to flee to Munich, where Röhm's continued loyalty to the party leadership proved their salvation.

By 1931 Röhm's Brown Army numbered 100,000, and by 1932 it had tripled to 300,000. By 1933, on the eve of Hitler's assumption of power, it had grown to 800,000. Meanwhile, Röhm also resumed his ties with the professional army officers, reassuring them that Hitler intended to take power legally, and that any S.A. officers favoring violent overthrow of the government would be weeded out. A close contact of Röhm's at the defense ministry was Lt.-Colonel Franz Halder, later to become chief of the general staff. Another was General Schleicher, the trusted political adviser of President Hindenburg.

With the elections of 1930, the Nazis had become a major party and a chief opposition group to the right-center government of Brüning. In the presidential elections of 1932, the aging Hindenburg was re-elected but Hitler's vote was almost two-thirds as great. A few months later Brüning resigned over a land reform issue (crucial to Hindenburg and his landowning Junker friends), and the opportunist von Papen, whom we have already met in connection with Casement (q.v.), became chancellor, with Schleicher as his defense minister. Brüning's recent ban on activities by Röhm's Storm Troopers was lifted, but they soon gathered such momentum and caused so much turmoil that Prussia was put under martial law.

During the July elections, the Nazis emerged as Germany's leading party, passing the Socialists with almost twice as many Reichstag seats, but still short of a majority. When Hitler refused to serve as vice-chancellor under von Papen, the Reichstag was dissolved and new elections took place in November. This time the Nazis again failed to get a majority, and the Communists showed a gain. Von Papen resigned. Hitler refused to accept the chancellorship if hedged by conditions. In December Schleicher was ordered to try to form a government, but failed. On January 30, 1933, Hindenburg finally yielded to the insolent ex-corporal, and Hitler became Chancellor on his own terms.

The Nazis were at last in power, though nominally in coalition with the Nationalist Party. New elections were set for March 5, but in the course of a violent election campaign, the Reichstag building was burned. Hitler denounced this as a Communist plot, got Hindenburg to issue emergency decrees suspending constitutional guarantees and outlawing the Communist Party. And in-

deed it had been Communist strategy to let the Nazis take power (even helping them against their mutual Socialist enemies), then in turn to seize power from the Nazis by a general strike.

The Nazis with still only 44 per cent of the vote got support from other parties in this "crisis" for an Enabling Act, granting Hitler dictatorial powers until 1937. In the elections of November, 1933, the Nazis got 92 per cent of the vote for Nazi candidates. Röhm's Storm Troopers had meanwhile been busy cowering any strong opposition, but the Nazi triumph soon threatened them with extinction. S.A. leaders became local police commissars and fell under the authority of Goering. The army was reassured that the Storm Troopers would never be used except as auxiliaries to the army.

Röhm, who had been expecting a "second revolution" of far-reaching consequence on the economic and social level, began denouncing the forces of reaction and the threat to the S.A. as a sort of crusading religion. As the state began to emerge the victor when in conflict with the old party, and with Röhm holding no post in the state's machinery, his position began to decline, although it was slightly retrieved in December, 1933 when he was made a cabinet minister without portfolio.

In June, 1934, Hitler became convinced, or purported to be, of a widespread conspiracy involving a coalition of the two extremes of his opposition—the reactionaries under such Junkers as Schleicher, and the radical Nazi group under Röhm. Proceeding to the Bavarian resort where Röhm was holding a conference of S.A. leaders, and was expecting Hitler as an honored guest, Hitler arrived in the small hours with his entourage (the new S.S. forming the muscle) and arrested Röhm and other S.A. leaders. While his closest adviser was immediately shot in the room next door in which he was found in bed with a boy, Röhm, who according to some accounts was himself at the time in bed with his chauffeur, was taken to Stadelheim Prison in Munich and given a gun to shoot himself. He is reported to have said, "Let Adolf do his own dirty work," and when his cell was opened ten minutes later, and he was found still alive, a hail of bullets killed him.

The formal accusations against Röhm and those arrested with him centered on their homosexual activities, which Hitler had

of course known about for fifteen years and shrugged off, it being alleged that these activities disgraced the party. For those victims without any homosexual background, "the Great Blood Purge" continued all over Germany, as Nazi leaders got rid of all their most hated enemies, as well as the inevitable "mistakes." The old forces of order, big business, the army, etc., were reassured that the Nazis were forever purged of their radicalism. Conforming to Communist dogma, the Nazis now became associated with political reaction, quite contrary to all the ideals and intentions of their original founders, most notably Röhm.

Reference: Heiden.



HART CRANE (1899-1932)

American poet.

He was born at Garrettsville, Ohio. Brought up mainly in Cleveland, Crane began to write verse at 13. In the course of his turbulent and unhappy youth, he travelled to Cuba and France as a seaman, and during World War I he worked in a munitions plant and at a shipyard. After the war, he worked as a bookstore clerk, reporter and writer of advertising copy in New York.

In the early 1920s Crane was given assistance in New York by the banker-philanthropist Otto Kahn, and thereby he was enabled to publish the first collection of his poems, *White Buildings*, in 1926. These verses reflected a passing from despair to mystical affirmation, vaguely along the lines of Whitman (q.v.), whose disciple Crane professed to be. Emotion and association formed the basis of his experimental modernistic poetry, which was often deemed unintelligible. Crane himself admitted he was more interested in the psychological impact of words than in their supposed meanings.

In 1930 Crane published his most ambitious work, a series of poems called *The Bridge*, in which the Brooklyn Bridge, as the symbol of American engineering and art, was used to affirm his belief in America's spiritual destiny. He won *Poetry Magazine's* Levinson Prize and in 1931 was granted a Guggenheim Fellowship which permitted study abroad. After a year in Mexico, Crane fell or jumped from the passenger liner taking

him back to New York and was drowned at sea. In 1933 his *Collected Poems* were published posthumously.

Hart Crane has been widely translated and very influential, being considered outstanding in the American literary renaissance of the 1920s. Homosexual motifs, especially concerning virile sailors, have been found in some of his originally published poems, as well as in the additional material included in the 1948 biography by Brom Webber, who is also the editor of Crane's *Letters* (1952), with further references to his homosexuality.

Reference: Anderson, 312.

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- PEYREFITTE (Keys). *The Keys of St. Peter*, by Roger Peyrefitte. New York: Criterion. 1960. A novel about a young Frenchman torn between calls of religion and calls of the flesh, set in Rome, with Peyrefitte's "inside" details.
- PEYREFITTE (Knights). *The Knights of Malta*, by Roger Peyrefitte. New York: Criterion. 1959. A novel (or documentary?) about the efforts of the Order of Malta to preserve its independence from the diabolical machinations of a Vatican cardinal and his henchmen—all the names being, unbelievably, very real.
- PLUMMER. *Queer People*, by Douglas Plummer. London: Allen. 1963. A pseudonymous British homosexual's effort to provide a short general work on homosexuality to give the British public an accurate picture. A few unusual famous names are dropped, to the outrage of most reviewers.
- PLUTARCH. *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, by Plutarch. Tr. by John Dryden, rev. by Arthur Hugh Clough. New York: Random Modern Library Giant. n.d.

- ROCHESTER. *Rochester's Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. by James Thorpe. Princeton: Princeton U.P. 1950.
- ROCHESTER (V). *Valentinian*. London. 1685. A drama on the Roman Emperor Valentinian III, actually a revision of Fletcher's drama, in which Valentinian is given the lines of an ardent homosexual in one scene (Act II, Scene I).
- ROSCAUD. *Human Gorillas, A Study of Rape with Violence*. Paris: Carrington. 1901. The selections include homosexual material on Pope Julius III and on Pierluigi Farnese, Duke of Parma.
- SCHMITT. *David the King*, by Gladys Schmitt. New York: Dial. 1946. A novelized biography in which David's friend Jonathan is rather clearly portrayed as homosexual.
- SCHRENCK. *The Use of Hypnosis in Psychopathia Sexualis with especial reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct*, by Dr. A. von Schrenck-Notzing. Tr. by Dr. C. G. Chaddock. New York: Julian. 1956. A photo-offset reprint of the 1895 translation of a German classic surprisingly rich in homosexual historical material, not really part of the subject concerned.
- SETON. *Katherine*, by Anya Seton. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1954. A novel about John of Gaunt and his mistress, in which the homosexuality of Richard II, unaccountably passed up on all lists, is made rather clear.
- SINGLETON. *The Black Diaries, An Account of Roger Casement's Life and Times with a collection of his diaries and public writings*, by Peter Singleton-Gates and Maurice Girodias. Paris: Olympia. 1959. This edition includes the most scandalous diary, that of 1911, which is not included in the edition published in New York by Grove Press.
- STERN. *The Scented Garden, Anthropology of the Sex Life in the Levant*, by Dr. Bernhard Stern. Translated by David Berger. New York: American Ethnological Press. 1934. A German classic with information on homosexual sultans.
- STILLER. *James I, Homosexual King*, by Richard Stiller. New York: *Sexology* magazine (May, 1962).
- SUETONIUS. *The Twelve Caesars*, by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus. Translated by Robert Graves. Baltimore: Penguin. 1960.
- STRAVINSKY. *Memories and Commentaries*, by Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft. New York: Doubleday. 1960. The work includes some rather frank information on Diaghilev, and his relations with Nijinsky.

- ULLMAN. *The Day on Fire*, by James Ramsey Ullman. Cleveland: World Publishing. 1958. A novelized biography of Rimbaud, dealing frankly with his homosexual relations with Verlaine.
- VIERECK (I.A.). *The Invincible Adam*, by George Sylvester Viereck and Paul Eldridge. New York: Liveright. 1932. One of several novels about an immortal hero or heroine's adventures in one interesting period of history after another, with rare reference to homosexuality of Pilate.
- VIERECK (M.F.B.). *My Flesh and Blood, A Lyric Autobiography with Indiscreet Annotations*, by George Sylvester Viereck. New York: Liveright. 1931. This work contains a rare reference to the homosexuality of Mark Antony, based on an episode in Josephus.
- WALL. *Sex and Sex Worship*, by Dr. O. A. Wall. St. Louis: Mosby. 1919. This work contains a rare reference to the homosexuality of Philip of Macedon.
- WEINSTOCK. *Tchaikovsky*, by Herbert Weinstock. New York: Knopf. 1943.
- WOOD. *Christ and the Homosexual*, by Rev. Robert W. Wood. New York: Vantage. 1960. A survey by a young Congregational clergyman of the American homosexual scene, with some optimistic "uplift" views reminiscent of Edward Carpenter. The religious elements are substantial but by no means predominant.
- WYNDHAM-LEWIS. *The Soul of Marshal Gilles de Raiz*, by D. B. Wyndham Lewis. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1952.

NATIONALITIES OF THE SUBJECTS

Note: For page reference, see Alphabetical Index.

() indicates subject already cited in prior group.

Compound designations are used as in "Irish American"

1. Ancient Greek (including those overseas in Asia Minor, Sicily, *et al.*)

Aeschines	Euripides
Aeschylus	Harmodius
Agathocles	Hieron
Agathon	Hipparchus
Agesilaus II of Sparta	Hippias
Alcaeus	Ibycus
Alcibiades	Lysander
Alexander II (the Great) of Macedonia	Lysias
Anacreon	Nicomedes III of Bithynia
Antigonus III	Pausanias
Archelaus of Macedonia	Pelopidas
Archidamus III of Sparta	Periander
Aristides	Phidias
Aristippus	Philip II of Macedonia
Aristogeiton	Pindar
Aristotle	Pisistratus
Callias	Plato
Cleomenes III of Sparta	Polycrates
Critias	Socrates
Demetrius I	Solon
Demosthenes	Sophocles
Empedocles	Themistocles
Epaminondas	Theocritus
Epicurus	Theognis
	Zeno

2. Ancient Roman (including overseas nationals)

Antony	Caesar
Augustine, Saint	Caligula
Augustus	Caracalla

Cato (the younger)
 Catullus
 Claudius
 Commodus
 Domitian
 Elagabalus
 Galba
 Hadrian
 Hirtius
 Horace
 Martial
 Nero
 Nerva
 Otho

Persius
 Petronius
 Pilate
 Priscian
 Sulla
 Theodosius II, Emperor
 Tiberius
 Tibullus
 Titus
 Trajan
 Valentinian III, Emperor
 Virgil
 Vitellius

3. Miscellaneous Ancients

Hebrew: Jesus, Jonathan
 Carthaginian: Hamilcar,
 Hannibal

Greek Egyptian: Ptolemy IV
 Greek Roman: Antinous

4. English (including Norman English, Scotch, Irish and Dutch English)

Bacon
 Barnfield
 Beckford
 Bentinck
 Blake
 Byron
 Carpenter
 Casement
 Castlereagh
 Cornbury
 Cumberland
 Despenser
 Edward II
 Edward of York
 Fitzgerald
 Fletcher
 Foote
 Gaveston

George III
 Gordon
 Gray
 Harley
 Hervey
 Housman
 James I
 Kitchener
 Lawrence
 Leighton
 Lewis
 Macdonald
 Marlowe
 Milton
 Montrose
 More
 Newman
 Newton

Oates	Shakespeare
Pater	Sidney
Pitt	Sullivan
Pope	Symonds
(Portland, see Bentinck)	Tennyson
Rhodes	Udall
Richard I (the Lion-hearted)	Walpole
Richard II	Wilde
Robert II of Normandy	William II
Rochester	William III

5. Miscellaneous Mediaeval and Modern Nationals

American: Beecher, Buchanan,	Portuguese: da Gama
Crane, Hickok, Washington,	Spanish: Cordoba, Henry IV of
Whitman	Castile
Dutch: (Bentinck), Erasmus,	Polish Russian: Nijinsky, Tchai-
(William III)	kovsky
Flemish: Duquesnoy	Russian: Alexander I, Diaghilev,
Flemish German: Tilly	Kutuzov, Lvov, Menshikov,
Danish: Andersen,	Moussorgsky, Paul I, Peter I
Christian VII	(the Great).
Norwegian: Magnus VII	Byzantine Greek: John I, Man-
Swedish: Charles XII,	uel I
Charles XV, Fersen	Arab: Abu Nuwas
German Swiss: Müller	Persian: Hafiz, Rumi, Sadi
Italian French: Lully,	Kurdish Egyptian: Saladin
Napoleon	Egyptian: Tewfik I
Italian French Austrian:	Turkish: Bayazid I, Moham-
Eugene of Savoy	med II, Murad IV, Selim I,
Italian Spanish: Alberoni	Suleiman I
Spanish Italian: Pope Alex-	Turkic Indian: Baber
ander VI	Indian: Ranjit Singh, Tippoo
Spanish French: Servetus	Sahib
Portuguese Spanish: Magellan	

6. French (including Burgundian and French Swiss)

Baudelaire	Changarnier
Beza	Charles IX
Bonneval	Charles the Bold of Burgundy
Cambacérès	Condé, Henri de

Condé, Louis de (the Great)	Lyautey
Custine	Mirabeau
Dubois, Cardinal	Molière
Flaubert	Montaigne
Gallieni	Muret
Gaston of Orleans, Duke	(Napoleon)
Gide	Philip of Orleans, Duke
Gilles de Raiz	Proust
Henry III	Rimbaud
Jodelle	Robespierre
La Boétie	Sade
Lamorcière	Suffren
Languet	Vendôme, César de
Louis XIII	Vendôme, Louis Joseph de
Louis XVIII	Verlaine
(Lully)	Villars
Luxembourg	Viviani

7. German and Austrian (including German Jewish)

Beethoven	John Frederick of Saxony
Charles I of Württemberg	Kaunitz
Conradin	Khevenhuller
(Ernest Augustus I of Hanover)	Kleist
Eulenberg	Krupp
Frederick I of Württemberg	Liebig
Frederick II, Emperor	Ludwig II of Bavaria
Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia	Moritz
Goethe	Neuhof ("Theodore I of Cor- sica")
Grillparzer	Otto III, Emperor
Henry of Prussia, Prince	Platen
Hirschfeld	Röhm (Roehm)
Hölderlin	Rudolph II, Emperor
Humboldt	Schomberg
Iffland	Winckelmann
	Zinzendorf

8. Italian

Amadeus VIII of Savoy	Benedict IX, Pope
Areteino	Bronzino

Bruno	Julius III, Pope
Cagliostro	Latini
Canova	Leo X, Pope
Caravaggio	Leonardo da Vinci
Cesare Borgia	Machiavelli
Cellini	Michelangelo
Correggio	Paul II, Pope
della Casa	Pierluigi Farnese
(Felix V, Pope see Amadeus)	Politian
Filippo Maria Visconti	Raphael
Gian Gastone I of Tuscany	Romano
Guercino	Sixtus IV, Pope
John XII, Pope	Sodoma
John XXII, Pope	Tasso
Julius II, Pope	

PROFESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE SUBJECTS

Note: For page reference, see Alphabetical Index.

() indicates the subject has already been cited in a prior group.

1. Politico-Military Leaders (Emperors, Kings, Princes, Dukes, Generals, Tyrants, Presidents, Statesmen, Politicians, Diplomats, *et al.*)

Aeschines	Charles I of Württemberg
Agathocles	Charles IX of France
Agésilas II of Sparta	Charles XII of Sweden
Alberoni, Cardinal	Charles XV of Sweden
Alcibiades	Charles the Bold of Burgundy
Alexander the Great	Christian VII of Denmark
Alexander I of Russia	Cimon
Amadeus VIII of Savoy	Claudius
Antigonos II	Cleomenes III of Sparta
Antony, Mark	Commodus
Archelaus	Condé, Henri de
Archidamus III of Sparta	Condé, Louis de (the Great)
Aristides	Conradin
Augustus	Cordoba
Baber	Cornbury
Bacon	Critias
Bayazid I of Turkey	Cumberland (see Ernest Augustus)
Bentinck	Custine
Bonneval	Demetrius I
Buchanan	Demosthenes
Caesar	Dispenser
Caligula	Domitian
Callias	Dubois, Cardinal
Cambacérès	Edward II of England
Caracalla	Edward of York, Duke
Casement	Elagabalus
Castlereagh	Epaminondas
Cato	Ernest Augustus I of Hanover
Cesare Borgia	Eugene of Savoy, Prince
Changarnier	

Eulenberg
 Fersen
 Filippo-Maria Visconti
 Frederick I of Württemberg
 Frederick II, Emperor
 Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia
 Galba
 Gallieni
 da Gama
 Gaston of Orleans, Duke
 Gaveston
 George III of England
 Gian Gastone I of Tuscany
 Gilles de Raiz
 Gordon
 Gustavus III of Sweden
 Hadrian
 Hamilcar
 Hannibal
 Harley
 Henry III of France
 Henry IV of Castile
 Henry of Prussia, Prince
 Hieron
 Hipparchus
 Hippias
 Hirtius
 James I of England (VI of Scotland)
 John, I, Byzantine Emperor
 John Frederick of Saxony
 Jonathan
 Kaunitz
 Khevenhuller
 Kitchener
 Kutuzov
 Lamorcière
 Languet
 Lawrence
 Louis XIII of France

Louis XVIII of France
 Ludwig II of Bavaria
 Luxembourg
 Lvov
 Lyautey
 Lysander
 Lysias
 Macdonald
 Machiavelli
 Magellan
 Magnus VII of Norway and Sweden
 Manuel I, Byzantine Emperor
 Menshikov
 Mirabeau
 Mohammed II of Turkey
 Montrose
 Murad IV of Turkey
 Napoleon I of France
 Nero
 Nerva
 Neuhaus, see Theodore I
 Nicomedes III of Bithynia
 Otho
 Otto III
 Paul I of Russia
 Pausanias
 Pelopidas
 Periander
 Peter I (the Great) of Russia
 Philip II (the Great) of Macedon
 Philip of Orleans, Duke
 Pierluigi Farnese
 Pilate, Pontius
 Pisistratus
 Pitt
 Polycrates
 Ptolemy IV of Egypt
 Ranjit Singh
 Redl
 Rhodes

Richard I (the Lion-hearted) of England	Theodosius II, Byzantine emperor
Richard II of England	Tiberius
Robert II of Normandy	Tilly
Robespierre	Tippoo Sahib
Röhm	Titus
Rudolph II, Emperor	Trajan
Saladin	Valentinian III, Emperor
Schomberg	Vendôme, César de
Selim I of Turkey	Vendôme, Louis Joseph de
Solon	Villars
Suffren	Vitellius
Suleiman I of Turkey	Viviani
Sulla	Washington
Tewfik I of Egypt	William II of England
Themistocles	William III of England and Holland
Theodore I of Corsica	Xenophon

2. Popes and Anti-popes

Alexander VI	Julius II
Benedict IX	Julius III
(Felix V)	Leo X
John XII	Paul II
John XXII	Sixtus IV

3. Intellectuals (Philosophers, Scholars, Educators, Religious Reformers and Humanitarians, Poets, Dramatists and other writers, *et al.*)

Abu Nuwas	Barnfield
Aeschylus	Baudelaire
Agathon	Beckford
Alcaeus	Beecher
Anacreon	Beza
Andersen	Blake
Aretino	Bruno
Aristippus	Byron
Aristotle	(Caesar)
Augustine, Saint	Carpenter
(Bacon)	Catullus

Cellini
Crane
della Casa
Empedocles
Epicurus
Erasmus
Euripides
Fitzgerald
Flaubert
Fletcher
Foote
Gide
Goethe
Gray
Grillparzer
Hafiz
Hervey
Hölderlin
Horace
Housman
Humboldt
Ibycus
Iffland
Jesus
Jodelle
Kleist
La Boétie
Latini
(Lawrence)
Lewis
Liebig
(Machiavelli)
Marlowe
Martial
Michaelangelo
Michelet
Milton
(Mirabeau)
Molière
Montaigne
More

Moritz
Müller
Muret
Newman, Cardinal
Newton
Pater
Persius
Petronius
Pindar
Platen
Plato
Politian
Pope
Priscian
Proust
Rimbaud
Rochester
Rumi
Sade
Sadi
Servetus
Shakespeare
Sidney
Socrates
Sophocles
Symonds
Tasso
Tennyson
Theocritus
Theognis
Tibullus
Udall
Verlaine
Virgil
Walpole
Whitman
Wilde
Winckelmann
(Xenophon)
Zeno
Zinzendorf

4. Artists (Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Composers, *et al.*)

Beethoven	Leonardo da Vinci
(Blake)	Lully
Bronzino	(Michelangelo)
Canova	Phidias
Caravaggio	Raphael
(Cellini)	Romano
Correggio	Sodoma
Duquesnoy	Sullivan
Guercino	Tchaikovsky
Leighton	

5. Miscellaneous

Businessmen: Krupp, (Rhodes), (Rimbaud)
Promoters and Swindlers: Cagliostro, Diaghilev, Oates.
Scientists: (Aristotle), (Bacon), (Humboldt), (Leonardo),
(Liebig), (Newton).
Doctors and psychologists: Hirschfeld, (Servetus).
Martyred patriots: Aristogeiton and Harmodius; (Casement)
Gunfighter and Marshal of the U.S. West: Hickok
Dancer: Nijinsky
Idolized emperor's beloved: Antinous.

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